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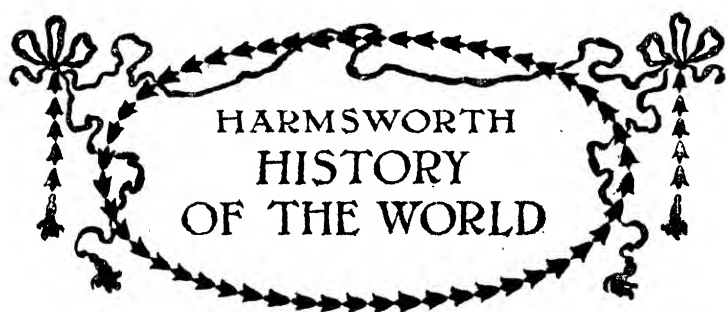
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The Colour of India

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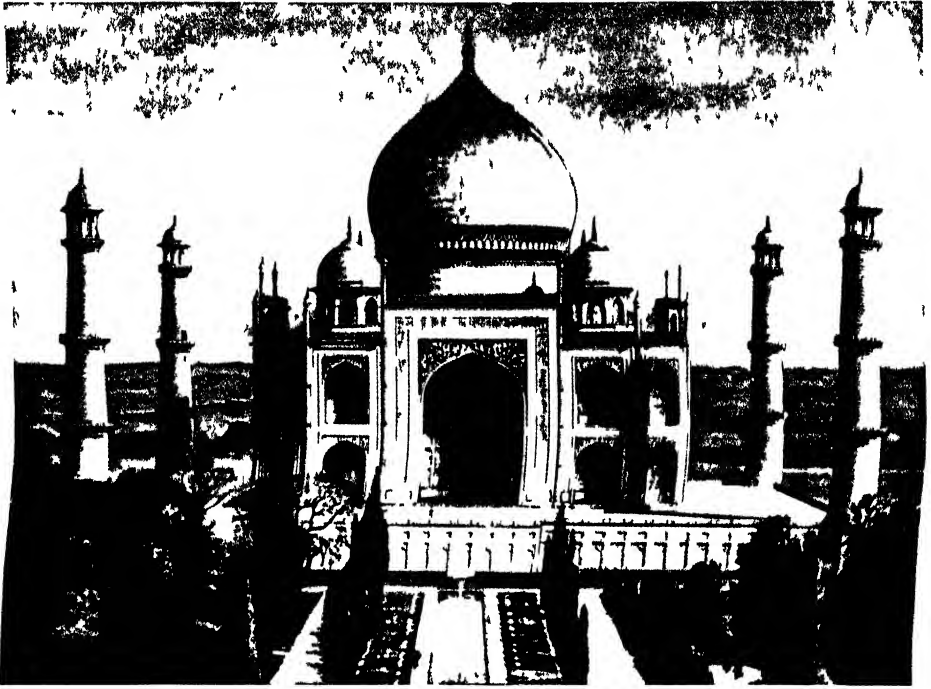


FIGURE 11



THE FACADE OF THE HINDU TEMPLE THE GATE



• A HILL TOP AND A BLESSED TERRACE FOR A CULTURE



A RULING PRINCE OF WESTERN INDIA WITH HIS VASSALS



TRAVELLERS WITH ESCORT IN THE ANCIENT PROVINCE OF KATTYWAR •



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J. A. HAMMERTON

NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME IV.
THE MIDDLE EAST
INDIA, CEYLON, FURTHER INDIA
INDIAN OCEAN, CENTRAL ASIA

LONDON
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THE COLOUR OF INDIA FRONTISPIECE

**THIRD GRAND DIVISION
THE MIDDLE EAST**

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THIRD GRAND DIVISION THE MIDDLE EAST

The regions included under the heading of the Middle East embrace the Indian Ocean, with so much of the Asiatic Continent as lies east of the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, excepting what has already been treated under the heading of the Far East.

In this region, interest attaches primarily to the great Indian peninsula, which, like China, has a recorded history reaching back for nearly five thousand years, but, also like China, remained to Europeans a land of myth and marvel, hidden behind a curtain, of which a corner was raised at rare intervals, until the sixteenth century of our era.

Eastward of India proper lies the great double peninsula of Further India or Indo-China, half Indian and half Chinese in its associations. North lies the mysterious hidden land of Tibet, and beyond that—with Siberia on its northern and China on its eastern boundary—the vast Central Asian territory which bears the general name of Turkestan, the home of nomad hordes that, from time to time, have conquered and devastated half Europe as well as all Asia.

Finally, our division includes Afghanistan and Baluchistan, lands whose history is in part bound up with the Near East and the Empire of Persia, but whose most intimate connection is with Turkestan and India.

PLAN

THE INTEREST & IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Angus Hamilton

INDIA

Sir William Lee-Warner, Professor Emil Schmidt,
and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

CEYLON

Professor Emil Schmidt and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

FURTHER INDIA

J. G. D. Campbell, M.A., Arthur D. Innes, M.A.,
and other writers

THE INDIAN OCEAN

Professor Karl Weule

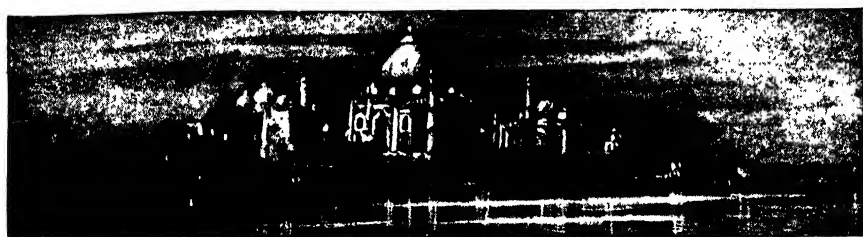
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For full contents and page numbers see Index



LANDS & PEOPLES



OF THE MIDDLE EAST THE INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

BY ANGUS HAMILTON

ALTHOUGH the boundaries of the Middle East are well known, for the purposes of this history they may be regarded as including (a) Central Asia : Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan, and Tibet ; (b) Further India : Siam, Annam, Burma, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Cambodia ; (c) India, with the little independent states of Nepal and Bhutan, and the island of Ceylon. Within this region the physiography of Asia nowhere shows to such advantage as in the elevated uplands, where a central tableland, at once the loftiest and most extensive in the world, is buttressed by stupendous orological development. Covering some 3,000,000 square miles, the central tableland is intersected by high ranges which enclose a number of plateaus, while it is also marked in the Gobi Desert and in the Lob Nor basin by extensive depressions. Lowering above these uplands, which reach in the Tibetan plateau a height of from 14,000 feet to 15,000 feet, in the Pamir plateau 9,000 feet to 12,000 feet, and in the Iranian plateau 6,000 feet above sea-level, are the lofty crests of the Himalayas, Tian-shan, Kun Lun, Altai and Mustagh Ata.

Radiating from the Great Pamir, as the pivot of several converging systems, are the Hindu Kush and the Mustagh Ata or Kara Koram Mountains from the south-west and south-east, the Kun Lun from the east and the Tian-shan from the north-east. The Pamir plateau covers

some 30,000 square miles and in its southern limits connects the Mustagh Ata with the Hindu Kush by a ridge which serves as the water parting between the basins of the Upper Oxus and the Indus. To the north it acts as the water divide between the Zaratshan and the Syr-daria. The Tibetan tableland is no less intimately identified with the orography of the Middle East, but, lying between the Himalayas and the Kun Lun Mountains, it is the least accessible portion of this highland region.

The dominating feature of the mountain system of Mid-Asia is found in the gigantic mass which, in the shape of the Hindu Kush, Kara Koram, and Himalayas, forms the true water parting between the inland and seaward drainage of the Middle East. Divided into a western, central, and eastern section, the mountains constitute themselves the southern scarp of the central tableland and extend some 2,000 miles in one uninterrupted curve, from the eastern extremity of Assam to the low hills which lie to the north of Bokhara, varying in width throughout from 100 to 500 miles. The eastern section of the great divide contributes the Nepal highlands as well as Sikkim and Bhutan to the general rise of the Indian frontier, and maintains a mean elevation of 16,000 feet.

These three purely frontier territories, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, of which Sikkim long since has been incorporated

with the dominions of India, nestle high up on the southern slopes of the inner range of the Himalayas. As may be imagined they are wholly mountainous. Their primitive and rugged character, too, is quite uninfluenced by Indian civilisation. Nepal, the largest, is a mere strip, some 500 miles in length and 160 miles broad, descending from the heights of the Himalayas to the Indian plain in five contracting terraces. At the same time the Nepal highlands are crowned by the highest elevations on the face of the globe. A right-angle ridge, 12,000 feet in height, separates Nepal from Sikkim, while the most easterly of the three, as also the most exposed, is Bhutan. Four hundred miles in extent and extremely elevated, it is at once the bleakest and the most beautiful part of the Himalaya region.

States of the Himalayan Ranges

Throughout the line of the Himalaya system the serried continuity of the various parallel chains and ridges composing it is broken occasionally by some signal peak of marvellous altitude. The extreme westerly sections of the Hindu Kush do not disclose this irruptive grandeur in any great degree, and it is not until the Tirih Mir, near the Nuksan Pass, now fixed at 25,000 feet, is reached that a really formidable height presents itself. Tengri Khan, the central point of the Tian-shan, however, records an identical elevation. Unlike the Hindu Kush, the Kara Koram chain offers quite a selection of lofty peaks; but then the mean elevation of the Mustagh Ata, by which name the eastern extension of the Hindu Kush is more precisely described, is rarely less than 18,000 feet. The highest points occur close within the angles formed by the convergence of the Hindu Kush and the Mustagh Ata, and between the Gilgit valley and the Kara Koram Pass. In connection with the former, Sven Hedin

The Lofty Peaks of Central Asia

fixed the highest point on the Mustagh Ata itself at 25,000 feet, while in the latter there are the Dapsang, 28,000 feet, and Peak K², 28,278 feet. In the Himalayas proper there is even a greater wealth of distinctive elevation, and no less than forty peaks are known to exceed 24,000 feet.

If the mountain systems of the northern part of the Middle East appear to belong to a single family, no such idiosyncrasy

may be said to distinguish its rivers, and, whether the area concerned is the steppe of Eastern and Western Turkestan, the Iranian plateau, the elevated tablelands of the Himalayas, or the Great Plain and Deccan plateau of the Indian peninsula, there is very little reciprocity between the respective systems of drainage. In connection with the former the Tarim River constitutes Lob Nor the basin of Chinese Turkestan by draining the northern watershed of the Tian-shan, Mustagh, and Kun Lun mountains, much as the Aral Sea receives through the Amu-daria and the Syr-daria the drainage of Russian and Afghan Turkestan. At the same time, while the flow from the northern slopes of the Pamir plateau, the Hindu Kush and the Paropamisus goes to the Aral, the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush drain to the Arabian Sea through the Indus river, in the drainage system of which North-eastern Afghanistan is embodied.

Afghanistan boasts a three-fold system of drainage. Although the areas already mentioned drain to the Aral and to the

The Great Watersheds of Asia

Indus, a much larger proportion of the country, at least 200,000 square miles in extent, drains into the Seistan Lake, in the main through the Helmund river. Unlike Afghanistan, Baluchistan possesses no particular system, inland or seawards, and in many respects is as waterless as the Sahara. East of the Hindu Kush, at its meeting with the Mustagh, the presence of the water parting is manifested by the southern flow that is here given to the drainage of the watershed. From this point the main conduit southwards to the Arabian Sea is the Indus; further east the Ganges carries the drainage of the Himalayas, and the Brahmaputra that of the Tibetan highlands and their more remote hinterland, to the Bay of Bengal.

From the base of the Himalayan slopes a triangular peninsula projects southwards to Cape Comorin, possessing, between the delta of the Ganges-Brahmaputra on the east, and the delta of the Indus on the west, a length of 1,900 miles on each face. Breaking away from the foot of the mountains is the Great Plain of India, with an extreme elevation of 1,000 feet and an area of 500,000 square miles, but draining entirely to the Indus and the Ganges. South of this plain there rises the Deccan tableland, with a general level

THE INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

of about 2,000 feet and of a vast dimension. There is much that is distinctive about these two features of the Indian peninsula. The deltaic area is conspicuous for its richness and size, while the plateau is no less remarkable from the manner in which it preserves a continuity of character undisturbed by the encroachments of various containing hills. But the Ghats, which enclose the Deccan on the eastern and western sides, and the Nilgiris, which fulfil a similar purpose at its southern extremity, do not complete the mountain system of Southern India.

Beyond the Nilgiris the orographic formation of the peninsula is carried on by the Palni Hills, while the highest elevations that are to be found south of the Himalayas exist in the Anamalai Hills, 9,700 feet. Occupying the apex of the Indian triangle, by means of Adam's Bridge, these hills link together the Indian and Cingalese mountain systems. The most remarkable feature of the Southern upland, however, is the pronounced individualism which characterises its fluvial drainage. Unlike the central tableland in the north, which drains seawards only through the three rivers, Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra, the Deccan is scored by no less than fifty separate systems. In spite of this, the central tableland dismisses to the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal respectively a greater volume of water in any one of its three streams than the Deccan discharges to any source throughout its entire system. In this connection, too, it should be borne in mind that the Indian peninsula drains always to the sea, an inland—to the Aral Sea and Lob Nor—as well as a seaward flow, describing the systems of Mid-Asia.

Although Eastern Assam has been indicated as the termination of the main water divide of the northern part of the Middle East, there is such an appreciable watershed connection between the Himalayas and Further India that the orographic influence of the mainland can be said to have penetrated the Indo-Chinese peninsula for some considerable distance. In a strictly scientific sense it has yet to be shown whether Further India possesses an independent highland system. If there is any doubt about the precise connection between the ranges of the Indo-Chinese and those of the Tibetan mass, there is no doubt that the rivers of Northern India

and Indo-China, as well as the Yangtse and Hoang-ho of China Proper, find their origin in the Tibetan plateau.

In a region as vast as the Middle East, there is necessarily much diversity in the systems of natural economy that apply to it. Extremes are touched in so many directions, and under such a variety of subjects, that a comparison

Climatic Influences in the Region is liable to beget confusion rather than to add to our general knowledge of this division of the Asiatic continent. None the less, the salient features of the Middle East present an attractive study and in many places disclose considerable unsuspected uniformity throughout vast areas. An example of this is to be noticed in the similarity of the climatic influences which affect the Aral basin on the one hand, and the Pamir, Tibetan, and Tian-shan uplands in another direction. Although the former is only slightly raised above sea-level, and the altitude of the latter varies between 12,000 feet and 18,000 feet, the climatic conditions of either area preserve the same fierce heat, identical periods of protracted drought, and the same intense cold.

India and Further India naturally respond to a different set of circumstances in the composition of their climates. India particularly is held at a disadvantage, since, although retaining the phenomena which produce a brisk climate, the benefit of possession is destroyed by the conflicting physical conditions of the peninsula. While the effects of tropical latitude, therefore, are tempered by the elevation of the Deccan tableland, great heat prevails everywhere because through their extreme altitude the Himalaya highlands intercept the cooling currents from the northern tablelands and, reflecting the solar rays, intensify the fiery blasts which proceed from the furnaces of the Indian deserts. In spite of an all-per-

Heat and Rain in India vading heat, there is an even distribution of humidity over the entire peninsula. Arising from the Indian Ocean during

the incidence of the monsoon, neither the Deccan plateau nor its circumambient ranges are high enough to arrest the passage of the rainclouds, which, spreading farther and farther inland, ultimately precipitate their contents against the southern slopes of the main continental divide.

Save in the extreme north, on the uplands of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, Further India is subject wholly to tropical conditions, exaggerated rather than improved by the oceanic environment of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Unendowed with sufficiently modifying elevation, an excess of moisture is accompanied by

Climatic Conditions enervating heat, while the absence of a cold-weather season, resembling that which

Around India bestows such a boon upon

India, renders the climate of Indo-China peculiarly trying. Examination of the climatic conditions of the Middle East would not be complete without a brief glance at the countries affected by the Iranian plateau. Although extremes of temperature distinguish both Afghanistan and Baluchistan, by reason of the proximity of the Arabian Sea there is much greater humidity in Baluchistan than in Afghanistan. At the same time, while the heat of Afghanistan is more intense than that which prevails in many parts of Bengal, no district of Asia is hotter than certain parts of Baluchistan. Yet, so long as terrific heat is unaccompanied by moisture, the prevailing conditions of climate are usually salubrious, although the heat of Baluchistan is aggravated by devastating sand storms. In this connection it is only in the lowland districts between the Oxus and the northern slope of the Hindu Kush that levers are endemic in this part of the Middle East.

The orological traverse formed by the three systems, Hindu Kush, Mustagh, and the Himalayas, establishes not only the water parting of this section of the Asiatic continent, but the line of demarcation between the northern and southern flora, fauna and ornithology. Although the bleakness of the Asiatic highlands and their accompanying expanses of barren plain precludes a plentiful arboreal growth from distinguishing the heart of the Middle

Vegetation in High Altitudes East, the region is by no means unproductive. The extreme altitudes are necessarily destitute; the valleys are stony and the mountain sides denuded of vegetation, but plateaux of 12,000 ft. are covered with rank grasses, while the secondary elevations are marked by an extensive distribution of mountain ash, poplar, pine, and larch. It is impossible to observe a definite line between tropical and non-tropical flora in Central Asiatic

highland areas since, owing to the vagaries of the climate of the Middle East, sub-tropical life occasionally breaks out in the so-called temperate zones.

It is not until the mountain systems of the north have been exchanged for the sweltering plains of the Indian peninsula or the deltaic valleys of Indo-China, that a genuinely distinctive element appears in Mid-Asian vegetation. Although signal success attends in the almost tropical areas of the Great Plain of India, the cultivation of cereals, vegetables, and plants, that are characteristic of a cooler region, the main interests centre in the growing of crops of a distinctly tropical complexion — rice, tea, coffee, jute, indigo, cinchona, betel, poppy, oilseeds, in addition to a variety of aromatic products, eliciting indiscriminately the attentions of the *rvots*. No less notable is the change to be found in the trees and palms which, as indigenous to the Indian peninsula, and ignoring the species common to temperate as well as torrid zones, include ebony, teak, sandal-wood, mango, banyan, date, palmyra, and bamboo. Unlike the Indian

The Tropical Vegetation of Further India peninsula, less than half of which actually lies within the tropics, Indo-China or Further India is entirely tropical, a fact which an exuberant vegetation quickly makes patent. Vanilla, sugarcane, cloves, pepper, sago, ginger, cinnamon, cotton, rice, tobacco, tea and coffee, besides products everywhere interchangeable, flourish in the cultivated lands; while in the primeval forests eagle-wood, teak, gum, gutta-percha, cardamum, coco-nut, and bamboo abound.

As comprehensive in its flora as it is in the character of its mountain systems and in the nature of its rivers, plains, and climate, it is only in its fauna and ornithology that the Middle East allocates to itself a number of specific types. Prominent among the species of the central uplands and along the line of the water parting there are in wild state the yak in Tibet; the ass, the camel, and the dromedary in Eastern Turkestan. Further to the south there are the elephant, lion, tiger, leopard, rhinoceros and crocodile in India and Indo-China; the lion, tiger, leopard and wolf in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Common to the entire area are the usual domestic animals — buffalo, horse, ox, sheep, and dog; while, in addition, the dromedary, camel, elephant, the water

THE INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

buffalo, the ass, and the yak have been reduced to the service of man.

Although the Middle East itself is not concerned with all the philological and racial distinctions of Asia, a very confused ethnic distribution does fall within its narrow limits. Roughly divided between Mongolo-Tatars and Aryan-Caucasic peoples by the line of the water parting, the first fusion of the two races took place within the western limits of the Aralo-Caspian and Lob Nor basins, when an intimacy arose between the Turki, who frequented the unarable steppes of Eastern and Western Turkestan, and the Tapk, who tilled the western cultivable zone, which so modified the Mongolic features of the Turki that the race now resembles the Aryan Tajik in everything but speech. In the east and south of Lob Nor, continuing along the northern slopes of the watershed, a more Mongolic caste prevailed, which now betrays itself in Bhutan and on the Tibetan plateau; while in Further India it is represented by the assortment of Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Chinese-Annamitic tribes that now occupy

The Races of the Middle East

the northern and north-eastern frontiers of the peninsula. Although the presence of the mountains prevented a Mongolic descent upon the plains of India from the east from taking place, frequent Mongolic irruptions broke over the west, the residue of which has added so much to the ethnographic perplexities of the Middle East. In this direction the line of mountains was pierced by two passages, the Kabul Valley on the north-west, and Makran on the west, with the result that Mongolo-Tatar stock predominates in Northern Afghanistan. In Afghan-Turkestan the Hazaras, although now a Persian-speaking people, are marked out by their physiognomy as of Mongolic ancestry; while the Kizil Bashis of Kabul are Persian-speaking, and the Ghilzais Pushtu-speaking, Turki tribes. In addition, there are the Usbegs and the Turkomans, equally possessing Turki descent. In Baluchistan, too, the Brahuis, an aboriginal and numerous race occupying the eastern highlands, whose identity was long mysterious, are now believed to spring from Mongolic or Dravidian progenitors.

Excluding the Baluchistan highlands, Afghan-Turkestan represents the extreme limit of Mongolic movement towards

India. South of the Hindu Kush, an Aryan element prevails in the tribes forming the population in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, as well as towards Persia and the northern plains of India. It is, however, in no way surprising that Aryan stock should underlie the ethnography of the southern areas of the Middle East, since the

The Peopling of the Middle East

earliest habitat of this great racial division were the valleys and mountains of the Oxus watershed. Retiring before the pressure of the Mongols, the Aryan peoples crossed over the main divide of Asia into the Peninsula. Although the last to arrive from the north-west, they did not penetrate much beyond the northern plains, remaining principally within the region covered by the basins of the Indus and Ganges. Elsewhere, indeed, were other races—the Dravidian in the Deccan and Ceylon, and the Kolarian about the central ranges, the latter being either the absolute aborigines or the first arrivals in the country. These latter branches of the human family represent, in point of fact, the only distinctive stock that India has produced, the Tibeto-Burman, Chinese-Annamitic, and other Mongoloid reductions along the Himalaya system, the Assam highlands and the Indo-China frontier being even more alien to India than the Aryan tribes themselves.

While the Kolarians belonged to the lowest grade of human culture, and were wholly unresponsive, the Dravidians were susceptible to the elevating influences of the Aryans, who ultimately applied to their own purpose the Dravidian alphabet. To-day, moreover, the Dravidian and Aryan peoples of India are unified in a common system of caste that extended throughout Southern Asia, the ethics and principles of which were devised originally by the Aryan leaders as a precaution against their numerical inferiority in the face of the more numerous indigenous element. To

The Caste System

the four original degrees of caste at first proclaimed an infinite variety has been added until the institution, which in its earliest conception referred to colour, now possesses hardly any relation to its original form.

Following their invasion of India, the Aryans passed into Persia, where they imposed their own forms upon the Semitic structure of civilisation already there.

Much as the Aryan language developed into Sanscrit in India, so in Persia it gave birth to Pehlevi, in which the Zend Avesta of the Zoroastrians is written. In Baluchistan, the Baluchis, as opposed to the Brahuïs, are Aryan; and, north of Baluchistan, extending from the axis of the mountain system in an indefinite westerly direction across Afghanistan and Persia, are areas in which the Aryan races exercise, if not unchallenged, at least uninterrupted, sway. Many subdivisions

Descent of the Afghans

of the Aryan family exist in Afghanistan under the guise of Afghans, Gachas, and Tajiks. Of these the Afghans, or Pathans as they are called in India, are the most important. Claiming to be Ben-i-Israel, and insisting on descent from the tribes who were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, they are a Pushtu-speaking people, possessing, with all Pathans, the bond of a common speech, although they do not admit other Pushtu people to be Afghan. Further east, along the crests of the watershed, an Aryan population occupies Nepal, while there are Caucasian-Aryan indications among the tribes in Southern Siam and Cambodia.

Although the races of the Middle East may be classified broadly under one or other of the four branches, Caucasian-Aryan, Mongolo-Tatar, Dravidian, and Kolarian, each group is divisible into several subsections. In many cases, too, these subsections, while physiologically in harmony, have developed complete linguistic independence. In this way, and considering each division as a complete racial unit, the Caucasian-Aryan peoples are affiliated with six stock tongues: (1) Kartveli; (2) Cherkess; (3) Chechenz; (4) Lesghian; (5) Aryan; (6) Semitic—the first four of which appertain solely to the Caucasus region; while the Mongolo-Tatar races are identified with eight: (1) Tibeto-Burman; (2) Khasi; (3) Mon; (4) Tai; (5) Chinese-Annamitic; (6) Korean-Japanese; (7) Ural-Altaic; (8) Malayan. The affinities with Dravidian and Kolarian are more doubtful; but it is held by those most competent to judge that, owing to constant fusion of the species, there is now only a slight philological disparity between many Dravidian and Aryan dialects.

Languages of the Middle East

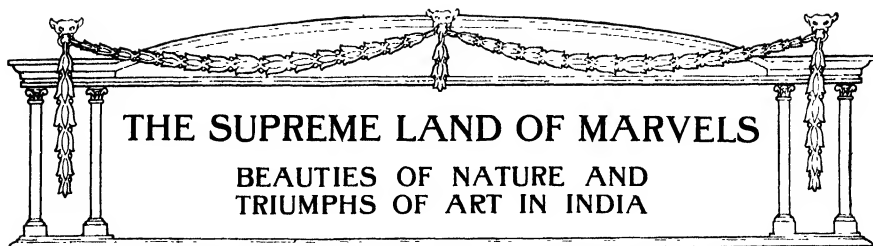
The existence of so much linguistic difference among races now forming the branches of a single racial family should

not be astonishing when the divergent characters of the original tribes are borne in mind, nor is it remarkable that the Aryan peoples should produce greater evidence of common linguistic origin than the Mongolic or even the Caucasian races. Less subject to conditions which necessarily imposed changes upon speech than the nomadic northerners or the more polyglot communities from the Caucasus, the Aryans rapidly evolved a state of civilisation in which language, manners, customs and race type were identical, and through which Aryan domination over Southern Asia was established long before Mongolic peoples began to play havoc with the Middle East. It was, of course, by reason of this ascendancy that the Aryan language became a mother tongue to so large a part of primitive mankind. In many ways, therefore, the rise of these areas to their present importance dates back to the earliest age. Ever the cradle of the human race, they have aroused in turn the attentions of brown, yellow, and fair peoples, while their possession has stimulated the ambitions alike of the Moslem,

Commercial and Political Factors

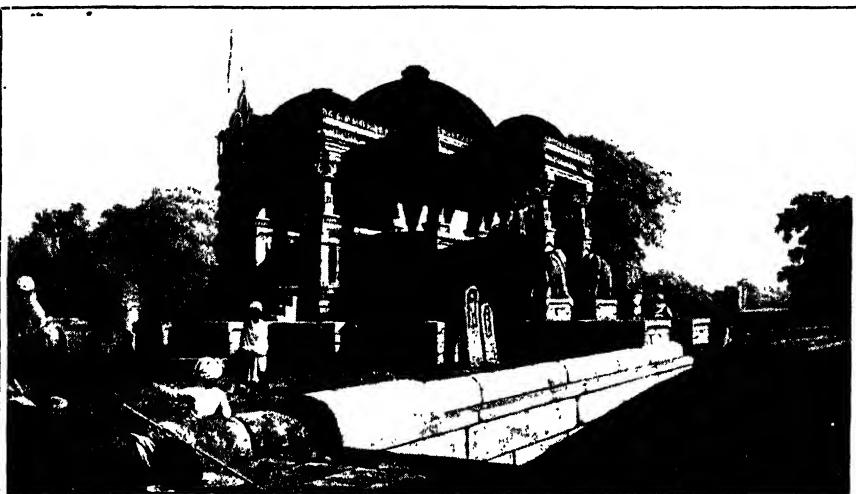
Christian, and Hindu. The further consideration of the Middle East concerns the commercial and political aspect of the region more than its general structure. At present the rights of three Powers—Russia in Central Asia, France and Great Britain in Further India, and Great Britain in India as throughout the areas lying to the south of the main water divide—prevail in the several sections appropriated to them. France in Further India, however, is committed to a policy which aims at the annexation of the whole of Indo-China, while Russia is no less intent upon the absorption of Chinese Turkestan. The complexion which the Middle East will wear for the future promises to be of unusual interest, for the realisation of their aims by Russia and France foreshadows a considerable alteration in the *locus standi* of Great Britain. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that trade, no less than prestige, would be affected by any modification of the traditional powers which Great Britain has so long exercised there, since, if Russia and France were confirmed in a paramountcy over Chinese Turkestan and Further India, the transfer would probably presage our exclusion from the markets of the region.

ANGUS HAMILTON

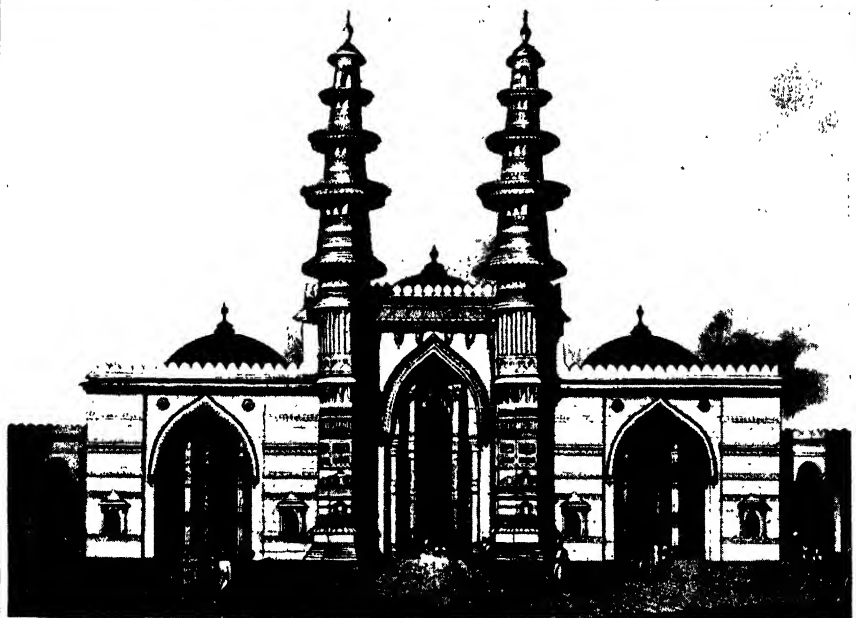


THE SUPREME LAND OF MARVELS

BEAUTIES OF NATURE AND
TRIUMPHS OF ART IN INDIA



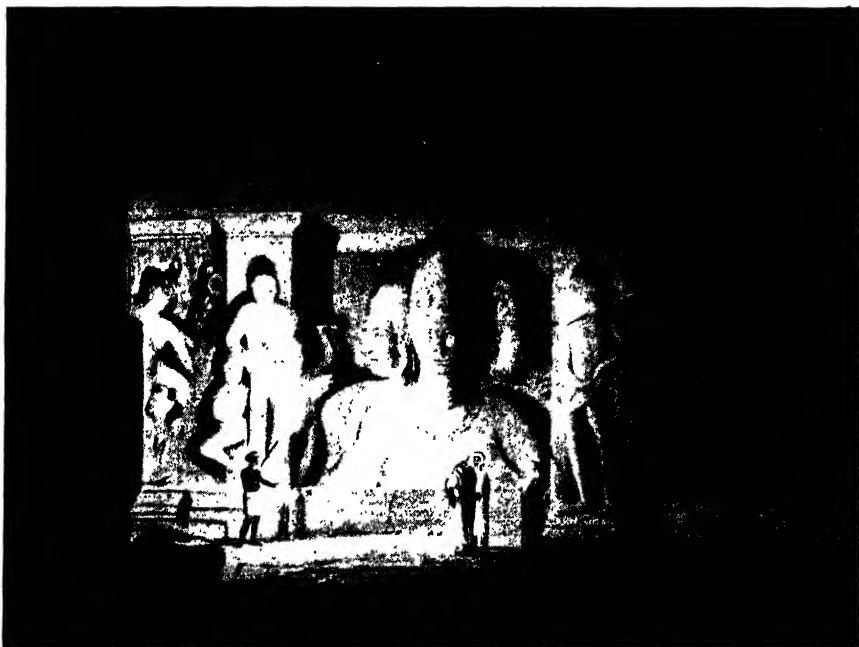
AN ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE AT HULWUD IN GUJERAT



THE GREAT MOSQUE ERECTED BY SHAH AHMED AT AHMEDABAD



ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT CAVE OF ELEPHANTA, NEAR BOMBAY



THE GREAT HINDU TRIAD IN THE CAVE TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA

THE FAR-FAMED ROCK TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA



TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND OF SALSETTE

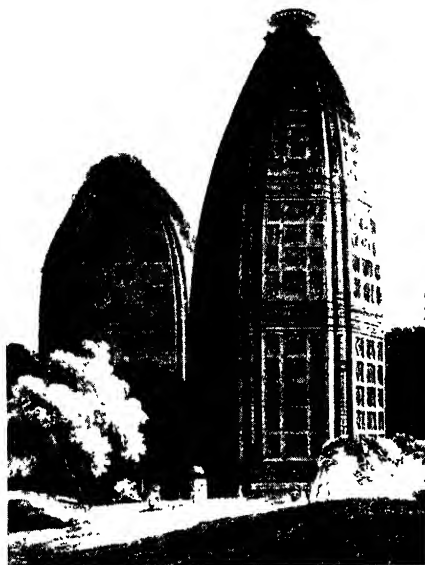


INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF INDRA



THE GREAT EXCAVATED TEMPLE OF ELLORA

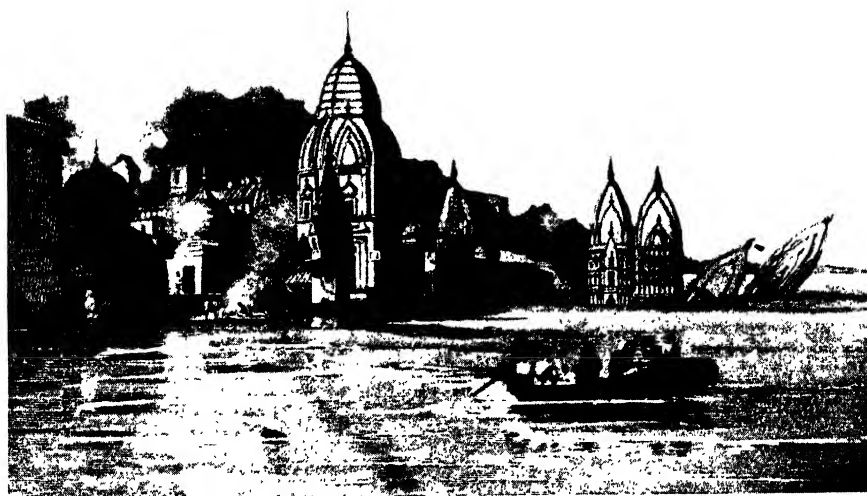
THE CAVE TEMPLES AT ELLORA AND SALSETTE



HINDU TEMPLES AT BINDRABUND

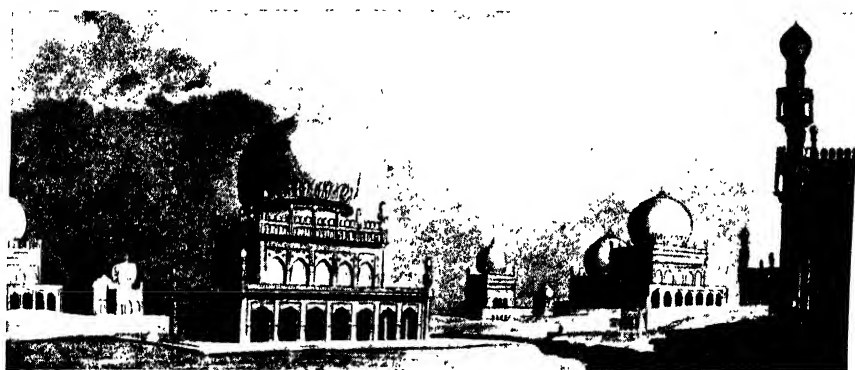


KASHMIR TEMPLE OVER 2,000 YEARS OLD

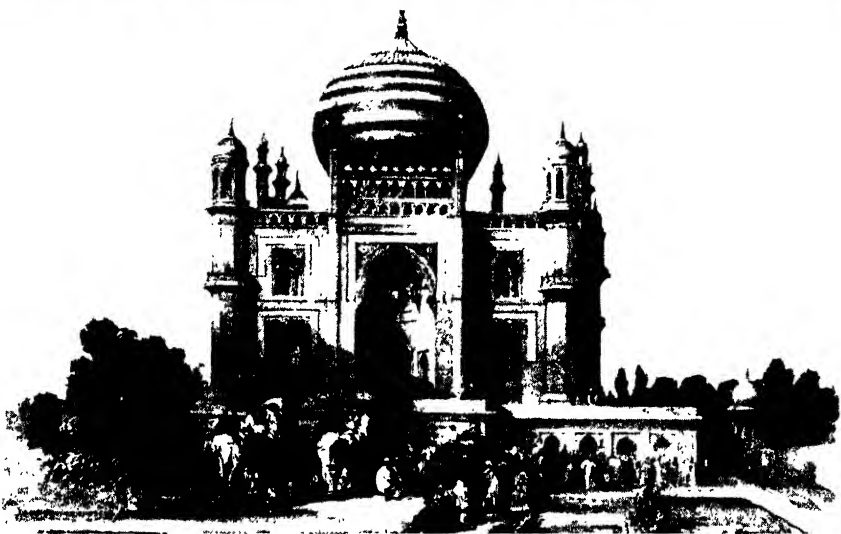


A FAMOUS HINDU TEMPLE AT BENARES ON THE GANGES

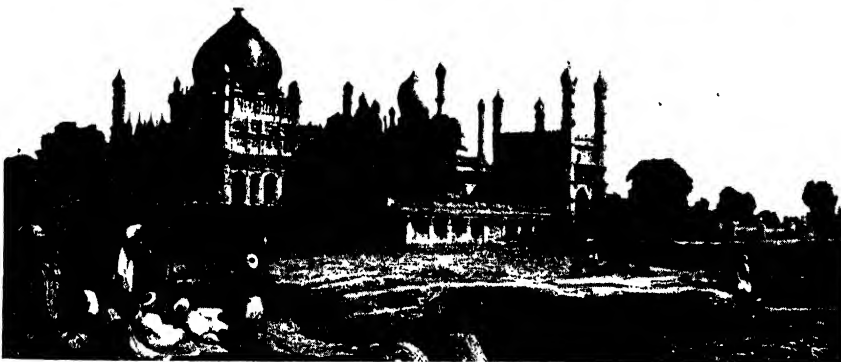
NOTABLE EXAMPLES OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE



TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA

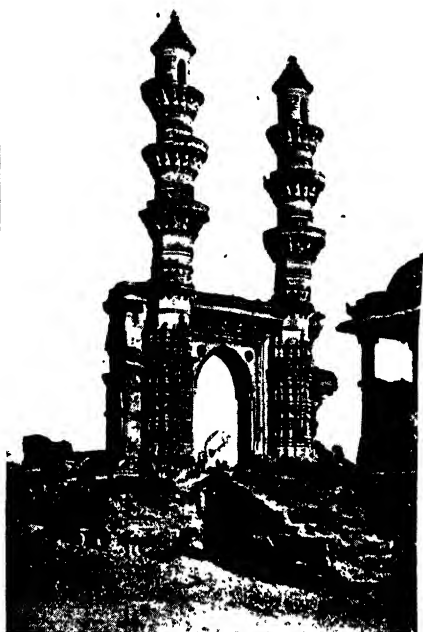


THE MAUSOLEUM OF ZUFDIR JUNGE AT DELHI

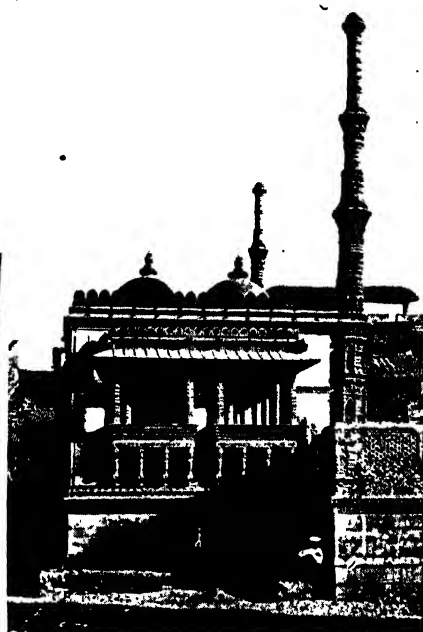


THE TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH AT BEJAPORE

• TYPES OF MOHAMMEDAN ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA



MOSQUE OF A SLAVE OF SHAH AHMED



MOSQUE OF SHAH AHMED'S WIFE

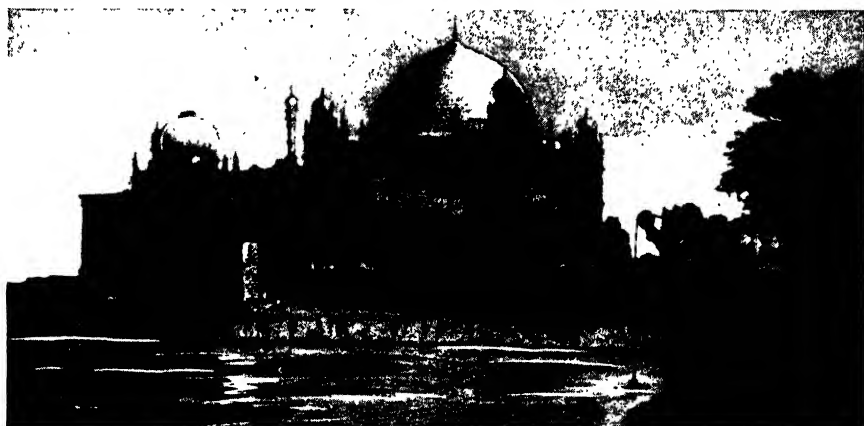


THE JUMMA MOSQUE, WITH HINDU PORCH IN CENTRE OF THE SOUTHERN COLONNADE

THE MOSQUES AND TOMBS OF AHMEDABAD



THE TOMB OF HYDER ALI AT SERINGAPATAM

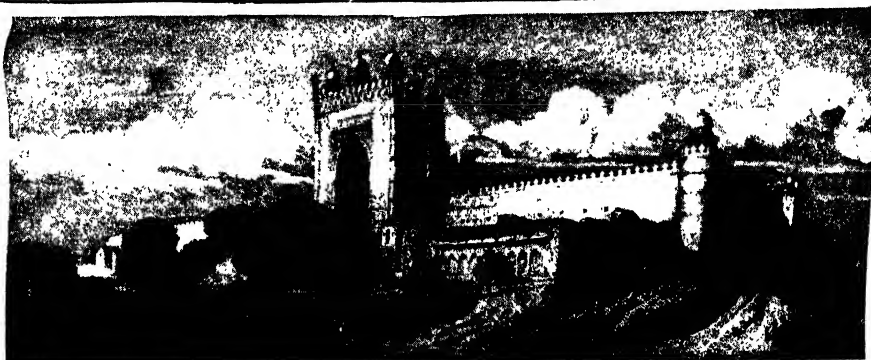


SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH'S TOMB AT BEJAPORE



THE TOMB OF AKBAR, INDIA'S GREATEST EMPEROR, AT SECUNDRA

TOMBS OF THREE GREAT INDIAN RULERS



THE MOSQUE AT FATTEPUR SIKRI, NEAR AGRA, BUILT BY AKBAR

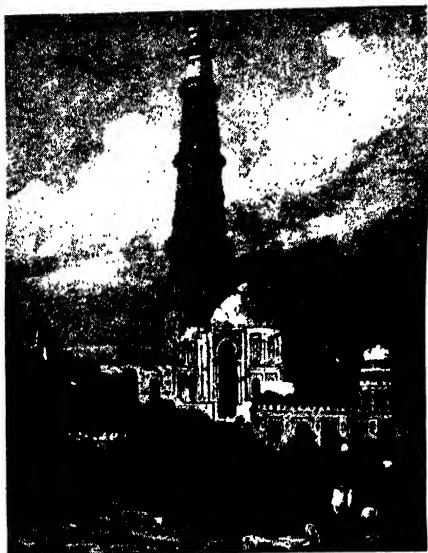


THE MOSQUE OF AURANGZIB AT BENARES



THE JUMMA MUSJID, OR GREAT MOSQUE, AT AGRA

THREE OF INDIA'S MOST FAMOUS MOSQUES



THE KUTUB MINAR AT DELHI



THE FAKIR'S ROCK ON THE GANGES



AURUNGABAD SEEN FROM THE RUINS OF AURANGZIB'S PALACE

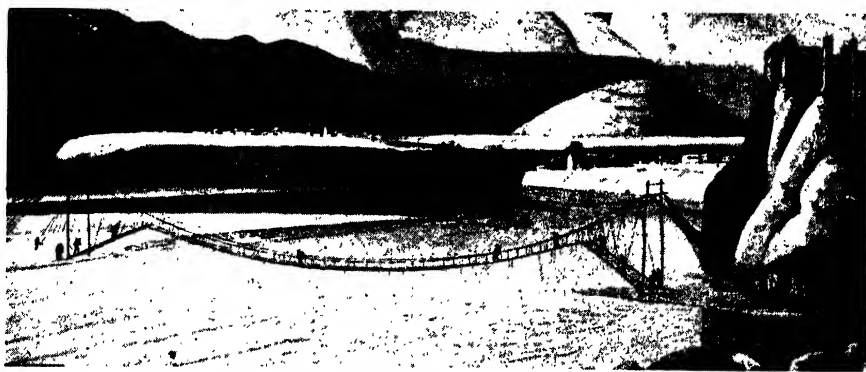
SOME PALATIAL MONUMENTS OF THE PAST



LOG-PIER BRIDGE, WITH HOUSES, NEAR SRINAGAR, KASHMIR



WOODEN BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE IN THE HIMALAYAS



ROPE BRIDGE AT SRINAGAR, THE CAPITAL OF KASHMIR

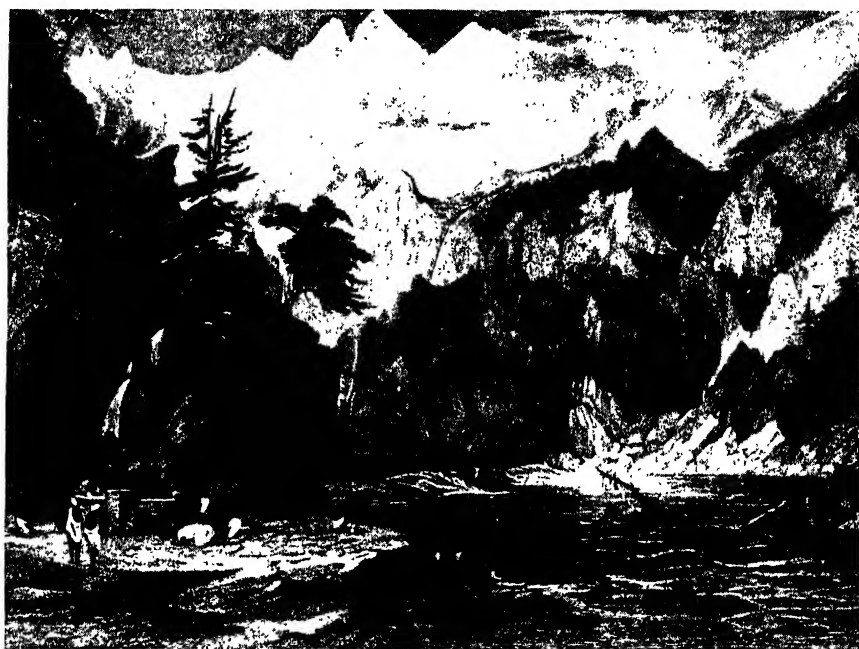
TYPES OF NATIVE BRIDGES IN NORTHERN INDIA



FISHING BOATS IN THE MONSOON NORTH OF BOMBAY HARBOUR



PILGRIMS ON THE GHAT, OR LANDING-PLACE, AT HARDWAR ON THE GANGES
BY SEA-SHORE AND RIVER IN INDIA



GANGOOTRI, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES



THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE RIVER JUMNA IN THE HIMALAYAS

SOURCES OF INDIA'S TWO GREAT SACRED RIVERS



VIEW IN THE BORE GHAT, NEAR BOMBAY



VIEW FROM TOP OF THE BORE GHAT, NEAR BOMBAY

● THE SPLENDID MOUNTAIN SCENERY OF THE EASTERN GHATS



V I E W I N T H E K O A - N U L L A H

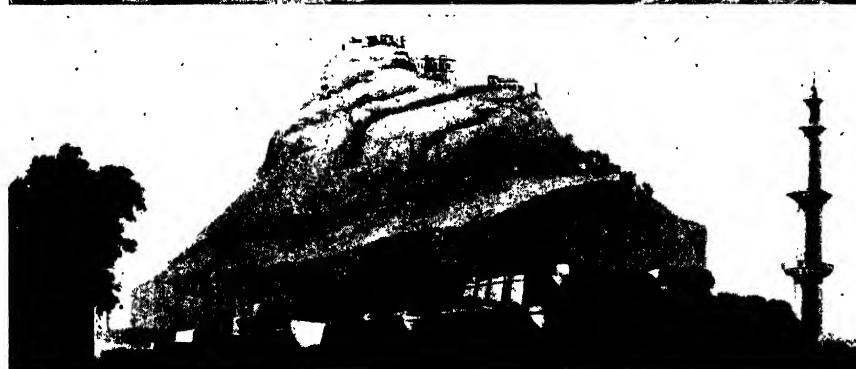


T H E F A L L S O F D H U A H K O O N D E



B E T W E E N N A T A N A N D T A K A C A M U N D A I N T H E S R I N A G A R M O U N T A I N S

T H E M O U N T A I N S A N D G O R G E S O F K A S H M I R



1 Jag Deo and Warrangur, in the Barramahal. 2. Ryacotta in the Barramahal. 3. Daulutabad, the ancient Deo Gurh.

HILL FORTS IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL INDIA



FALLS NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE JUMNA



THE GREAT "SNOWY RANGE," FROM MARMA



A WONDERFUL VIEW OF VALLEY AND MOUNTAIN NEAR JUBBERA



THE ABBEY AND HILLS, FROM NEAR MASURI

SCENES IN THE HIMALAYAS. THE GREAT MOUNTAIN BARRIER OF THE NORTH OF INDIA



THE SUPREME LAND OF MARVELS

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE - WARNER,
DR. E. SCHMIDT AND A. D. INNES

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THERE is no tract of the earth's surface whose story appeals to the imagination so vividly, so intensely, as that of India. India is the supreme land of marvels, of mystery, of the supernatural; of miracles which appeal to us not as the figments of superstitious ignorance, but as mani-

**The Land
of Myth and
Mystery**

festations of the incomprehensible. A land vast, unknown, unknowable, where the keenest of Western minds, after a lifetime of endeavour, profess that they know no more of the inner being of the people than they did at the beginning. A land full of the grotesque, yet whose grotesqueness has a terrific quality—fantastic, yet solemn. A land of countless revolutions, where yet there seems to brood, changeless, eternal, the spirit of an immemorial past.

Utterly remote from the ideas and the civilisation of the conquering races of the West, India is, nevertheless, the first recorded home of a vast migratory wave of that same Aryan stock from which, in later ages, those conquering races sprang. Rome and Athens were yet in the womb of a far-off future, Troy and Mycenæ were unborn, the great Sheikh Abraham had not founded his race, when the fair Aryan folk were sweeping over the plains of Hindustan. Before David sang, or Homer, their ballads were commemorating the

deeds of their national heroes; in the Land of the Five Rivers mothers were telling their children tales which sprang from the same sources as Grecian mythology, Celtic folk-lore, and Teutonic legend. The ancient language of the conquerors was the eldest branch of that primal stock which in other regions and ages developed distinctive perfections in the utterance of Plato, of Virgil, or of Shakespeare.

But through the ages those Eastern Aryans were severed from their Western kinsfolk; they worked out their own development apart. Once, East and West clashed when Alexander pierced the barrier, and led his victorious army into the Punjab; but the contact was brief. Again the veil fell. The centuries rolled on, Imperial Rome rose and crumbled, a second Rome achieved and held a spiritual domination which was already tottering, ere Europe traced out the untrodden high-

**Lifting
of the
Veil**

way of the ocean, and the veil was raised. In the interval—a period of some eighteen hundred years—all that Europe knew of India was derived from hearsay among the peoples of Western Asia, and the reports of an occasional enterprising traveller; fabulous tales, for the most part, of splendour indescribable and wealth incalculable; tales which were the magnet that drew Columbus along the ocean path

that led to an unknown continent instead of to the Indies he sought; and took Vasco da Gama by another way round Africa to the very shores of India. Yet all but two and a half centuries were still to pass before the Europeans were to be anything more than traders, with groups of offices and warehouses here and there on the fringe of the great

Mogul and European Inroads

peninsula. For almost simultaneous with the coming of the Europeans was the coming of the Mughals, or Moguls, who established over all the northern portion, or Hindustan, an empire perhaps the most gorgeous the world has known, which was presently extended over the southern portion, or Deccan. It was the disintegration of that great empire which gave the British an opportunity of establishing a territorial dominion in two provinces; which, once founded, they were soon compelled, in self-defence, to expand into a general ascendancy, and then a practically universal supremacy. The rule of the British in India has been a unique experiment, without precedent or parallel in the world's history.

Thus, before the sixteenth century of the Christian era India had dwelt apart, like China, as far as Europe was concerned, untouched by her influence, save for one brief moment; and with a civilisation of her own, already advanced and highly organised before any appreciable culture began to leave its records in Europe. In those early centuries an Aryan race acquired a complete domination over all the primitive peoples of the lowlands, and an ascendancy even in most of the highland regions which could not be effectively conquered. The previous occupants were not wiped out, but survived—here and there in separation almost complete even to the present day—for the most part as subjects, but also intermixing largely with the newcomers. Over the whole great area a

Early Aryan Civilisation

common religion and a common social organisation prevailed, though with immense local modifications; and these led to a hereditary and permanent differentiation between those social groups or castes which, comparatively at least, preserved their purity of blood—the sacerdotal and military castes, the Brahmans and Rajputs—and the rest. Everywhere all the castes were to be found, though Brahmans in one district and Rajputs in another might be numerically preponderant.

But this system did not involve the development of an organic Indian state, or of Brahman states, or Rajput states. Instead, it produced an aggregate of kingdoms with ever varying boundaries and without individual sense of nationality, the masses of the population passing under the lordship of alternate conquerors without other interest in the change of rulers than depended on the accident of their personal characters. But throughout all, the Rajput retained his prestige and the Brahman his spiritual ascendancy.

The old religious conceptions became degraded, absorbing into themselves the baser superstitions of the primitive inhabitants. Hence, for some centuries the new moral scheme of Buddhism became dominant; but this in turn became corrupted and degraded, and lost its hold utterly. Hinduism revived, but for the most part in a baser form than of old; filled, as concerned the common people, with gross and often hideous superstitions.

Upon this India broke, about the year 1000 A.D., the storm of Mohammedan invasion. Islam had gripped both the Iranian

The Islam Invasion Aryans and Semites beyond the mountains, and the Mongolian Turkomans of Central Asia; Turkish and Pathan or

Afghan conquerors swept over the northern plains; Moslem empires and kingdoms were established, and planted new empires and kingdoms in the Deccan also. Rajput princes struggled to maintain a precarious independence often lost and often more or less recovered; but the Mohammedan aliens, always a minority, dominated the peninsula as a whole, as a ruling race. Yet still the old principle prevailed. There was bitter race antagonism between the Moslem and the infidel, the Hindu and the foreigner; but no national organisation, no Indian State, no countries having political unity, presenting an object for patriotic sentiment. Though an empire might extend its temporary sway over a vast area, it never attained an organic homogeneity.

A conqueror from beyond the mountains, the so-called Mogul Babar, founded the Mogul dominion just when Europe was in the first throes of the Reformation. His grandson, Akbar, made the empire a mighty reality, and adopted within it a policy more enlightened than any of his European contemporaries could compass. While the Spanish Inquisition was at the height of its power, Akbar, virtual head

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of Eastern Mohammedanism, was ruling on principles of universal toleration, and treating Mussulmans and Hindus with complete impartiality. His son and grandson neither altogether maintained nor entirely deserted that policy; but a Mohammedan supremacy was definitely re-established. Their successor, Aurangzib, was a fanatical Mohammedan, and in his day the old hatred between the rival faiths was fully restored. The possibility of educating Moslems and Hindus into one nationality was lost for ever. With his death, the break up of the Mogul Empire was already assured. Hindu Powers were already coming into being who would soon grasp at dominion, and the great provincial governors were on the verge of turning themselves into virtually independent sovereigns.

Before forty years had passed the French and British mercantile settlements were vying with each other to obtain ascendancy at native courts. Fifteen years saw the decisive end of that contest, and the British, almost by an accident, masters of Bengal. India was no more one than the Teutonic or the Latin nations of Europe are one. The Sikh, the Mahratta, and the Bengali are as far apart as the Portuguese, the Italian, and the Frenchman. The Mohammedan, indeed, was not and is not more akin to the Hindu than the Spaniard is to the German. But to both Hindu and Mohammedan the European is alien, as the Turk is alien alike to the Spaniard and the German, who, for the purposes of resisting Turkish domination, would feel themselves akin. In India, more than nine-tenths of the population are either Hindus of one kind or another, or else Mohammedans. There are computed to be about four Hindus to every Mohammedan, and rather more Mohammedans than the whole number of subjects of British race in the entire British Empire outside of India. Yet for more than a hundred years the alien ascendancy has been acknowledged, and for fifty it has been unchallenged. That it has been welcome is as questionable as that it has brought incalculable benefits to the masses in India is indisputable. The ruling race has felt the responsibility of dominion; it has accepted the white man's burden. The schoolboy said of a certain famous headmaster—his natural enemy—"He is a beast, but he is a just beast."

It would take a very hostile critic to refuse that measure of praise to the British dominion in India.

Few countries in the world contain within well-defined boundaries a greater diversity of geographical, anthropological, and ethnographical conditions than those displayed by the Indian peninsula. India is indeed a world in miniature: those natural conditions which modify the progress of civilisation are varied in the extreme, and the civilisation of the inhabitants of this country is characterised by divergences which are the inevitable result of conformation to so varied an environment.

The points of contrast are intensified by their mutual proximity; broad alluvial plains are followed by the highest mountains in the world, burning tropical heat by the everlasting frost of the snow-clad peaks, the extremity of drought by the greatest rainfall in the world, tropical luxuriance by appalling desolation. Side by side with savages living entirely on the products of the chase, and by agriculture of the most primitive character, we find Brahmans devoted to the contemplation of the deepest problems of human existence. Black Dravidians, yellow-skinned Mongols, brown Asiatic Aryans, Hindu or Afghan, representatives of the white European races—all are parts of the population of India. Her history is a history of the struggles for predominance between these different peoples and races.

Nearer India owes its name to the river upon its north-west frontier, the "rushing" Sindhu of the Aryans, a name which was extended to include all the territory beyond the river by the old civilisations of Europe when they first came into contact with this distant land. India is the central of the great peninsulas which project southward from the continent of Asia. The southern portion of the country lies within the tropic zone,

while its northern regions advance into the temperate zone beyond latitude 35°. Its frontier position has separated it from immediate communication with the steppes and deserts upon the boundaries of Asia proper except upon the north, the north-east and north-west; its coasts, running south-west and south-east, are bounded by broad seas impassable to peoples in the lower stages of civilisation. Upon the

extreme south the island of Ceylon lies so close to the mainland that the intervening straits are rather a means of communication than an obstacle to intercourse.

The area of India is nearly equivalent to that of Western Europe, if a line of division be drawn passing through the eastern frontiers of Norway, Denmark, Germany and Austria. In respect of population, it considerably surpasses the district thus defined (203,000,000 as compared with 240,000,000); while its population is more than double that of East Europe (125,000,000).

The configuration of the country in horizontal section is simple; its long coasts are broken by but few capes or gulfs, and these are of little importance. The largest gulf is that of Cambay, or Khambat, which was of high importance at an early period as a commercial centre. Good harbours, such as Bombay and Goa, are comparatively few in number. Upon the west coast, landing is a difficult operation, as the Western Ghats descend abruptly to the sea; while on the east, the coast, though flat, is lashed by formidable seas during the monsoon season. Lagoons have been formed only in the south of the peninsula on each side of its extremity. These facilitate communication along the coast even during the unfavourable monsoon season. On the north-east and north-west of the coast line, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, which bring down large quantities of sediment, have pushed out formidable deltas into the sea, communication through which is impeded by the constant changes in the course of the various mouths and the heavy deposits of silt. One arm of the Ganges alone has attained to political and commercial importance during the last 150 years. The Indian frontier with respect to the rest of Asia is defined with

Configur- ation of the Country

no less simplicity than the coast line. The configuration of the country, considered in vertical sections, is more complicated. Here we meet with three great districts characterised by sharply contrasting features, the great mountain range on the north of India, the lowlands in the north of the peninsula, and the tableland in the south.

The northern frontier of India, which divides the country from the tablelands

of Central Asia, is formed by the highest mountain range in the world, the "home of snows," the Himalayas. Bounded on the east and on the west by the openings made respectively by the Brahmaputra and the Indus, this range has a length of 1,500 miles, with a nearly uniform breadth of 137 miles; its area is almost equivalent to that of Germany. Its importance for India consists in the climatic protection it affords against the influence of the waterless districts of Asia, in the large rainfall which it collects, in the supply which it affords to the great fertilising streams of Northern India, and in the protection it gives to the country against the invasions of the restless inhabitants of the steppes. Not only does the range contain the highest peaks in the world, but it is as a whole almost impassable for large bodies of men. Never has there been an invasion of India from Tibet across the Himalayas by great armies or large bodies of people. The mad attempt of the Sultan Mohammed ibn-Tughlak to attack China by land ended with the total destruction of the army of Hindustan in the mountain snow-

fields (1337). The few passes which exist can be traversed only at rare intervals and by small bodies; the merchant and the missionary make their way across them. From a remote period a certain number of Mongol immigrants have very gradually trickled into Northern India by this route—Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal—by which also Buddhism made its way to the north.

Mountain systems join the Himalaya at each end, completely excluding India from the rest of Asia. On the north-west we have the mountains dividing India from Afghanistan and Baluchistan, which run from north to south, decreasing in height as they advance southward, and broken by several important passes. These long, narrow valleys have provided the route for all those foreign invaders, Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Mongols, Persians, who from earliest times have acted as modifying forces upon the historical development of the Indian populations.

On the eastern side, the Himalaya range is joined by a number of high, steep mountain chains running north and south, divided by deep valleys, through which the rivers of the Irawadi, Salwén, Mekong, Yangtse Kiang, flow southward, a barrier

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of extraordinary strength preventing any communication eastward. The most westerly member of this mountain system sends one of its spurs south-east to the Bay of Bengal, the Patkai Mountains, 5,666 feet in height. Thus, upon the east, India is also shut off by a mountain wall surrounding the low-lying plains of the lower Brahmaputra in the shape of a horseshoe. This wall is passable only upon the south, and by this route has undoubtedly entered that infusion of Hindu-Chinese blood which is plainly recognisable to the anthropologist in the mixed races of Assam, Lower Bengal and Orissa.

The second great region of India is composed of two great river systems, those of the Indus and of the Ganges-Brahmaputra. The Indus turns at right-angles to the mountain range, taking the shortest route to the sea, which it reaches in a rapid descent—a fact of no less importance for the nature and the inhabitants of its valley than the fact that the long channels of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra run parallel to the mountain range. While the Indus passes the spurs

India's Great Rivers

of the Himalaya, and is fed by tributaries from these sources, a sufficient supply of moisture is available for the cultivation of the ground. The earth then showers her gifts upon mankind with such lavish bounty that the Punjab, the district of the Five Rivers, even in the grey dawn of history, was the goal of the ambitions of the nomad tribes inhabiting the dry steppes of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

On the other hand, in the valley of the lower Indus the arable land is restricted to a narrow belt on each bank of the stream, which here runs so rapidly that navigation is almost impossible; while it brings down such heavy deposits of silt that its delta is continually changing, and the arms of the delta, and the sea in their neighbourhood, are with difficulty accessible on account of the outlying banks of sediment. Eastwards from this arable country, upon the Indus, stretches the Great Desert, across which communication is almost impossible. It extends southwards to the sea, and northwards almost to the foot of the Himalayas, at which point alone a narrow strip of land makes communication between the two river systems possible. Hence it was at this spot that peoples advancing into India, from the west came into collision

with the inhabitants already settled in the valley of the Ganges. This district has repeatedly been the scene of those decisive battles which predetermined the history of India for long periods.

The eastern, which is the larger portion of the plains of North India, is far more favourably situated than the western.

The Ganges Valley

The Ganges and Brahmaputra run parallel to the mountains, though they are so far apart from the Himalayas, from the heights of the Deccan on the south, and from the frontier mountain range about Burma, that on each side a wide declivity is available for copious irrigation by artificial means. The whole river valley is alluvial land; but a distinction must be made between the earlier and the later deposits. The line of demarcation between these begins at the Ganges delta. Up to that point the land falls away so rapidly from the west that the soil is dry and fruitful. Everywhere irrigation can be provided in sufficient measure to satisfy the most zealous cultivator of the soil, which also receives new deposits of rich manure from the silt-laden waters of the rivers. Navigable streams cross this district, which is more suitable than any other in India for the development of important towns. The characteristics of the eastern portion of the river valley are wholly different; in the delta of the Ganges, and in the whole of Assam, the deposits of silt have been so recently made, and the ground in consequence lies so low, that drainage works are impossible. The country is almost everywhere in a swampy condition, and the malaria of the district is dangerous to human occupants.

Navigation is difficult, as also is communication by land, for the ground is not sufficiently firm to permit the laying down of roads. Hence the civilisation of this part of the Ganges-Brahmaputra valley was in a comparatively backward condition before the rise of the English power in India; Aryan and Mussulman influences made themselves felt comparatively late, and it is only during the last one hundred and fifty years that the greater intellectual power and energy of Europeans has brought prosperity to the delta of the Ganges.

In the southern part of India the table-land known as the "South Land," the Deccan of the Aryans of North India,

rises in isolation. It forms a great elevated highland with steep walls, which fall sheer into the Arabian Sea at the Western Ghats; on the eastern side the plateau is somewhat lower and, lies at some distance from the Bay of Bengal, from which it retires gradually as it advances southward. In this district

Features of the Deccan

between the highlands and the sea rise individual isolated plateaus and numerous single peaks, by which the plains are diversified. The tableland attains its greatest height on the west coast with the mountains of Anamalai, 8,077 feet high, and of Nilgiri, 8,477 feet high, falling gradually away to the eastward. Hence, most of the rivers of the Deccan run eastward—for example, the Son, Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, Kaveri, Tanghabadra; two streams only, the Nerbada and the Tapi, have worn out deep gorges in their westward career. These, together with the mountain ranges of the Vindhya and Satpura running parallel to them, divide the highlands into the great southern section, or Deccan, and the northern, or Central India; which for a long time proved an obstacle to the advance of the Aryans, more by reason of its malarial swamps and its jungle vegetation than because of its mountainous nature. All the above-mentioned streams are unimportant as means of navigation and communication, on account of the variable water supply and the rapids and waterfalls by which they are broken when they reach the precipitous edge of the highland. The line of the Nerbada, or Nerbudda, carried across the peninsula, is commonly held to be the boundary between Hindustan and the Deccan.

Friedrich Ratzel has laid great emphasis upon the importance of geographical position to natural history; the position of India has exercised a most decisive influence

Importance of Geographical Position

upon the whole course of development of the natural products of the country and also of its population. The position of this central peninsula of Southern Asia, situated as it is with reference to the enormous dry, waterless districts of the desert and the steppes on the one hand, and on the other hand to the tropical sea with its moisture-laden atmosphere, determines the amount of the rainfall and its distribution, and therefore also the fertility of different parts of the

land, which again influences the population. In the spring and summer the great deserts and steppes of Central Asia are scorched by the sun, which then attains its greatest altitude; the barometrical pressure is low and the currents of air with their burden of moisture from the tropic Indian seas travel in a north-easterly direction across India, a deviation due to the revolution of the earth. In the southern portion of the country these clouds then meet the steep wall of the Western Ghats and deliver a large proportion of their moisture, breaking in violent thunderstorms upon the mountain wall, to return again to the sea in rushing torrents and streams.

The air currents, however, after crossing the watershed of the Ghats, become drier, and provide but a scanty rainfall for the eastern district where the highlands slope away. Not until they reach the giant wall of the Himalaya do they drop all the moisture which they have retained. For this reason the mountains of Assam can boast the heaviest rainfall upon the earth; the rainfall of Cherra

Heaviest Rainfall in The World

Punji in the Hsia Mountains of Assam amounts to 444 inches during the summer and 520 inches for the whole of the year.

On the other hand, during the winter months a high barometrical maximum prevails over Central Asia, while South Africa and the Indian Ocean, which are then scorched by the sun, show a low average barometrical pressure. The currents take a backward movement, and blow from the great dry continent as the north-east monsoon, bringing to India but little moisture, and that at uncertain intervals. Consequently the wide districts to the east of the Ghats as far as the Himalaya Mountains suffer greatly from droughts, and, should the rains of the east monsoon fail, are confronted with terrible famines.

The fertility of the country depends upon the amount of natural or artificial irrigation which it receives. Vegetation, apart from human agency, flourishes most luxuriantly on the Malabar coast. Beyond the range of the Western Ghats different conditions prevail. A forest country is first met with, where the deciduous nature of the trees is a protection against the excessive drought of the dry season. Vegetation then conforms to the character of the steppes in general, and agriculture is restricted to the immediate neighbourhood

INDIA, THE SUPREME LAND OF MARVELS

of springs or tanks, to the river banks, or to the river deltas. The steep wall of the Western Ghats ends upon the north with the river Tapti, so that at this point the moisture-laden currents penetrate more deeply into the country. The remoter heights of Central India produce a heavier rainfall; though the forests are more extensive in that district, the prevalence of malaria is an obstacle to human occupation. The great plains in the north of India receive a diminishing rainfall in proportion as they are removed from the delta of the Ganges on the west; compensation is, however, afforded by the works of artificial irrigation which distribute the streams falling from the Himalaya, and, in some degree, those which rise on the north wall of the Deccan. The delta of the Ganges and the lower ground in the valley of the Brahmaputra suffer from an excess of rainfall and ground moisture.

The cultivation of the country, especially as regards the growth of cereals, is primarily conditioned by the existing facilities for irrigation. Where copious supplies of water are to be had, rice is the staple product of agriculture, as it is on the whole of the Malabar coast, on the deltas of the Deccan rivers, of the Indus and the Ganges, and in Assam. Under proper irrigation, land containing less moisture will produce a heavy yield of wheat, as is the case in the Punjab, the British North-west Provinces, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and certain favoured parts of the presidency of Bombay. Where irrigation is difficult, several kinds of cereals and other subsidiary products flourish. Where the land is too dry for these plants, as is the case in large districts of the southern Deccan, stock breeding enables mankind to make a living at the expense of some hardship; the caste of the shepherds (Kurumbas), which is now scattered and decayed, played an important part at an early period.

The population of India is distributed according to the fertility of the soil. The mineral wealth of the country is comparatively small. Coal is by no means common and has only recently been worked upon any large scale; iron ore is widely distributed, but was used by the natives only to a very small extent, and the importance of this industry has been practically extinguished by the competition of the

great European undertakings. The riches of India in precious metals and stones have been considerably exaggerated; the real wealth of the country does not lie within the soil, but grows upon it. Consequently the population is almost entirely of a peasant character; the last census, before the opening of the twentieth century, showed only 2,035 towns

Distribution of India's Population properly so-called among 717,549 settlements; of this number, 1,401 had less than 1,000 inhabitants, 407 had between 10,000 and 20,000, and 227 had a population above 20,000. Only twenty-nine towns had more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1911, and only four—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Haiderabad—more than 300,000. In England, 53 per cent. of the population live in 182 towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants, whereas in India this holds good only of 4·84 per cent., distributed in 227 towns of 20,000 inhabitants. The collective population of the country—303,017,320 inhabitants upon 1,560,080 square miles, excluding Burma—gives an average of 194 inhabitants to the square mile. In individual districts of some size this average varies between 24 and 1,395; it is larger in British India than in the native states, a fact apparently due to European influence upon the country and still more to the circumstance that England has occupied all those states where the soil is more than usually fertile.

A systematic ethnographical examination of the population of India is an extremely difficult task; no universal lines of division can be drawn including all the most important phenomena of divergent nationality. The differences, moreover, by no means run in parallel lines. The most important points to be noted are physical characteristics, language, religion, and social peculiarities, together with the characteristic signs of national feeling which these differences imply. The many changes in Indian history pre-suppose the impossibility of any physical uniformity throughout the population. Apart from the infusions of Portuguese, Dutch, and English blood during the last four centuries, foreign representatives of the white or yellow races have frequently invaded the country through the north-west passes. However, as far as the Mongol princes are concerned, almost every trace of their existence has disappeared

from the ethnological characteristics of the modern Indian. The white races have, however, exercised a permanent modifying influence, and their descendants form one of the main racial elements of the country. From a remote period vigorous commercial relations were maintained on the west coast with the western continents, which have

Jewish Colonies in India

left their traces upon the physical characteristics of the coast dwellers; the Semitic type of countenance common among the Mohammedans of the Malabar coast is derived from the Arabs. Fugitive Jews have repeatedly entered the country in bodies, such as the Jews of Cochin (now 1,300 in number), who, according to their traditions, left their country after the destruction of their great sanctuary by Titus (70 A.D.); another instance is the Jewish colony in Bombay, which was expelled from its former settlements by Mohammedan fanaticism. Similarly, a large number of fire worshippers fled from Persia in the year 1717 before the zeal of the Mohammedans, and the coast of Bombay is now inhabited by 90,000 Parsees who remain true to the religion of Zarathustra. In many cases their Semitic cast of features recalls the representations of the kings in ancient Nineveh, whereas others remind us of the modern representatives of the white races in the Armenian highlands.

The east coast has been peopled rather by Indian migrations directed especially towards the opposite coast of Burma than by immigration from abroad. A strong infusion of Mongolian blood has, however, entered from the north and north-east. The southern slopes of the Himalaya to the east of Dardistan are peopled by a mixed race of Mongol Indians apparently formed by the slow infusion of Mongols from Tibet over the extremely difficult mountain passes. A similar population is to be found in Assam and in many of the tribes inhabiting East Bengal

The Mongol Element

and Orissa; though here the Mongol element probably entered the country by the easier route through Burma rather than by crossing the extremely difficult mountain ranges which run in parallel lines to the east of Assam.

All these infusions of foreign blood, however, excluding the mixed Indo-Mongolian population, form a very small and almost unappreciable element in the

racial composition of the country. The two main component elements are the representatives of a white race, which entered the country from the north-west at a comparatively early period, more than four or five thousand years ago, and a dark race, which may be considered as directly descended from the original population. This race is recognisable by the dark colouring of the hair, eyes, and skin; it is of universal distribution, and is often intensified into the deepest shades of dark brown; a further characteristic point, reminding us of the black negro races of Africa, is the moderate size of the skull and the short, broad nose. The race, however, is differentiated from the negro type by the shorter and more upright stature, and especially by the hair, which, though black, is but moderately crisp, and while often found in curls or waves, is never of a woolly nature. The representative types of this race usually attain a stature which is considerably less than the average height of the Teutonic stock. Races living under very unfavourable conditions, with an insufficiency of nourishment, such as

The Dwarf Tribes of India

many of the dwellers in the mountains and jungles, and the slave castes, are so far below this average stature that they may be considered as dwarf tribes, though it is impossible to make this characteristic a line of demarcation between them and the other dark races of India.

The white races in India are distinguished from the dark especially by their complexion, which in pure-blooded types is no deeper than that of the Europeans about the Mediterranean. Their average stature is considerably higher, while their features are smaller, and their noses, with higher bridges, are more prominent than in the case of the black races.

An examination of the geographical distribution of the different Indian races will begin with what are, comparatively speaking, pure representatives of the fair races of the north-west, immediately adjoining the population of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, which has been more or less modified by infusions of Semitic blood. Such influence is less prominent in Kashmir, in the hill country, and in the Punjab, as far as the upper course of the Ganges; on the other hand, further eastward, in the centre, and especially in the lower course of the Ganges, a deeper complexion may be observed in

many of the subordinate grades of caste and settlement. Further east again, in Assam, the characteristics of the fair race disappear by degrees, and are but moderately pronounced among the higher castes; the chief element of the population is formed by the fusion of the black and yellow races.

Of similar composition are the numerous small mountain tribes of the Himalaya as far as Dardistan. Southward the fusion of black and yellow come to an end about the frontiers of Orissa; at this point the characteristics of the fair race are again strongly marked in the higher Brahman castes. In Central India is found a belt of almost purely dark-complexioned population; further south again, in the Deccan and the plains upon its frontier, the black races are greatly preponderant, though in individual castes varying infusions of white blood may be observed. On the west coast, on the other hand, besides the small colonies of foreigners—Jews and Parsees—closely united bodies of white inhabitants are to be found concentrated among the dark pop-

Purity of Caste and Race

ulation. Individual branches of the Brahman caste—the Konkanath, Nambutiri, and Huga Brahmans—zealously preserve the purity of their caste and race; a warrior caste of the Nair and the caste of the Temple Maidens are distinguished from the surrounding population by their fairer complexions.

Indian languages display the utmost variety. Philology has distinguished three typical forms of language—the isolating, the agglutinative, and the inflectional. These three types are represented in India, and, in general, coincide with the three racial types there represented—the mixed Mongolian and dark-skinned races (Hindu-Chinese), the unmixed dark races (the Dravidians) and the white race (the Aryans). If a straight line be drawn from Goa in a north-westerly direction to the beginning of the Ganges delta, the agglutinative languages will lie chiefly to the south-east of this line, the district of the inflectional languages extending on the north-west into the Ganges delta and the valley of the Brahmaputra, while the isolating languages are found at the edge of the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the mountains of Southern Assam.

The boundary between the Aryan and Dravidian languages is not to be con-

ceived as a sharp line of demarcation; the Dravidian languages are sporadically found within the district of the Aryan tongues. The early disruption of the Dravidian peoples has naturally brought about great differences of grammatical form, and many dialects have borrowed numbers of foreign words from neighbouring languages. These isolated Dravidian tribes invariably live hard lives upon a low plane of civilisation; they include the Khonds, in the mountain districts of Orissa, Ganjam and Cuttack; the Gonds, a tribe which has been broken into several isolated linguistic units, between the Nerbada and Godavari; the Oraon in Chota Nagpur; and finally the most northerly representative of this division, the Mal Paharia, established upon the lower Ganges in the mountains of Rajmahal, whose language, though greatly differing from the other Dravidian tongues, must none the less be included within the Dravidian family. Whether the Brahui, who inhabit the district from the lower Indus to Baluchistan, should be added to the Dravidian family is an unsettled question. Assuming that they are members of this family, the strong differences between their language and that of related tribes may easily be explained as the effect of the different migrations which had passed over their country. Philologically their language resembles in such respects the Dravidian languages of South India.

The Languages of India

The Kolarians, about 3,000,000 in number, in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces, are an ethnological puzzle; they have been broken into isolated communities, and their language, which was undoubtedly widely distributed at an early period, has been broken up and confined by the advance of the Aryan and Dravidian languages. Their language is to be distinguished from the Dravidian tongues—though physically they closely resemble the Dravidian type—by an entirely different vocabulary, and by an embryonic inflectional system. As yet, however, very little is known of them, and further research will no doubt modify the views now held upon their philological position and dialectical division. It has been said, but by no means proved, that they are philologically related to certain tribes of Further India,

A Tribe that Puzzles Scientists

The construction of a scheme to illustrate the distribution of the different religions is by no means facilitated by the fact that sharp distinction between them is often impossible. The simple conception of a divine being, inherited and obstinately retained from the earliest periods of tribal development, is in every

Root Idea in Indian Religions

case the primitive underlying idea, and is manifest even in the most advanced religious systems. While the Hindus assert their faith now in Vishnu, now in Siva, at the same time none are found to deny the existence of demons, upon whom the religious fears and veneration of lower tribes are entirely concentrated; and these powers have also been recognised within the Hindu heaven. Consequently, statistics of the adherents of the various religions are extremely unreliable; their variations as compared with the known populations of different nationalities frequently show the lines of religious demarcation to be extremely vague and unstable. For the lowest of these faiths, the demon worship, the census of 1890 gives a percentage of 2.64 of the whole population of British India, and of 5.20 for the other parts of the country.

The greater proportion of the inhabitants of India (72½ per cent.) are worshippers of one or other of the great divinities of the Hindus. Where this average is not attained we find that Hinduism has had to struggle with Mohammedanism, and also with demon worship, or other special forms of religion. Such cases are shown in this table, giving the percentage of adherents of the two religions.

Province	Hindus	Mohammedans
Punjab ..	37.1	55.7
Kashmir ..	27.2	70.5
Assam ..	54.7	27.0
Bengal ..	63.4	32.8

The whole number of the followers of Mohammed has been estimated at 24,300,000; and of this total 66,000,000—that is, over a quarter (27.1 per cent.), belong to India. This belief is represented in every part of India; the tolerance displayed by the Mohammedans toward the caste system gives them the advantage of being able to maintain commercial relations with every branch of society in the country, though naturally to a larger extent in the older Mohammedan towns.

Consequently, the North-west Provinces and states, where Islam entered the country, are most thickly populated with Mohammedans or Mussulmans. In the south, the numbers of the Mohammedans diminish considerably. The faith is practically unknown to the tribes of the Central Provinces, and a very small percentage is found in Mysore and Haidarabad.

Buddhism, at one time so widespread in India, has now degenerated into Hindu-polytheism in the mountainous countries of the north—the Himalaya and Kashmir valleys; and on the north-east—the frontiers of Tibet and Burma. Few adherents survive of the northern branch of this religion, and in Kashmir alone they scarcely amount to one per cent. of the whole population. The Jam religion, which is related to Buddhism, is better represented in certain provinces, though nowhere has it retained a higher average than five per cent. of the whole population.

Of other religions we may mention that of the Sikhs, which is almost exclusively confined to the Punjab (3,100,000, nearly one per cent. of the whole population). They form a Hindu sect, which has rejected various restrictive principles such as that of caste, and has developed rites peculiar to itself. Other religions which have entered India from abroad are very weakly represented; such are the Parsees, on the west coast of India, with Bombay as their centre, and with 100,000 adherents

that is, 0.03 per cent.; the Jews, early colonists in Bombay and Cochin, together with scattered Jews of various origin throughout India, numbering 17,200 souls (0.006 per cent.), and the Christians with 3,876,000 (0.8 per cent.). Of these last 3,449,600, that is, 89 per cent., are converted natives, while 80,000, that is, 2 per cent., are half-breed Indians, and 168,000, that is, 4.3 per cent., are Europeans. More than half of these Europeans are soldiers with their relatives.

Alien Religions in India

The caste system has exercised so deep an influence, is so characteristic a phenomenon of Indian social life, and is, moreover, an institution of such infinite diversity in its details that its true nature can be understood only in connection with its historical development as a part of the national history.



ANCIENT INDIA

THE ARYAN INVASION AND THE CONQUEST OF THE NATIVE RACES

THE history of India is a drama in three great acts. The first of these is occupied by the struggles of two races for predominance; the second, by the struggles of two religions; and the third, by the conflict for the economic exploitation of the country. In the first period, Aryans are opposed to Dravidians. The result of their struggle is a development of a mixed race of people whose political, social, and religious institutions are to be explained partly as the result of fusion, and partly as due to the predominant influence of one or the other element. The mixed people which was thus developed supported the Hindu religion and theory of existence. The Semitic, Turanian, and Mongol tribes who entered the country from the north-west brought the Mohammedan faith with them; the struggle of these two religions forms the second period. In the third act Europeans appear upon the scene, and the economic struggle for the wealth of the country ends with the total collapse both of Mohammedan and Hindu independence, victory remaining with the side that possessed superior intellectual power, clearer foresight, and greater strength. From the prehistoric

The Great Drama of India

period to the end of the first thousand years after Christ forms the period of native Aryan - Dravidian development, the period of ancient India. For about 700 years the struggle of Hinduism with the foreign religion continued, and forms the "medieval" period; while the "modern" period covers little more than the last 150 years, in which, however, the whole people has undergone far more fundamental changes than any that all previous centuries have brought to pass.

We have first of all to consider the two races whose struggle composed the first

period of Indian history, together with the mutual influence which they exercise upon each other.

The original inhabitants of India have left us neither written nor traditional records of their existence during the prehistoric period. Traces of human agency during this period have, however, been discovered in India. As in Europe, discoveries of stone implements, of lance and arrow heads, of knives, razors, hammers, made of jasper, agate, and chalcedony—flint proper not occurring in India—show that an earlier age of human development preceded the time when metals were employed. Whether this period goes back to the Tertiary Age, as many investigators suppose, is still a doubtful question.

The most ancient tombs contain no examples of metal work: those, however, that are found in sepulchres of later date display high technical skill, and enable us to infer a considerable advance of civilisation in general, such objects being revealed as iron arrow-heads, knives, lamps, tripods, stirrups. In many cases women or men were beheaded at the funeral of a dignitary and buried with him. Rarely has any definite tradition of the person buried in the grave been preserved. The earliest literature, Dravidian and Sanscrit alike, has not a word to say upon the subject of these graves.

On the other hand, the poems of the Aryans, who were making their victorious invasion of India at the dawn of history proper, provide us with much information upon the life of the original inhabitants, who are naturally described from a hostile point of view. They are contemptuously known as "slaves," "low class," "people talking an unintelligible jargon." They

are described as being of black complexion, their figures small and ugly, in spite of their heavy ornaments of gold and precious stones, their noses broad, and their eyes small. They were indeed a complete contrast to the Aryans, who must have been particularly impressed with these points of difference in the enemy, as their

Records of Invading Enemies

own stature was tall and proud. their complexion fair, their noses boldly formed. "With beautiful noses" is the title which they give to the images modelled in their own likeness. The enemy are said to have been driven back into the mountains, whence they made reprisals, attacking the herds and the property of their oppressors as "robbers" without harm to themselves. Magical arts were attributed to them, including the power of drying up the streams and rivers which bring fertility and verdure to the plains. Mysterious also is the power of the gods to whom they prayed; hence these were soon considered as demons, or "Yak-shu," who disturbed the fire of the Aryan sacrifices, and for whom no sacred flame was ever kindled.

This description of the original inhabitants in the old Aryan poems entirely corresponds with the appearance of the mountain and jungle tribes of the present day, and also with that of the lowest castes of the population in modern India. Like their savage ancestors, the tribes of the present day carry on their existence under conditions of the greatest difficulty, and then general civilisation is as low as their environment is rough. In many cases their sole agricultural implement is a stick with the point hardened in the fire, with which they grub up the scanty roots and bulbs of the jungle; at a somewhat higher stage of development, agriculture is carried on by burning down a portion of the forest every year and planting in the fructifying ashes the seeds of the

Primitive Conditions Surviving

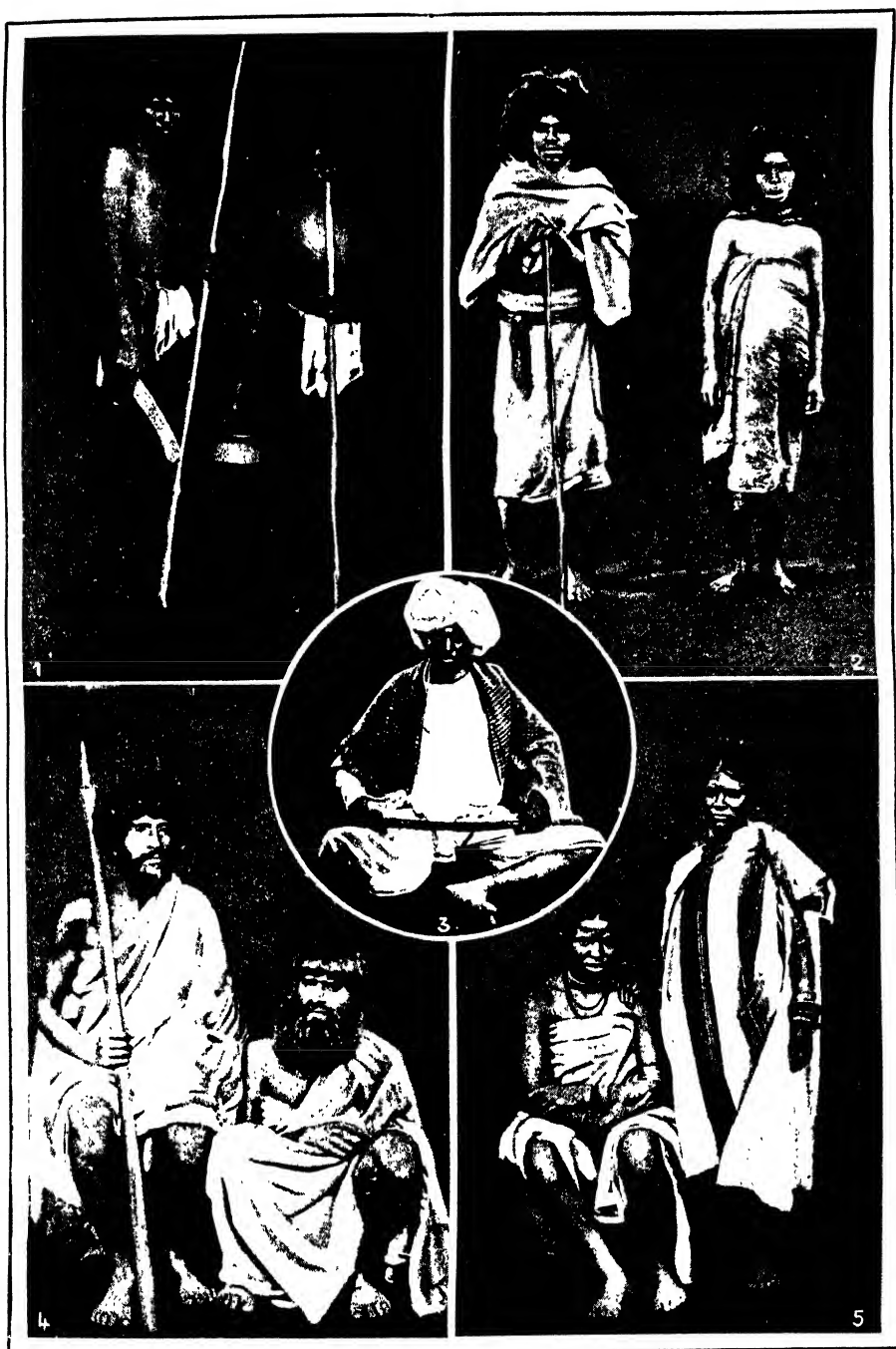
native cereals or tuberos plants, a scanty harvest which ripens rapidly. The tribe then sets out upon its wanderings to choose a new piece of forest for its next harvest. A few goats or sheep and the small pariah dog alone accompany it; from the climbing plants or the bark of the trees nets are woven, the waters of the tanks or pools are poisoned with leaves or fruits, and the tribe thereby obtains a meal of fish. The arrows of the

savage wanderers lay low the forest game which fall into their traps and snares; wild honey provides them with the sweets of their meal. They roast their food at a fire which is kindled by the rotary friction of two sticks; comparatively few of the forest tribes have learned the art of pottery. A roof of leaves or an overhanging rock is their shelter, an apron of grass or leaves or of tree-bark is their clothing, the scantiness of which serves to emphasise the weight of the ornaments with which they load every possible part of their bodies.

Though the poverty of the life of these tribes may arouse our sympathy, yet their character demands our hearty respect. All who have come into contact with them and learned their habits, praise their independent spirit, their fearless bravery, their truth, honour, and fidelity. They are true to their plighted word, true to their wives and to their race. The arrow of an absent chief, given by his wife as a means of recommendation into the hands of an English ambassador, secured for this emissary security and

Family Life Among the Modern Tribes

hospitality among all the members of this wild tribe, even in the remotest districts. Family life has often developed upon other lines than among modern civilised peoples; but however much the form of marriage may have changed, man and wife yet remain true to one another within the limits of that family life which custom has consecrated, and woe to him who would break faith or attempt to seduce another's wife. Both patriarchal and matriarchal organisations occur; that is to say, either the father or the mother may be considered as the centre of the family and tribe. In the latter case, relationships are reckoned through the female line. Under the patriarchal system monogamy prevails, and marriage continues until dissolved by the death of one or other of the parties. A man acquires his wife by purchase or capture, though the latter is only conventional in form. Only in rare cases does the man take a second or several wives. In many cases it certainly happens that upon the completion of a marriage the husband's brothers become *ipso facto* husbands of his wife - as in Kurg among the Todas and the Kurumbas. To be distinguished from this kind of polyandry, where the



THE LIVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF INDIA

The types of natives seen in this page are living representatives of the earliest known indigenous peoples of the country, over whom the incoming Aryans prevailed. 1. Kurumbars, or hill people of the Nilgherries. 2. Forest people, or Yenadies. 3. Bedur, or Veda, of Southern India. 4 and 5. Toda men and women, hill people of the Nilgherries.

man always remains head of the family, is the primeval custom, still prevalent among certain castes on the Malabar coast, which allows the wife to choose her own husband, to dismiss him at pleasure, and to take another without thereby incurring any stigma. Marriages which can thus be dissolved are entirely

Recognition of Maternal Descent

legitimate, as also are the children of them. The man, however, remains a stranger to the wife's family, and the children reckon their descent from the mother. Consequently, in these cases descent is reckoned through the female line, whereas in the patriarchal system descent in the male line is the fundamental principle of those larger social organisms, the hordes, consisting of several families, which again may develop into a tribe at a later period. In the latter case, the head of a tribe is sometimes a hereditary chieftain, and at other times is chosen by the heads of families. He is the representative of the tribe and directs its general policy. The tribe forms an exceedingly close corporation in its dealings with the outer world; attacks made by strangers often lead to blood feuds, and peaceful intercourse and barter of goods is conducted, as among the Vedda in Ceylon, by the so-called silent trade.

The mountain and jungle tribes are obliged to carry on a hard struggle for existence. The climate alternates between seasons of burning heat and terrible rain storms, and a tribe driven into the jungle or on to the thirsty plains of the steppes obtains but scanty nourishment; often enough, even those tribes which enjoy more favourable conditions of life are hard pressed by the extremities of famine. In the jungle the tiger and the poisonous snake lie in wait for them; their scanty crops are destroyed by wild animals, elephants, pigs, and porcupines;

Hardships of Jungle Tribes

leprosy, malaria, cholera, and other diseases make their way to the remotest settlements, and Death plies his scythe with ruthless power. Encompassed as he is by hostile powers, how could the savage conceive of the supreme Beings which guide human destinies as being friendly to man? Evil demons pursue him from his birth to his grave, thirsting for his blood. Everywhere they lie in wait for him, in earth, in water, and in air;

in the rocks, in the darkness of the forests, upon the dry steppes; at night they rush through the darkness to destroy whomsoever they may meet. They thirst for blood and can therefore be temporarily appeased by bloody sacrifices of fowls, goats, or even of men; their anger can also be averted by those magic arts which the Shaman priests employ against them in their frenzied dances. Can we be surprised that such men were considered as demons, as Yakshu, as Rakshasa, by the Aryans, whose bright and heavenly gods were their stay and counsel?

The most ancient Aryan poems do not, however, display to us these miserable savages as the only opponents of the invaders: we gain information upon other tribes in higher stages of civilisation. Together with the unsettled and nomadic Kikata settled tribes also existed, the Nishada, who lived under a regular social organisation, and were even envied and hated by the Aryans for their wealth. The gods, and especially Indra the destroyer of cities, Purandara, are constantly praised for overthrowing hundreds of cities of

War Gods of Indian Peoples

the Black Dasyu; these latter indeed are said to have possessed not only fortifications to protect them against the enemy, but also "winter retreats," autumn rain and cloud castles on their mountains, where they might take refuge from inundations in the plains or from dangerous miasmas. The tribes of the Naga, who worshipped snakes, were to be destroyed on account of their wealth and valuable possessions. Their capital, in which their prince, Wasuki, rules, is said to abound in treasures and fair women; the prince possesses a talisman which can even bring the dead to life. "The treasure chambers in the rocky ground are full of cattle, horses, and good things; the warders, the Pani, are faithful watchmen."

At the same time, these tribes are represented as cunning traders, ever ready to take advantage, and bringing to the Aryans for barter the products of Nature's bounty or of their own skill in handicrafts. The trade indeed is welcome, but hateful are the traders, the "hateful misers," the men "without faith, without honour, without victims," and Indra is called upon to stamp down the greedy merchants with his feet. Upon the further advance of the Aryans we learn that there were important native kingdoms in the country

ANCIENT INDIA—THE ARYAN INVASION

and that the conquerors entered into friendly relations with these. When the conquerors made their way into the central district between the Jumna and the Ganges, they appointed the King of Nishadi, a vassal of the kingdom of Ayodhya, to guard the sacred district of the confluence of these two streams; at a later date Aryan Brahman missionaries came upon the flourishing Pandya kingdom in the south of the peninsula.

The old Aryan songs and myths provide no further information upon the civilisation of the more advanced native tribes; the language, however, of the dark races who belong to the Dravidian family enables us to draw many further conclusions as to the civilisation to which they had attained.

This language is certainly modified by Aryan elements (Sanskrit), but the non-Aryan portion of its vocabulary provides an accurate picture of the pre-Aryan civilisation of those races. According to Bishop R. Caldwell, who lived among the black population and devoted more than a generation to the study of their language,

**Historical
Evidence of
Languages**

the original vocabulary of the Dravidian races enables us to conclude that before they came into contact with the Aryans they possessed kings who lived in permanent dwellings and ruled over small districts. They had bards who sang songs at their feasts, and it also appears that they were in possession of an alphabet, and that they were accustomed to write upon palm leaves with a stylus. A bundle of these leaves formed a book.

There were no idols, no hereditary priesthood, and the primitive Dravidians appear to have been entirely unacquainted with the ideas of Heaven or Hell, of sin, or of the soul; they believed, however, in the existence of gods, which they named *ko* (king), an absolutely non-Aryan word. Temples were erected in their honour, known as *ko-il* (house of god): no conclusions as to the nature of their divine service can be drawn from their language. The Dravidians of that period possessed laws, but no judges; doubtful cases were decided by precedent. Marriage was a permanent institution among them. The most important metals were known to them with the exception of tin, lead, and zinc, as also were the greater planets, with the exception of Mercury and Saturn. They could count up to a hundred, and in

some cases to a thousand; higher numbers such as the Aryan lakh (100,000) or crore (10,000,000) were unknown to them.

Medicine was practised among them, though medical science or doctors were unknown. Hamlets and villages existed, but no large towns. Boats, great and small, and even decked ships able to keep the sea, were employed; these, however, did not cross the ocean, consequently, foreign countries, with the exception of Ceylon, were unknown to them, and their language appears not to recognise the difference between continent and island. Agriculture was a professional occupation, while war was their chief delight, their arms being bows and arrows, swords and shields. Manufactures were highly developed, especially the arts of spinning, weaving, and dyeing; and their pottery had been highly perfected, as is indeed plain from the examples found in the graves. Little was known of the higher arts and sciences; no word exists to signify sculpture or architecture, astronomy or astrology, philosophy or grammar. Indeed, their vocabulary is singularly lacking in words which imply intellectual pursuits; then only word for spirit is "diaphragm" or "the inside"; there certainly exists a Dravidian word for "think," but no special words for thought, judgment, consciousness, or will.

As against this last sentence, however, we must not forget that the overpowering influence of the Brahmins and their highly developed terminology for abstract mental operations may very well have superseded many native expressions. Comparative philology does not provide wholly conclusive results, even in religious matters; and a comparison of those elements common to the early Vedda and to all Dravidian races, even to those at a high stage of civilisation, plainly shows that the fundamental beliefs and religious

conceptions of the jungle tribes were not confined to those we have mentioned, but were the common property of Dravidian religious thought and practice from the very outset. Whatever view may be taken of the pre-historic period in India, the fact remains that the dark-complexioned inhabitants of the country, of whom the Dravidians were by far the strongest element, formed the original population of India.

In the year 1833, Franz Bopp, observing the close connection of Sanscrit, the language of the Brahmans, with most of the ancient and modern languages of Europe, was able to establish the affinity of these languages beyond all dispute. He pointed out that Sanscrit was closely related not only to the old Persian (Zend), but also

Relationship in Tongue and Blood

to almost all the other languages of Europe, the only exceptions being the Basque and certain isolated groups of Ural-Altaic languages in the north and east of Europe. How was this similarity to be explained? Peoples thus connected by the tie of language might easily be conceived as connected by the tie of blood—that is, as descended from a common ancestral tribe. The Grimms and others lent their support to the theory that this primitive people had lived in Asia, a supposition which became almost an article of faith. The ancestral tribe there settled was said to have been gradually broken up, the component parts migrating in different directions, for the most part westward, even as the solar system is conceived to have been formed by the separation of the planets and their satellites from the primal nebula. At a later period the influence of the Darwinian theory made the genealogical table illustrating these descents somewhat more complex. The idea, however, that Asia has been the common cradle of these Indo-Germanic or Aryan families of peoples continued to maintain its ground. In more recent times philological and anthropological evidence has led investigators to place the common origin of all these peoples in one or another part of Europe, but there is no real consensus of judgment on the point.

We may, indeed, doubt the intrinsic probability of the fact that any single district of the enormous steppe country extending from Central Asia to the North Sea could have been the cradle of so large a family of peoples. Natural boundaries are unknown upon the steppes, and the peoples inhabiting them spread outward without let or hindrance. The nomads inhabiting those districts prefer to follow the natural changes of season, climate, and consequently of vegetation, wandering abroad at their will and pleasure. The language of the Yakuts in the north-east of Siberia

is closely connected with that of the Ottomans in the extreme south-west of that great continent.

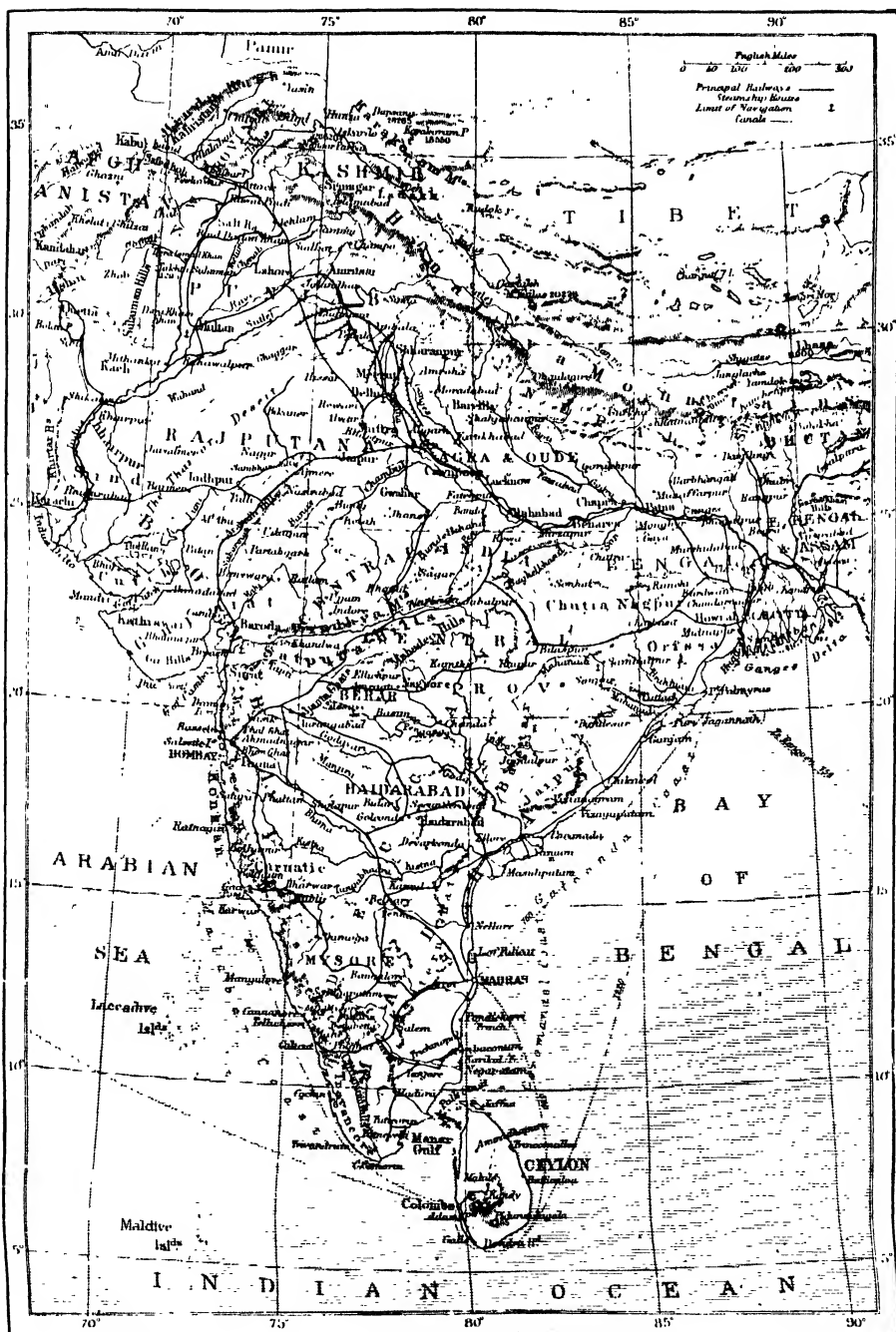
It is waste of time to inquire at what point the first immigrants entered the steppe district. It is highly probable that as soon as a tribe had secured a footing there, it did not confine its movements to a small district, but, finding no barriers to oppose its passage, rapidly extended its settlements over a wide area uniform in development, though sporadic in distribution. Not until then did isolation of position, difference of environment, and foreign influence, begin to produce divergences in physical characteristics, language and customs. Thus in different provinces similar peoples, occupying widely distributed settlements, developed into individual tribes more or less strongly differentiated. In 1872 Johannes Schmidt conceived the development of the Indo-Germanic languages in the following manner: "I should like to replace the genealogical tree by a diagram of waves expanding in concentric circles at a distance from a central point, the rings

How Languages Spread from one Centre

becoming weaker in proportion to the distance to which they spread from the central point." With some such theory the facts as known to us most nearly coincide, in so far as the peoples and the languages in close local connection show stronger mutual affinity than those at a remoter distance.

The westerly development of the wave circles after radiation from the central point does not concern us here, and we need follow only the history of the most eastern, or Indo-Iranian group. Our investigation into the date, locality, and the mode of life of this original circle depends upon information derived from comparative philology, and from the traditions and the earliest literature of the peoples which have proceeded from this centre. Such an investigation will show that the two peoples of the Iranians and Indians, between whom all outward connection has now disappeared, broke away from their common centre only a few thousand years before the outset of historical chronology. The comparatively late date of this separation is proved not only by the close similarity of the old Iranian language (Zend) to the language of the earliest Indian hymns, but also by the wide similarities existing in manners and

Where is the Cradle of the Indian Races?



MAP OF INDIA

customs, especially those concerned with religion, language, mythology, and worship. Both peoples are called by the same proud name of Aryans, the noble, or the lofty; in both peoples the arrival of the youth at man's estate was marked by the custom of girding him with a string. Both religions contain the same names for

Lessons from Manners and Customs

the deities worshipped—Mitra, Indra, Siva, Yama, Asura. However, the deep gulf dividing the two peoples is apparent in the different manner in which these beliefs have developed; the gods worshipped by the Indian branch as the chief deities have sunk to low estate and lost their sanctity among the Iranians; the bright, shining, glorious, all-helping Indra of the old Indian faith and the great god Siva became in the Persian pantheon evil-minded gods or hostile demons, as does Asura in India. The figures of the gods have remained unchanged, and only the faces have been altered, while to the highest deities the same sacrificial drink, the soma, is still offered.

The traditions and the language of the two peoples point to a former common settlement in the north, and there is good reason for accepting the generally received theory which considers their early home as situated in the land watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The civilisation of this early settlement can be inferred in its general features from the vocabulary in use by its descendants. As might be expected in a country of steppes, the chief food supply depended upon cattle breeding. The wealth of the population consisted in herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in the keeping of these flocks the dog was the faithful companion of man. The horse was also bred, but only for traction, not for riding purposes. War chariots drawn by horses played an important part in the struggles of the Aryans upon their immigration to India. The possession of

Wealth in Flocks and Herds

waggon enables us to conclude that the Indo-Iranians were not exclusively a shepherd people. The fact that they were able to build houses of wood, and that their animals were driven into permanent courtyards, justifies the conclusion that they were to some extent a settled race. The cultivation of cereal plants, barley, wheat, and millet was common throughout the Indo-Germanic family in primitive times. Most probably,

when the Aryans entered the fertile district of the Five Rivers they had already acquired the knowledge and practice of regular irrigation from experience on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes. Cattle breeding provided their chief sustenance of milk and flesh, as also their clothing of wool and skins. Of metals, copper and bronze were known, while iron is rarely mentioned. Horn was used more often than bronze for the arrowheads, which the Aryans smeared with poison. Besides the bow and arrow their offensive weapons included the club, the axe, the sword, and the spear.

There must have been a considerable amount of peaceful intercourse. Straight roads existed traversed by waggon drawn by horses, while rafts and rowing boats passed over the rivers; commerce by barter was established, and hospitality readily granted to the stranger who came in peace. Generally speaking, the morality of the Indo-Iranians reached a high pitch of perfection. Family life was pure; the relations of the members of the race among themselves were regulated by estab-

Conditions of Primitive Morality

lished custom, which insisted upon truthfulness and good faith; in their dealings with foes the race were high-spirited, bold, and warlike. The father was the head of the family, but the wife also was highly respected and honoured. At the head of the tribe or community, the chief was placed not only to conduct the temporal affairs of his tribe, but also to represent the tribe before the powers of heaven. There was no special priestly class, but the whole people was inspired with a profound religious feeling.

We have no knowledge of those causes which induced the Indian Aryans to migrate from their original settlements. Increase of the population above the number that the land could permanently support; the hostile attacks of other steppe tribes, either of remote Indo-Germanic peoples from the west or of nomadic Mongolian tribes from the east and north; those internal dissensions which ultimately led to the definite separation of the Iranian and Indian branches; possibly also the reports of the fabulous fertility of a great land on the south—any or all of these causes may have led to a great national movement. For this, of course, no accurate date can be given; modern experts are inclined to

ANCIENT INDIA—THE ARYAN INVASION

place it about the middle of the third millennium B.C., or considerably earlier.

The route followed by the migrating people led southward. Here, indeed, they were confronted by a high mountain wall—the Hindu-Kush and the Pamirs; but these districts could easily be traversed by a hardy, mountain-bred shepherd people, who would be able to drive their flocks over these chains and to reach the plains beyond, the fertility of which must have seemed an attractive paradise to a people of the steppes, hard pressed by the stern necessities of existence.

It is by no means improbable that the Indian Aryans may have entered the country both by the Pamirs and the Hindu-Kush. At a point further eastward they could without difficulty have crossed by Chitral or Gilgit to the Indus and the lovely district of Kashmir, as well as to the upper Punjab. The western road over the Hindu-Kush led them into the Kabul district of Northern Afghanistan. Here the earliest of their extant sacred hymns seem to have been composed; here also the last links between the Iranian and Indian

Gateways of Early Immigration branches of the Aryans may have been severed. From the frontiers of the Afghan highland the spectator could behold the fruitful plains of the Five River Land, and an advance to the plains through the natural passes of the mountain wall was easy. It was, no doubt, by this route that the main branch of the race reached its new home; not, however, in one great column, but in detachments, tribe following tribe at long intervals. Powerful was the impression made upon those who crossed the mountain range reaching to the heavens, and long did the recollection of those snow-clad peaks remain among the people; they alone were considered worthy to support the throne of the gods on high. Magnificent also were the results of the migration when the Aryans arrived in the Punjab, that district watered, with what was to them an inconceivable abundance, by streams swollen with rain and melting snow—a guarantee of inexhaustible fertility. The poets sang the praises of these rivers with high enthusiasm.

Not without a struggle did this fair land fall into the hands of the immigrants; the dark-skinned inhabitants whom they found in possession did not tamely surrender. The Vedas, the Sagas of that

period, ring with the din of battle and the cry of victory; the great gods of the Aryan heaven are called upon to strike down the wicked Dasyu, and are praised with cheerful thanks for overthrowing hundreds of the cities of the despised and miserable slaves, the Dasa. Serious friction occasionally occurred between different

Hymns of Historical Import tribes of the same race when newcomers demanded their share of the conquered territory. The Aryan masses pressed successively further eastward. We can trace their advance from their resting-place on the heights of the Afghan frontier to the Jumna, the most western of the Ganges streams, across Five River Land. This river is often named in the later Vedas, but the Ganges not more than once or twice. Such an upheaval of the different tribes, and so great a rivalry for the possession of the fertile soil, must necessarily have led to collisions. Many tribes and their kings are mentioned by name, especially the federation of the "Five Peoples" in the north of the Punjab, the Yalu and Turvasa, the Druhyu and Anu, together with the Puru, who were situated farthest inland on the banks of the main stream, and headed the confederacy, which originally included the two first-named tribes, and afterwards the third and fourth. Beyond the boundaries of these five confederate peoples who inhabited Arya Varta, or Aryan land proper, the Tritsu, a branch of the powerful ambitious warrior tribe of the Bharata, advanced eastward, and bloody conflicts arose between them and the western peoples of the Punjab. The allied tribes were driven back, were confined henceforward to Five River Land, and gradually lost their common interests and the consciousness of their kinship with those of the Aryans who extended further eastward. Most of them disappear from our view; only the Puru (King Porus) held

out for a long time on the Indus. In the general civilisation of those Aryans who migrated into the land of the Five Rivers, that progress may everywhere be observed which is connected with a higher development of agriculture and results in greater prosperity, greater security, and greater expansion in other directions. The Aryans now no longer lived a nomadic life on the boundary steppes, but were settled in permanent

Echoes from Remote Battlefields

tribes of the same race when newcomers demanded their share of the conquered territory. The Aryan masses pressed successively further eastward. We can trace their advance from their resting-place on the heights of the Afghan frontier to the Jumna, the most western of the Ganges streams, across Five River Land. This river is often named in the later Vedas, but the Ganges not more than once or twice. Such an upheaval of the different tribes, and so great a rivalry for the possession of the fertile soil, must necessarily have led to collisions. Many tribes and their kings are mentioned by name, especially the federation of the "Five Peoples" in the north of the Punjab, the Yalu and Turvasa, the Druhyu and Anu, together with the Puru, who were situated farthest inland on the banks of the main stream, and headed the confederacy, which originally included the two first-named tribes, and afterwards the third and fourth. Beyond the boundaries of these five confederate peoples who inhabited Arya Varta, or Aryan land proper, the Tritsu, a branch of the powerful ambitious warrior tribe of the Bharata, advanced eastward, and bloody conflicts arose between them and the western peoples of the Punjab. The allied tribes were driven back, were confined henceforward to Five River Land, and gradually lost their common interests and the consciousness of their kinship with those of the Aryans who extended further eastward. Most of them disappear from our view; only the Puru (King Porus) held

habitations upon arable territory, with well-defined boundaries.

Cattle breeding continued to be vigorously pursued; the ox was the unit of value, not only for the purposes of trade, but also for estimating the rank of individuals. The title of a tribal chief was even then "Possessor of Cows," and

**Settlement
Supersedes
Nomadism**

battle is still called "desire for cows." Milk, either fresh or in the form of butter-milk, cream, butter, and curds, was

still the staple article of food; the flesh of domestic animals was rarely eaten; and hunting was carried on chiefly as a sport, or for protection against wild beasts; while fish as an article of food was still despised. A flesh diet was replaced by the use of corn, chiefly of barley, to a less extent of wheat, while rice is not yet mentioned. The plough and sickle were more important implements than of yore. Corn was threshed, pounded in the hand mill by the women, and made into bread, cakes, or porridge.

The house was now a permanent habitation, and built on a new and stronger plan. A roof of vegetable fibres, tree bark, or straw kept out the rain; in the centre of the main room blazed the hearth, round which seats were arranged — probably of earth, as at present; these were covered with animal skins and served as sleeping-places. Earthenware pots, brazen caldrons, and hand mulls for the corn were the most important kitchen utensils. Close to the house stood the fenced yard where the herds were penned, and in which the threshing-floor was laid out. The house was the special care of the woman. Here she cooked food for the whole family, spun the wool for thread, and wove artistic fabrics; here she made beautifully adorned cloaks of the skins of the animals killed; here under her care grew up the daughters and small boys. The man's business lay outside in the

**Conditions
of Life and
Industry**

field, on the pasture and the corn land, at hunting or in war. It was his part to ply the handicrafts which were now increasing in number and rising to a higher level of skill; the waggon builder made strong vehicles; the smith blew up his fire with a fan made of birds' feathers, and wrought not only bronze, but also the iron which the original inhabitants probably brought to him in its raw condition, after smelting it out of

the ore (the native Indian form of pocket bellows does not seem to have been in use among the Aryans); the goldsmith produced bright decorations, artistic plates, bracelets, and rings to be worn in the ears, round the neck, and upon the wrists and ankles of the women.

The relations of man and wife were regulated by sound moral principles. To bring forth sons, worthy members of a tribe and an honour to the parents, was the highest ambition and the greatest pride of the father and mother. Respected, and on an equality with her husband, the woman was mistress of the house, though the man as being the stronger was the natural head, protector, and leader of the family. The man wooed the maiden on whom his choice had fallen through friends and relations: if his suit was approved by the girl's parents, the marriage took place before the hearth of the house in which the maiden had lived hitherto under the protection of her parents. The bridegroom took the girl's hand and led her three times round the hearth: the newly-married pair were then conveyed to their

**Early
Marriage
Customs**

new home in a chariot drawn by white steers, the former ceremony was repeated, and a meal in common concluded the festival. Polygamy was exceedingly rare, while polyandry was utterly unknown to the ancient Aryans. If a death took place in a house, the body was buried or burnt — interment in both forms is mentioned in the early Vedas — widows never followed their dead husbands to death, either voluntarily or as a matter of social custom.

The houses stood in groups, forming separate hamlets or villages. Some of these places were fortified against hostile attacks by walls of earth or stone (place names ending in *pur* meaning "fortified"). Men and animals were often obliged to flee into fortified settlements, which were usually uninhabited, before the outbreak of floods or hostile incursions. A group of villages formed a larger community, while several of these latter became a district. The district belonging to one tribe formed a corporate whole, each of these groups having its own special chief, while at the head of the whole stood the king (Rajan, the "reigning."). The title was hereditary, or the king might be elected, but in either case a new king must be recognised in the general assembly of all men capable of

ANCIENT INDIA—THE ARYAN INVASION

bearing arms. In the samiti were discussed all those matters which affected the whole tribe, especially questions of war and peace. The inhabitants of the district or the village met together in special halls, which served not only for purposes of discussion and judgment, but also for conversation, and for social amusements, such as dice playing. As the race was thus organised for the purposes of peace, so also the army, composed of all men capable of bearing arms, was made up of divisions corresponding to the family, village, and district group, each under its own leader. Famous warriors fought in their own war chariots harnessed with two horses and driven by a charioteer, while the main body of the people fought on foot.

The king was the leader in war ; he was also the representative of his people before the gods ; in the name of the people he asked for help or offered praise and sacrifice. He was allowed in certain cases to be represented by a Purohita, who conducted the sacrifice, while anyone who possessed high poetical gifts and a dignified appearance might permanently occupy

The Rise of the Kingship

this position. Other nobles, princes of districts, etc., might appoint Purohitas, whose influence was increased in proportion as formal prayer took the place of extempore petitions, and worship became stereotyped by the growth of special uses and a fixed ceremonial. Here we have in embryo the separate classes of king and priesthood, an opposition which was to exercise the most far-reaching influence upon the further development of the Aryan people.

The Aryan people brought from their primal home one precious possession—a deep, religious feeling, a thankful reverence for the high powers presiding over Nature, who afforded them a secure and peaceful existence by assuring the continued welfare of the flocks and of the crops planted by man. The good and kindly gods were those who sent to man the fertilising rain and sunshine, bringing growth and produce, and to them, as to high and kindly friends, man offered his faithful prayers and pious vows. To them he prayed that his flocks might thrive, and that he might be victorious in battle, that he might be given sons and have long life ; they, the bright, the all-knowing, and the pure, were the protectors of morality and the wardens of the house, of the district,

and of the whole tribe. Certain gods belonging to primeval times appeared in the Pantheon of the Aryans who conquered the Five River district, bright figures worshipped in common by the Iranians and the Indian Aryans. But among these latter they grow pale and lose their firm outlines, like the misty figures of dim remembrance ;

Pantheon of the Aryans they become many-sided, secret, uncanny, diabolical, and other gods of more definite character come into promi-

nence. Three gods are of special importance — Indra, Surya, and Agni. Together they form the early Indian Trinity (Trimurti). In the hymns which have come down to us, Indra is most frequently mentioned ; he was the atmospherical god, especially favourable to the Aryans, who gave the rain and the harvest, and governed the winter and the thunderstorm. We can easily understand how the god of the atmosphere became the chief Aryan divinity ; as the Aryans learnt upon Indian soil to observe the regular recurrence of atmospherical phenomena, especially that of the monsoon winds and the thunderstorms upon which their prosperity depended, the deeper and stronger became their gratitude and reverence to this god. It is Indra who sends down the water of the heaven, who divides the clouds with the lightning flash before which blow the roaring winds, the Maruts, especially the fierce Rudra, the hurricane, which rushes immediately before the thunder clouds.

The second of the three chief gods is Surya, the bright sun god, giving light, warmth, and life, an object of high veneration. Ushas, the morning dawn, opens for him the doors through which he passes to traverse the heavens in his chariot with its seven red horses. After these two gods the third of importance is Agni, the fire born from sticks when rubbed together ; this god lights and warms the hearth of the house, drives away all things evil and impure, and watches over the morality of the household. As the sacrificial flame upon the altars, he is the means of communication between mankind and the other gods ; in his destructive character he devastates the settlements of the enemy and the hiding-places of their demons in the depths of the forest.

The worship of these gods is characterised by a feeling of lofty independence. Not only does man receive gifts from them, but

he also gives them what they need. They, indeed, prepare for themselves the draught of immortality, the Amrita; but they

Minor Gods of Aryan Mythology

hunger for sacrifices and cannot do without them. Especially do the gods love the honey-sweet draught of Soma drink. Almost presumptuous appears to us the prayer in which Indra is invited to partake of the Soma offering:

"Ready is the summer draught, O Indra, for thee; may it fill thee with strength! drink the excellent draught which cheers the soul and conveys immortality! hither, O Indra, to drink with joy of the juice which has been pressed for thee, intoxicate thyself, O hero, for the slaughter of thy foes! sit thou upon my seat! here, O good one, is juice expressed; drink thyself full, for to thee, dread lord, do we make offering."

Though Indra is here invited in person, yet the personifications of early Indian mythology were much less definite than those of the Greeks. Imagination and expression vary between the terms of human existence and the abstract conceptions of the natural powers of fire, thunder, sunshine, etc. Consequently the god as such is somewhat vague and intangible in the mythology of the old Aryans of India; the characteristics of one deity are confused with those of another, and the different attributes of

any one god often reappear as separate personifications.

A large number of the hymns to the gods have been preserved to us (1,017 in all); these form the earliest body of evidence upon Indian life, thought, and feeling. The earliest of these songs were undoubtedly sung by the Aryans upon their migrations. At first the unpremeditated outpourings of a pious heart, they gradually became formal prayers; thus these hymns were preserved in families of bards and faithfully handed down from generation to generation until at a much later period they were reduced to writing. In many of the Vedas belonging to the earliest period we find a deep longing for truth, a struggle for the solution of the deepest mysteries of existence—in short, a speculative spirit of that nature which marks a later stage of Brahman development; other songs, however, are pure and simple prayers for victory, children, and long life, while others, again, contain promises of sacrifice

How Aryan Hymns have been Preserved

and praise if the help of the gods should be granted. The general collection of all these hymns was made at a considerably later period, subsequently to the occupation of the Ganges territory, and not before the seventh century before our era.



SCENE IN THE PUNJAB, OR "LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS"

The Punjab was the first part of India to come under Aryan civilisation, and the Sutlej, one of the five rivers, is seen in the middle distance of the picture, which also shows the "Persian wheel," used for irrigating fields, being turned by a couple of bullocks, the driver seated at the end of a beam supported over a horizontal wheel.



THE ARYAN EXPANSION AND THE GROWTH OF BRAHMANISM BRAHMANISM IN THE NORTH

THE most important events at the conclusion of the Vedic age took place on the frontier line between the Indus and the Ganges. Here was developed the opposition between the warrior and priestly classes which was afterwards to lead to important results. At the head of the allied tribes in the Punjab stands the proud King Visivamitra, who combines the functions of king and priest in his own person and invokes the help of the gods for his people. Among his adversaries, however, the King Sudas no longer commits the duties of prayer and sacrifice to his own priests, but to a special class, the white-clothed, long-haired priests of the Vasishtha family, and their prayers are more effectual than those of the priest-king. This event is typical of the second stage of early Indian development, which ends in the complete victory of the priests over the warrior class and the establishment of a rigid hierarchy. The date of this social change coincides with that of the expansion and establishment of the Aryans in the Ganges territory.

The Rise of the Hierarchy

The sacred books are of less value for the external history of this period than are the songs of the Rig-Veda for the preceding age; nevertheless, many of them, such as the Brahmanas, contain important evidence concerning individual tribes, their settlements and history. A large body of historical evidence is, however, contained in the second great epic poems of this period, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; the riotous imagination of the composers has given a strong poetical colouring to the whole, and the lack of definite purpose which is apparent in their construction makes careful and minute criticism imperative.

The Mahabharata in its present state is the longest poem of any people or age.

It contains 110,000 double lines, and each one of its eighteen books is enough to fill a large volume. The historical basis of the great poem of the Bharata rests upon early tradition. The enthusiasm inspired by heroic deeds found its vent in poetical composition, and the praise of heroes was passed from mouth to mouth. This epic poem in embryo may be earlier than the first thousand years B.C.; but when that period of turmoil and confusion was followed by an age of more peaceful development, the memories of these exploits grew fainter in the minds of successive generations. The old songs and ballads were collected and worked into one great epos; many of the events and figures are the additions of later poets, such as the story of the Five Pandu brothers, while the whole poem is marked by the brilliant overflow of a luxuriant imagination and by ruthless compression of the historical facts; the histories of nations become the victories or defeats of individual heroes; long years of struggle with warlike tribes are reduced to one lengthy battle. To this quasi-historical part of the Mahabharata were added at a later time a series of lays more extensive than the original poem and written from the Brahman point of view. If the non-epic elements be removed from the poem the following story remains.

At the point where the two streams of the Jumna and the Ganges leave the mountains and flow through the plains, the powerful Bharata tribe of the Kuru had established themselves upon their eastern and western banks; even to-day the district on the right bank of the Jumna is known as the Kuru-kshetra, the sacred Kuru land. This royal tribe divided into two branches. Of the two sons of King Santanu, the elder, Dhritarashtra,

was born blind, and the royal power was therefore conferred upon his younger brother Pandu. To the latter five sons were born, and to the former a hundred; and the struggles of these two groups of cousins formed the substratum of the epic.

All these brothers were admirably instructed in knightly pursuits by the

When use of the bow and club, of
Knighthood the battleaxe and the throw-
was in Flower ing spear, of the sword and

dagger, in the chase of the horse and elephant, in conflicts from chariots or on foot, man to man or in combination."

In the elder line, Duryodhana, the eldest of the one hundred brothers, was especially distinguished for his skill in the use of the club; Bhima, the second son of Pandu, was famous for his superhuman strength. The third son of Pandu, the beautiful long-haired Arjuna, excelled with all arms, but especially in the use of the bow and arrow. In one of the tournaments which concluded the education of the princes he outstripped all competitors; after a contest with many other princes, he won the hand of the beautiful Krishna, the daughter of Drupad, King of Panchala. By his victory she also became the wife of the other four brothers, a polyandric marriage which is represented by the Brahman poet as the result of a misunderstanding with the mother of the Pandu brothers.

Duryodhana, who had meanwhile been crowned king, dreading the military power of his cousins and of the Panchala, with whom they had allied themselves by marriage, divided his kingdom with the eldest of the Pandu brothers, Prince Yudhishtira. At the moment of his coronation Yudhishtira played a game of dice with the enemies of his house, the Kaurawas, at which he lost not only his crown, but also the freedom of himself and his brothers, and the wife whom they

Gambling possessed in common. But by
for a the decision of the blind old
Kingdom prince Dhritarashtra, the forfeit

was commuted for a banishment of thirteen years. The Pandu brothers, with their wife, spent this period in solitude, need and misery in the forests, and then demanded their share of the kingdom. To this proposition the Kaurawas declined to agree, and both parties secured the support of numerous powerful allies. The Kaurawas were joined by Karna

(another Siegfried or Achilles), who distinguished himself in these battles by his splendid bravery and military prowess: the Pandawas enjoyed the advantage of the cunning advice of the Yadawa prince, Krishna, who placed his services as charioteer at the disposal of Arjuna. A fearful battle ensued of eighteen days' duration, in which, after marvellous deeds of heroism, all the warriors were slain with the exception of the five Pandu brothers. From this time onward the whole of the kingdom was in their power, and Yudhishtira ruled for a long period after the manner of an ideal Brahman prince. Thereafter they retired from all earthly splendour and became ascetics with no temporal needs, wandering from one holy shrine to another, until at length they entered the heaven of the gods opposite the holy Mountain of Meru.

However large an element of the Mahabharata may be purely poetical, none the less the poem enables us to localise with some accuracy a number of the tribes which were actively or passively involved in the struggle of the two royal houses, and the overthrow of the warrior

Historical class to which that struggle led.
Facts in the Of the warrior class the chief
Great Epic representatives are the Kuru,

who are represented as settled on the upper course of the Jumna and Ganges, Hastinapura being their capital town; they were also in occupation of the sacred Kuru land to the west of the Jumna as far as the point where the Saraswati disappears in the sands of the desert. The poem places the Pandu and their capital of Indraprastha—the modern Delhi on the Jumna—in the central *Doab* (*i.e.*, the land lying between two converging rivers, above their confluence), the central district between the Jumna and the Ganges. In the lower Doab is settled a federation of five tribes, the Panchala. Opposite these on the western bank of the Jumna dwell the Surasena, while to the east beyond the Ganges are the Kosala, with the capital town of Gogra, who extended their power after the destruction of the Kuru and Pandu, their later capital of Ayodhya becoming a focus of Brahman civilisation. Below the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the sacred Prayaga, where at an earlier period Allahabad had become a centre for pilgrimages, the northern bank of the main stream was occupied by the Bharata

ANCIENT INDIA—THE ARYAN EXPANSION

tribe of the Matsya, while to the south-east of these, in the district of the modern Benares, lived the Kasi; on the southern bank the native tribe of the Nishada formed a defence against the Aryan tribes in the north. East and north of the Ganges, together with the Kosala, were also settled the mountain tribes of the Kirata, who were in alliance with the Kuru, while further to the south were the Pundra Banga and Anga, the Mithila, the Wideha and Magadha.

The action of the great epic poem is laid within the district of these various tribes. Several centuries must have elapsed since the battle of King Sudas, during which the Aryans had formed states in the fruitful central district, the Madhyadesa, and had extended to that tributary of the Ganges now known as the Garuti. In the earlier period of Indian antiquity, the chief historical events take place in the country between the Ganges and its great western tributary the Jumna; whereas at a later period pure Brahman civilisation is developed in the kingdoms formed further to the east—namely, north of the Ganges in Wideha

Great National Movements

(capital town Mithila, the modern Muzaffarpur), and upon the southern bank of the great river, in Magadha and Wibara (the modern Behar; capital town Pataliputra, the modern Patna). During this period at any rate the eastern frontier of these states was also the eastward limit of Aryan occupation. That national movement ceased at the point where the first arms of the great delta of the Ganges diverge from the southern bank of the river behind the mountains of Rajmahal; the almost impenetrable malarial swamp districts which then composed the whole delta remained for a long period in the undisputed possession of the wild jungle tribes and noxious and poisonous animals. However, the last offshoots of the stream of Aryan immigration turned southward to the fertile districts of Orissa from Magadha at the period when Brahmanism had reached its culminating point. Here the north-eastern arms of the Mahanadi delta mark the extreme limit of the territory then in Aryan occupation, which consequently extended to the sea upon the east.

At a yet earlier period the Aryans had reached the Western or Arabian Sea. Immediately after the occupation of

the Punjab, the waves of the migration passed down the Indus valley, and the Aryans became acquainted with the districts at the mouth of the river, to which also they gave its name (Sindhu). Their settlements in that district did not, however, become a point of departure for transmarine migration. The coast was

The Line of Least Resistance

ill-suited for the navigators of the period, and a far more favourable spot was found further to the south-west in the Gulf of Cambay; settlements were made here at a period considerably subsequent to the arrival at the mouth of the Indus. The Great Desert and the unhealthy swamps which intervene between this gulf and the Indus district prevented any advance in that direction; moreover an easier route was discovered by the tribes advancing from the Punjab to the Ganges district along the narrow frontier between the two territories. Consequently, new arrivals found the land already occupied by settlers who had taken this route, and bloody conflicts may have been of repeated occurrence. Driven on by tribes advancing in their rear, hemmed in before by earlier settlers, they found a favourable opening of escape in the strip of fertile territory which extended southward between the desert and the north-western slopes of the Central Indian highlands, the Aravalli Hills. This path could not fail to bring them to the Gulf of Cambay, which here runs far inland; and, on its western shores, the rich districts of Gujerat and those at the mouth of the Narbada and the Tapti lay spread before them. This was the most southerly point on the western side of India at which the Aryans made any permanent settlement.

Hence during this period Aryan India included the whole of the north-western plains extending in a south-westerly direction as far as Gujerat, and eastward as far as the Ganges delta, its extreme south-easterly point being the delta of Orissa. The highlands of Central India formed a sharp line of demarcation between the Aryan and Dravidian races. The district was, however, not entirely secluded from Aryan influence, which at the outset of that period had begun to put out feelers across the frontier line. The Aryans had already become acquainted with the sea, which was for them rather a means than a hindrance to communication; the

Extent of Aryan India

fact is proved by the similes occurring in the old battle songs, wherein the hard-pressed warrior is compared to a sailor upon a ship staggering under a heavy storm upon the open sea. The Aryan colonisation of Ceylon took place before the power of the warrior class had been broken and the social organism stamped

Settled Political Systems

with the impress of Brahmanism. On comparing this period with that during which the Aryans advanced into the Punjab, we find a fundamental change in the conditions of Aryan life as they are displayed in all these struggles and settlements. Nomadic life under the patriarchal system is replaced by feudal principalities surrounded with all the splendour of chivalry. Changes in other conditions of life had necessarily effected a fundamental transformation in the political and social condition of the people. A more settled life, and the advance of agriculture at the expense of cattle breeding, led to a more comprehensive subdivision of labour; though, when occasion demanded, the peasant left the ploughshare for the sword, yet it was no doubt at an early period that that warrior nobility arose which made war its business and profession. The leadership of the tribe as the latter flourished and increased became rather a professional post; in place of the tribal elder appears the king in possession of full royal powers and standing high above and apart from his people. The position of both king and noble must have advanced to more brilliant development in the greater area of the Ganges territory. In the Mahabharata the battles and the names connected with them are no doubt in large part the result of poetical invention; but the description of the civilisation then existent cannot be wholly imaginary, and the royal courts with their knightly organisation, however romantic in appearance and akin to the institutions of mediæval Europe, may be considered as definite historical facts. No greater change can be imagined than that apparent in the latter condition of those peoples whose history we have traced throughout this proud and warlike period. Gone is the energy of youth; gone, too, the sparkling joys of life and struggle; the green verdure of the Aryan spring has faded, the people has grown old. The

Influence of the Priesthood

nobility has yielded the pride of place to the priesthood, whose ordinances shackle all movement toward freedom and independence. The new power appears in the garb of the deepest poverty, but its spiritual influence is all the more profound: the ambition of the priests was not to be kings, but to rule kings.

The origins of this great social change go back to a remote period. Even during that period when the Aryan power was confined to the Punjab, the seeds of opposition between the temporal and spiritual powers are found in existence; in the great battle in which King Sudas conquered the confederacy of the Punjab, the opposition becomes prominent for the first time. At an earlier period it was the natural duty of the tribal chieftain to stand as mediator between his people and their gods. But it was not every powerful prince or general who possessed the gift of the inspired poets and musician, and many kings therefore entrusted this sacred public duty to their Purohita. His reputation was increased by his power of clothing lofty thoughts in inspiring form, and the position passed from father to

Order of Hereditary Minstrels

son together with the more stirring hymns which were orally transmitted. Thus priestly families arose of high reputation whose efforts were naturally entirely directed to secure the permanence of their position: the most certain means to this end was the creation of a complicated ritual for prayer and sacrifice which could be performed only by a priesthood with a special training. The scene of sacrifice was prepared with great attention to minutiae, the altars were specially adorned on every opportunity, and the different sacrifices were offered with scrupulous respect to ceremonial detail: there were priests who recited only the prayers from the Rig-Veda, others who sang hymns from the Samaveda; a high-priest stood at the head of the whole organisation.

Consequently the character of prayer, sacrifice, and indeed the whole body of theology underwent a fundamental transformation. Originally the victim had been the pure offering of a thankful heart, while prayer had been the fervent yet humble expression of those desires which man in his weakness laid before the almighty powers of heaven. Gradually, however, the idea of sacrifice had been



Siva, the Destroyer, the second of the Hindu deities



Ganesha, the god of success, invoked in every necessity of daily life



Surya, the sun god, one of the gods of the early Indian Trinity



Agni, the guardian deity of the south-east part of the earth



Indra, the king of heaven and one of the ten guardian deities of the earth



Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, wife of Vishnu



Vishnu, one of the three principal Hindu deities



Saraswati, goddess of learning, Vishnu's second wife

THE CHIEF BRAHMAN AND HINDU DIVINITIES

modified by the theory that human offerings to the gods were not only welcome but also necessary and indispensable to those powers. In the sacred writings of a later date passages repeatedly occur, stating that the gods are growing weak because the pious priests have been hindered by evil spirits from making the necessary sacrifices. Indeed, it was only by means of the sacrifices that the gods, who had formerly been subject to death like men, had acquired immortality. "The Gods lived in the fear of death, the strong Ender, and therefore they underwent severe penance and made many offerings until they became immortal."

Growth of the Idea of Sacrifice

Hence was developed the further idea that by means of sacrifice man could gain a certain power over the gods themselves and thereby extort gifts and services from them; and ultimately the sacrifice was conceived to be a thing of immense magical power before which all the other gods must bow. The all-compelling power of the sacrifice was in the hands of the priests, the Brahmins, and became the firm foundation of their increasing predominance. An Indian proverb says: "The universe depends upon the gods, the gods upon the Mantra (the formula of sacrifice), the Mantra upon the Brahmins, and therefore the Brahmins are our gods."

Tradition is silent upon the details of the process by which the dominant power passed from the hands of the nobility to the priesthood. It was to the interests of the priests to obliterate historical facts as rapidly and completely as possible from popular memory, and to inculcate

the belief that the high position of the Brahmins had been theirs from the outset. The history of the period has been thus designedly obscured, and only at rare intervals is some feeble light thrown upon it. The epos of the fall of the great race of the Bharata shows us how the power of the nobility was worn away in bitter struggles; many priestly figures, such as Drona and his son Aswatthaman, take up arms and join in the destruction of the nobility.

A fact throwing special light upon the acerbity of the contest between the two struggling powers is the appearance in the poem of the mythical figure of Rama, who was considered an incarnation of Vishnu at a later period, a Brahmin by birth, and armed with the axe. The balance of fortune did not, however, invariably incline in favour of the Brahmins, as is plain from the many maxims in their ritual and philosophical writings conceived in a very humble tone: "None is greater than the Kshatriya (the warrior), wherefore the Brahmin also makes sacrifices together with the royal offerings to the Kshatriya." The issue of the struggle began to prove doubtful from the Brahmin point of view, and therefore the myth claimed the personal interference of the powerful god Vishnu, who usually became incarnate in times of greatest need, and therefore descends for this reason to the aid of his special favourites, the Brahmins. After an infinite series of bloody conflicts, he gains for them a brilliant victory; thrice seven times did Parasurama purify the earth of the Kshatriya.

Help of the Gods in Battle

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THE BRAHMIN SYSTEM AT WORK

NOTWITHSTANDING their military capacity and their personal strength, the nobles had been defeated, and the priests, armed with the mysterious magical power of the sacrifice, had gained a spiritual dominion over the people. This power the priesthood at once proceeded to secure permanently and irrevocably by arrogating to themselves the monopoly of all religious and philosophical thought, by the strict and detailed regulation of public and private life in its every particular, by forcing the mind, the feelings, and the will of every individual into fixed grooves prescribed by the priests. The legal books,

the earliest of which belong to the course of literature of the old Vedic schools, explain the high ideal which the Brahmins proposed to themselves as the true realisation of national life; an ideal, however, which was hardly ever attained in its reality, or at the most only within the narrow areas of individual petty states.

The position of the priests is defined with the greatest precision and detail in the Dharmastra of Manu, a work afterward ascribed to Manu. In order to make this work yet more authoritative, its composers assigned to the personality

of its author an age almost amounting to immortality (30,000,000 years) and divine origin; attempting to identify him with the first ancestor of the Aryans, the mythical Manu. In reality it was not until shortly before the middle of the first millennium B.C. that the Brahman code had developed so large a quantity of precepts defined with such exactitude; in its present form the work of Manu seems to be the result of later re-editing, and to date from the period between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. Buddhist precepts are plainly apparent in it, and many prohibitions of the earlier and later periods are brought together in spite of their discrepancy, as, for instance, the slaughter of animals and the eating of flesh, side by side with the religious avoidance of animal food. Buddhist terms of expression are also found, such as the mention of female anchorites, "an apostolic sect," which are evidence in favour of a later date. The book consists of a collection of proverbial sayings which were intended to fix the customary law, as established by the Brahmins, for a district of

Northern India of limited area. The work contains 2,685 double lines divided into twelve books; of these books, five are concerned with the rights and duties of the Brahmins, whereas only two books are devoted to the warrior caste, and only one to all the other castes put together. Manu expressly proclaims the existence of four castes only: "The Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas form the classes in a second state of existence; the Sudra is in the first state of existence and forms the fourth class; a fifth does not exist." In this division the first point of note is the contrast between those in a first and those in a second state of existence, the "twice-born," a contrast which coincides with the racial contrast between

the Aryans and the original inhabitants; within the Aryan group a principle of tripartition is again apparent, which, in modern language, amounts to the separate existence of a learned, a military, and a productive class.

Manu here speaks of only four divisions of society; elsewhere he recognises the

The Four Divisions of Society

existence of other caste subdivisions: the castes of the physicians, astrologers, handicraftsmen, oil manufacturers, leather workers, musical performers, etc., are subdivisions of the fourth class. Properly speaking, however, the origin of these castes is, according to Manu, different from that of the main groups; these latter are of primeval origin, created together with the world and—an im-

portant factor—by the purpose of the Creator. A famous hymn of the Rig-Veda, which is a later interpolation, describes the origin of the castes: "The sacrifice Purusha, those who were born at the very first (the first men), they offered it upon a sacrificial grass: to it the gods made offering, the Sadhyas and the Rishis. When they di-

vided Purusha, into how many pieces was he cleft? What did his mouth become, and what his arms, what his legs and his feet? His mouth became the Brahman, the Rajanya came forth from his arm, the Vaisya from his thighs, the Sudra from his feet. The world was born from his soul, the sun from his eyes, Indra and Agni from his mouth, Wayu from his breath. From his navel came forth air, from his head the heaven, from his feet the earth, from his ear the districts of the world. In this manner did the gods create the world."

Symbolically, the Brahmins were formed from the same member of the body as the great gods of early India, Indra, and Agni—namely, from the mouth, which speaks "sanctity and truth"; the military



TYPES OF THE ANCIENT BRAHMINS

These figures from frescoes of the second century B.C. are taken from the cave X at Ajanta (after James Burgess). They bear the name of the Brahmin divinities upon their foreheads, and the type of face is rather Aryan than Dravidian; but the ornaments and umbrella are not, as Fergusson and Burgess suppose, signs of low caste.

A Book of Ancient Proverbs

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were formed from the arms, whence they received their "power and strength." The thigh bones were the means of mechanical progress, the lowly toil of life; from these, therefore, were the Vaisya formed who go behind the plough and gain material "riches and possessions" by their industry. From the feet, however,

Theories of Caste Divisions

which ever tread in the dust of earth, is formed the lowly Sudra, who, from the very beginning, is "destined to service and obedience." Thus, according to Manu, by means of the sacrificial power of the gods and of the sacred primeval Brahmans, were formed the four great classes of human society.

The Brahmans have another theory to account for the subdivisions within the Sudra class, which was explained as mixed castes proceeding from the alliance of members of different castes. It is important to notice that position within these mixed castes is dependent upon the higher or lower caste to which the man or the woman belonged at the time of procreation. Alliances of men of higher castes, and even of the Brahmans themselves, with low-caste women, are legally permissible; the children, however, of such a marriage do not take the father's caste, but sink to the lowest castes. Wholly different is the punishment of breaking caste incurred when a woman has children by a man of lower caste than herself; not only is she expelled from her own caste with ignominy and disgrace, but the higher the caste to which she belonged by birth, the lower is the social depth to which she and her children sink; indeed, the lowest of all castes, that of the Tshandala, is considered by the Brahmans to have been formed by the alliance of Brahman women with Sudra men. On the other hand, the children begotten by a Brahman of a Sudra woman belong to the higher gradations of the Sudra group,

Penalties of Inter-caste Marriage

while the father in no way loses his own permanent position. Such is the teaching of the Brahmans as laid down in the book of Manu upon the origin of mixed castes. The investigator, however, who leaves the Sanscrit writings, examines Indian society for himself, and judges the facts before him without prejudice, cannot resist the impression that this theory upon the origin of mixed castes is as impossible as that of

the creation of the four main castes from the sacrifice. The only mixed caste in the proper sense of the words is that of the temple women, and their children; among these, daughters become temple women, sons temple musicians, or inferior temple servants, etc. But in all other cases where there is no very great difference of caste between the parents, the child takes the lower caste and a new mixed caste never arises. However, in the very rare cases in which a woman of extremely high caste has a child by a man of very low caste, abortion is invariably procured, or the mother commits suicide. The Brahman doctrine upon the origin of the lowest castes is an intentional perversion of the facts.

One of the most skillful investigators of the caste system, W. R. Cornish, says that the whole chapter of Mann upon mixed castes is so childishly conceived and displays so much class prejudice and intolerance, so appalling a punishment awaiting the Brahman woman who should err, while at the same time the Brahman is allowed so much freedom of communication with other castes without injury to

his position, that the intentions of the author become forthwith obvious. These intentions were to maintain purity of blood in the higher castes and especially in that of the Brahmans, by appointing the heaviest of all punishments upon any woman who should prove unfaithful to her caste. It was not thus that the lower social groups of which we have spoken originated; they are earlier than the laws of Manu. The legislator, however, employed the fear inspired by the prospect of sinking to their degraded position as a powerful instrument whereby he might attain his object, the preservation of racial purity among the Brahmans.

The truth is that castes have arisen from different origins. Differences of race and racial prejudice form a first line of cleavage. Noteworthy in this connection is the old Aryan name for caste, *warna*—that is, colour. The white and the black, the Aryan and the original inhabitant, the "best," the "first" (because the most successful and powerful) in contrast with the low and the common, the Dasyu—these oppositions form the first sharp line of demarcation. At their first meeting the latter class were naturally not allowed the privilege of conforming to the institutions



The figures grouped on this page are representative of the Brahmans of to-day, the first being that of a Brahman priest, or "pundit," and the next a fakir, or devotee, while the young Brahman in the centre displays the mysterious caste marks and is wearing the sacred thread. The lower figures represent, on the left, a Hindu jogi, or mendicant, posing in the attitude of one of the gods, and the last is another Brahman type.

BRAHMAN TYPES OF THE PRESENT TIME

of Aryan society; extermination was the sole method of dealing with them. At a later period, however, as the conquerors became more prosperous and settled, it was found advantageous to employ prisoners or subject races as serfs for the purpose of menial duties. The original inhabitants of the country were

Rise of a Warrior Nobility

thus adopted into the Aryan society, and in that social order the first deep line of cleavage was made. Other differences

then developed within the Aryan population. It was only natural that the man who displayed a special bravery in battle should be more highly honoured and receive a larger share of booty, of territory, and of slaves to cultivate that territory. Thus, in course of time, a warrior nobility was formed, the Kshatriya, who rose to power as we have seen in the struggles of the Mahabharata. We have already seen the manner in which a further social division was brought about by the formation of a hereditary priesthood, the Brahmana. In proportion, however, as these two classes became exclusive hereditary castes, so did they rise above the great mass of the people, the farmers, the shepherds, and the handicraftsmen whose occupations were now considered as professions lacking in dignity. The Kshatriya proudly called themselves Rajana, Rajwansi, the Royal, or the Rajputs, the men of royal race, and thought themselves high above the common people.

Thus the great castes appointed by Manu had been formed. Further differences arose within these. Only the Brahmans and warriors were able for any length of time to prevent the rise of subdivisions within their own groups. Their narrow and well-defined profession, and also, among the Brahmans at any rate, their jealously preserved racial purity, protected them from disruption. But in the two remaining groups, the Vaisya and the Sudra, who had now entered the social organism of the Aryans, a different set of circumstances prevailed; the development of larger political bodies resulted in subdivision within these classes. As existence grew more secure and prosperity increased, the necessities of life increased proportionately. In the simple times of the primeval Aryan period, every tribe was able to satisfy such demands for skilled labour as might

arise within it; in the more complex organisation of society within the Ganges states such simplicity was no longer possible. Undertakings demanding technical skill called forth by the claims of a higher civilisation necessarily brought about the subdivision of labour and the creation of technical professions; manual labour in its several branches became hereditary among individual families of the lower castes, as other professions had become hereditary among the Brahmans and Kshatriyas.

It is possible that similar caste divisions corresponding to the various professions may have existed among the original inhabitants of the country before they came into contact with the Aryans. The natives were by no means, in every case, uncivilised savages; some of their tribes were superior in technical skill to the Aryans themselves, and bartered the products of their higher knowledge with the Aryans through merchants. The existence of caste divisions among them at an earlier period is supported by the enumeration in the code of Manu of the manufacturing castes in the lower divisions

Division According to Occupation of the Sudra - astrologers, oil makers, leather workers, musical performers, and so on.

It is inconceivable that the Brahmans, when formulating the rules of Indian society, should have troubled to arrange these numerous subdivisions of the many castes of the Sudra, the more so as they were accustomed to avoid any possible connection with this unclean stratum of society; far more probable is it that those differences of caste within the Sudra which coincide with professions existed before the Aryan period.

The political relations of the Aryans to the non-Aryan natives also contributed to the development of the Aryan caste system. The deadly hatred of the black, snub-nosed people which inspires the hymns of the Rig-Veda was laid to rest; during the struggles between the several Aryan princes and states political necessities often led to acquaintances, alliance, and friendship, even to racial fusion with the native tribes. In the Mahabharata we find a Nishada prince appointed guardian of the important river ford at Prayaga; we find Dravidian races fighting side by side as the equal allies of pure Aryan tribes, while the names of certain personalities famous in the great epics,

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together with peculiarities of character and custom, are evidence for the close connection between the distinguished Aryan warrior and the native inhabitant. Krishna, "the Black," is the name given to the Yadawa prince who appears as the firm ally and friend of Pandawas.

The attempt has been made to explain this name by the hypothesis that his tribe had entered India earlier than the other Aryans, and had therefore been more deeply burned by the sun; to this, however, it may be replied that the complexion of a tribe may be deepened rather by fusion with a black race than by exposure to the sun. In character also Krishna appears unlike the Aryans; he is full of treachery and deceit, gives deceitful counsel, and justifies ignoble deeds by equivocation methods wholly foreign to the knightly character of the Aryan warrior. The Panchsala princess is also entitled Krishna, "the Black"; the fact that she lived in the Dravidian style with the five Aryan princes in a polyandric marriage shows the close relations existing between the Aryans and the native peoples.

Similar relations are also apparent in the history of the colonisation of Ceylon; the Aryan ancestor Vijayas had married a Dravidian Kalinga princess, and his grandson, together with many of his companions, took native women to wife without any exhibition of racial prejudice. Thus, since the time of the Aryan immigration, an important change had taken place in the relations of the two races. The rapidity with which the racial fusion was carried out is apparent at the present time in the physical contrast between the peoples of the North-west and the Ganges territory; in the Punjab, in Kashmir, and to some extent in Rajputana, hardly a trace of the black population is to be found, a result of the deadly animosity with which the war of conquest was prosecuted; further to the east the mixed races reappear, and the evidence of darker complexion, broader features and noses, increases proportionately from this point. Such a fusion, and particularly the incorporation of whole races of the native inhabitants within the Aryan society, must obviously have increased the subdivisions within the castes.

The Brahmans, who took the utmost precaution to preserve their caste purity, were least affected by the entrance of

foreign racial elements; at any rate, in Northern India their caste, even at the present day, has changed but little from the Aryan type. In Orissa, however, and to a greater extent further southwards, even this exclusive sect considered it expedient on different occasions to admit individuals or even whole tribes of the

Marriage in the Caste of Warriors black race within their caste, if they could thereby attain any external advantage; thus at the present day in the Deccan many more dark than fair Brahmans are to be met.

In the warrior caste, purity of blood was thought of less vital importance; among this caste there even existed a legal form of marriage, the "Rakshasa" marriage, which provided that the bride should be taken by force from a hostile, often dark-complexioned, tribe. The nobles thus being by no means averse from marriage with the natives, the common people naturally had the less inducement to preserve the purity of their Aryan blood. At the same time, however, such connections often led to disruption within the caste: the orthodox members refused to recognise the mixed families as pure Kshatriya or Vaisya, avoided communication with them, and by this process a group which had been originally uniform was gradually broken into an increasing number of disconnected castes. The infusion of foreign blood thus acquired seems to have modified by slow degrees the larger part of the Kshatriya and practically the whole of the Vaisya. Thus we have an intelligible explanation of the fact that only in comparatively few districts, as for instance, Rajputana, could particular castes retrace their origin with any clearness to the old Aryan warrior nobility, their proud title of Kshatriya resting in many cases upon fictitious genealogies. At the present day there is absolutely no caste of the Vaisya

Modification of Caste Purity which can prove its connection with the early Vaisya of the Aryan Ganges states. The modern caste system of India is broken up into many hundreds or thousands of separate groups. However, in early Brahman times the four main divisions of society appointed by the legal codes had an actual existence. Of these the Sudra led lives that can scarcely be qualified as human. Considered as once-born, a great gulf was fixed between them

and those who had advanced to a higher state by virtue of a second birth. To them was forbidden the use of the sacred band with which the youth of the three higher castes were girded as a sign of manhood upon their coming of age (two threads of wool which passed over the left shoulder and the right hip). It was a

The Peasant Caste

mortal crime for any of the upper classes to teach a Sudra anything of the sacred proverbs or prayers. A great gulf divided the Sudra from the Vaisya. Upon this latter the two high castes of the priests and the warriors looked disdainfully. The Vaisya was, however, a twice-born, wore the sacred band, and the knowledge of the Vedas was not forbidden to him. It was the common and monotonous nature of his calling that degraded him in comparison with the higher caste. He was not allowed to devote himself to the proud service of arms, or to deep spiritual and religious questions and interests. His lot was to till the soil throughout his life, and upon that level he remained. He was the peasant, the shepherd, the lower-class citizen in the flourishing towns, the manufacturer, the merchant, the money-changer. He often attained to high prosperity, but could never pass the barrier which the stern laws of caste had set against his further progress.

Higher than the Vaisya stood the warrior, the Kshatriya, in the social organism of the Brahmans. The splendour of his profession and of his influence was but the shadow of that which it had been during the first centuries of the settlement upon the Ganges. Moreover, in the more peaceful times which succeeded the period of establishment within that district, the profession of the warrior nobles decayed considerably. The more, however, his real importance decreased, the more anxious were the Brahmans that he should make a brilliant figure before the

Decay of Warrior Caste

mass of the people, in order that he might thus become a valuable ally to themselves for the attainment of their own purposes. Thus the nobility continued to enjoy a predominant and honourable position. Their freedom was great compared with that of other castes, and large possessions in landed property secured to them the enjoyments of life, as well as respect and consideration. If the Kshatriya exhausted all the pleasures of his high position and

was overcome by weariness of the world, he was allowed to join the company of hermits and to devote the remainder of his life to inward contemplation.

The Brahmans belonged to the same group of twice-born, and wore the same sacred band as the other high castes, but had succeeded none the less in securing for themselves a position that was infinitely the highest in the country. The tremendous principle that they were beings endowed with a special and divine wisdom, and differing in kind from all other men, that they possessed divine power and corresponding privileges, is pushed in their legal books to its uttermost extreme.

The outward appearance of the Brahman in no way represented the power of his caste, in which respect he is to be contrasted with the Kshatriya. Modesty, indeed poverty, characterised his appearance and his mode of life. Lucrative professions, which were in his eyes derogatory, were closed to him. On the other hand, it was the duty of every Brahman to found a family, and his great ambition was to beget sons, who should revere his memory after his death, and provide prayer and sacrifice for his spirit. Consequently, the material possessions of the Brahmans became more and more divided. Moreover, the whole Brahman theory of existence was opposed to the temporal point of view. Not only physical existence, but also material possessions were considered by him as so many obstacles in the way to felicity which his soul would tread when, after purification, it became reunited with the universal element.

Priests that Scorn Wealth

Hence in the eyes of the Brahman the mendicant profession was in no way derogatory, since the whole world already belonged to him. Begging, on the contrary, seemed to him the loftiest of all professions, as it implied the least amount of hindrance in the prosecution of his high tasks. It is true that voluntary offerings, even when the Brahman power was at its height, by no means invariably sufficed to maintain the caste, many members of which were obliged for this reason to adopt one of the lucrative professions. Many gifts were made to them as payment for relief from spiritual duties, for religious instruction, prayer, sacrifice, and judicial pronouncements. If the income from these sources proved insufficient, the Brahman was allowed to plough the fields

or to tend the herds. He might also learn the arts of war and practise them, or carry on commercial business, though money-lending upon interest, the sale of intoxicating liquors, or of milk and butter, the products of the sacred cow, were forbidden to him. It was as impossible for a Brahman to get his living by the practice of the lower arts of music and song, or by unclean occupations, as by the practice of leather working, or any other degrading trade.

The life of a Brahman as a whole included several grades, that of the neophyte, the patriarch, the hermit, and the ascetic. Upon his coming of age the youth of this caste was girded with the sacred band and received into the community of the twice-born. His education was passed under the supervision of a spiritual teacher, the Guru, whom he was to reverence more highly than his own father. "If a Brahman pupil should blame his teacher, even though with justice, he will be born again as an ass; should he betray him falsely, as a dog; should he take his property without leave, he will be born as a small worm, and should he refuse him service, as an insect." Under the Guru the young Brahman learned during the long course of his education the sacred books, all the prayers, offerings, and ceremonial connected therewith, and all the laws governing Brahman society. Then came the stage of family life, a burden laid upon him as a member of the earth to maintain the prosperity of his tribe and caste by begetting sons. This task accomplished, the rest of his life was to be devoted to the highest and most beautiful task, the work of redemption and purification of the soul from earthly elements. The Brahman often accompanied by his wife, leaves his home and becomes a hermit in the forest. There he lives only upon such fruits or roots as his surroundings afford, or upon the scanty gifts of pious devotees, being entirely occupied with the fulfilment of religious precepts and with deep introspective speculation upon the evils of existence and the means of purification.

The highest task of the Brahman's existence is pure and untroubled thought,



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SACRED COWS OF THE BRAHMANS

These mild-eyed beasts are deferentially allowed to do as they please, while the bullocks are used as draught animals. A Hindu would not think of striking a Brahman cow to make her move—it would be a horrid impiety, punishable by the gods with all sorts of personal misfortune.

far removed from all worldly interests, upon the deepest questions which can occupy the human mind. Brahmans of similar interests often united for pious practices: spiritual orders were formed, with rulers to regulate their behaviour, and with the common object of entirely forgetting the world around them and devoting themselves to introspection. Others were not content with such intellectual submergence in the divine and also sought to suppress and to destroy the earthly element, the flesh, while they still lived. The most ingenious tortures and penances were devised, and the universal ordinances of Manu did not leave this subject untouched: "The penitent is to roll upon the ground, to stand upon tip-toe all day, or to stand up and sit down alternately without cessation. During the hot season he is to sit under the burning rays of the sun between four fires; in time of rain he shall expose himself naked to the downpour, and wear wet clothes during the cold season. By increasing severity of his penance, he is gradually to wear away the temporal element. And when he is sick unto death,

Penances of Brahman Devotees

he is to rise and walk directly north-east with air and water for his sole nourishment, until his mortal powers give way and his soul is united with Brahma."

The Brahman philosophy has been reduced to writing in the Upanishads, the "mystical teaching of that which lies concealed beneath the surface." These also are considered as sacred writings, but are the exclusive possession of the highest castes, whereas the Vedas were open to the people. Their teaching is spiritual pantheism; the cosmos is one being, a world-soul, Atman or Brahman. The teaching of the Upanishads is explained in detail in the philosophic system of the Vedanta.

The world-soul in its original form, and in its ultimate condition, the "self," is impersonal, without consciousness, in absolute tranquillity, infinite, without beginning or end, and existing by and for itself. As soon, however, as the desire for activity arises within it, it becomes the personal creator—Brahma; this it is which creates the world perceptible to the senses. Everything in the world, the heaven and the foundations of the earth, fire and water, air and earth, suns, plants and all living beings, animals, men and gods are the emanation of that all-pervading spirit, the Brahman, conceived as personally operative. When this latter desires to become creative, its objective appearance in the world implies the production of spirit—apperception, thought and will—and of bodily form, which varies in the case of different living beings, consisting of a material body, which disappears upon death, and a more immaterial form in which the soul remains upon the departure of the body; this latter survives until the soul which it clothes is again absorbed into the impersonal and unconscious Brahman. During the period of earthly existence the

Redemption from the Sin of Existence

universal being by objectifying itself abandons that state of absolute passivity which is its highest form; it sinks, that is, from the highest stage of perfection. Hence is derived the suffering inseparable from earthly existence, and return to the ideal condition of passivity enjoyed by the world soul is the great longing of every creature.

The path of redemption is by no means easy. By the iron laws of causation, the

operation of the world-soul becomes a curse permanently imposed upon every physical being. Every act, bad or good, leads to some new act, to further separation from the highest existence, and hence to further unhappiness. Every death is followed by a new birth, the soul entering a higher or a lower plane of existence according to the merits of its previous life, becoming a god, a Brahman or a Sudra, a four-footed animal, an insect or a worm. The more practical doctrine for popular consumption also inserted promises of purificatory fires and the punishments of hell, which were painted by Indian imagination in the liveliest possible colours. The chain of transmigrations which the soul may thus undergo is of endless duration, including millions of new births. None the less, a definite goal is set before it, and the reunion or absorption of the personal soul into the absolute passivity and unconsciousness of the primal Brahman is a definite possibility. The way leading to this end is the way of knowledge, the way of understanding, which can be attained only by absolute self-absorption. This pantheistic teaching of the Brahman emphasises the width of the distinction between the purely spiritual nature of the original Brahman and that of the existing world. Several philosophical systems and schools—six of which have found general recognition—have attempted to solve the great problem by different methods. Of these, two are of especial importance for the further development of Indian thought, the Samkhya philosophy and the already mentioned Vedanta philosophy, the end or perfection of the Vedas. The former considers the external world as having an objective reality under certain aspects, a reality derived from the creative power of the world-soul; whereas to the Vedanta philosophy material existence is purely illusory, and has no value as such. According to this latter, as soon as the Brahman acquires consciousness and personality, it also assumes an imaginary physical form. In its most refined form it appears as the chief divine personality, Iswara. But all such forms are necessarily subject to the conditions of activity, of goodness, and of imperturbability or darkness, so that this highest god appears as a trinity. He is the personally active creator, Brahma; the all-helping, ever operative Vishnu, or the Rudra Siva, the agent of dissolution and destruction

Different Brahman Systems

ANCIENT INDIA—THE ARYAN EXPANSION

At the same time, however, these and all the other gods, together with mankind and the whole of the material world, are merely a dream, an idea of the world-soul which is itself the sole existing reality.

It was not easy to appreciate all the difficulties which beset every Indian philosophical system, much less to pass judgment upon the results. The text of the sacred Vedas, the basis of all knowledge, was with the utmost difficulty harmonised with the philosophy. The interpreter was obliged to take refuge in comments and explanations which are refinements of hair-splitting and miracles of ingenuity. Commentators were invariably anxious to surpass one another in learning and erudition, in readiness and brilliancy of exposition. The methodic and the formal finally strangled the material content of the system, and Indian philosophy was thus degraded into a scholasticism with every characteristic of that current in the thought of mediæval Europe.

The teaching of Brahman philosophy was fully calculated to satisfy the introspective spirit of the Brahman weary of life and tormented by doubt. To him, bound fast in the chains of asceticism, this teaching appeared as truth of the highest and most indisputable order. To the great mass of the people, however, such teaching was unintelligible, and would in any case have proved unsatisfactory. The worker for his daily bread demands other spiritual food than the philosophic thinker. A popular divinity must be almighty and at the same time intelligible to mankind. If the Brahmins did not wish to lose their influence upon the people, a danger threatened by the appearance of Buddhism with its powerful spiritual influence, they were forced to offer to the people gods more definitely comprehensible to the ordinary mind.

The gods of the old Vedas of the military period had lost their splendour and power upon the downfall of the nobility. They had developed under other circumstances, and were unable to conform to the new conditions of life. But in legend and poetry other ideal

figures had arisen, the heroes of the flourishing period of the Aryan domination in the west of the Ganges valley. Mythology provided them with a genealogy, bringing them into connection with those forms of Nature which had ever been objects of especial reverence—the Sun and Moon dynasties. The Indian heroic period, however, was historically too near in date to the development of Brahmanism for its figures to attain the position of supreme gods. Other divinities came forward from other directions. The diminution and the importance of the old Vedic gods was largely due to the conjunction and partial fusion of the two races which had originally opposed one another as deadly foes. At that period the Aryan gods had been primarily gods of battle and slaughter. Circumstances now had become more peaceful and tranquil. As, however, under Brahman influence the people lost the proud consciousness of their strength, as they also became penetrated with the sense of the miseries of existence, so did they become more inclined to receive the mysterious and repellent forms of the primeval Indian demonology, which had formed the shadowy spirit world of the original inhabitants.

This change in the belief of the great mass of the people was by no means unwelcome to the Brahmins. In the worship of these gods, in their magic formule and incantations, in their objective representations, they found a great deal which corresponded to their own worship; and they had, therefore, the less scruple in forming an alliance with the demon world of the Dravidians. Hence it is that in the later sacred books of the Brahmins, even in the Atharva Veda, the latest in date of the Vedas, numbers of alien and evil spirits leer upon us, of which the earlier books, the Rig-Veda especially, knew nothing. For the Brahmins it was perfectly easy to include these spirits within their own pantheon, for their theory of immanence and emanation enabled them to incorporate within their own system elements the most contrary to the divine nature.

Degradation of Brahman Doctrines

BRAHMANISM IN THE SOUTH

AS the Aryan states on the Ganges flourished and extended, as life became more highly organised, so did the Brahmins become ever more inclined to the solitary life. In countries as yet untouched by Brahman teaching, in the jungle deserts and beyond the boundaries

of foreign native states, whole colonies of hermits arose, living either in isolation or under some organised constitution. Often, indeed, they had to struggle with the attacks of hostile races. We hear a great deal of the evil Rakshasa, who harassed or disturbed the pious hermits. But they

also met with more civilised and kindlier treatment, and men were found who would gladly make small offerings to the more highly educated foreigners, receiving instruction and stimulus in exchange.

These men thus became the pioneers of Brahmanism, and their monasticism and influence steadily extended southward.

A Great Figure in Brahmanism The Mahabharata describes how Arjuna, during his pilgrimage from hermitage to hermitage, at length reached the maidens' baths of Komarya at Cape Comorin. Similarly Rama meets hermits everywhere. The name, however, that constantly recurs in all these reports, the man who is ever ready to help all Aryan-Brahman kinsmen with counsel and assistance, the man who possesses the greatest influence in the whole of the south is Agastya. In the myths he appears as one of the greatest sages of the primeval period, the son of Mitra and Varuna, the strong helper in the necessity of the old Aryan gods when they were threatened with conquest by the evil demons, the Asuras. In the south, he is the incarnation of the victorious advance of Brahman culture. The Vindhya Mountains, hitherto uncrossed, bend before him. He is the sworn enemy of the evil demons, the gods of the original inhabitants, and the bringer of civilisation to the Dravidian kingdoms, and consequently the Tamir Muni, the sage of the Tamils.

The history of the south before the Brahman period is hidden for us in darkness, penetrated only here and there by the feeblest rays of light. Native legends consider the starting-point of the general development of civilisation and politics to be Korkay (the Greek Colchi) at the mouth of the sacred River Tambraparni in the Gulf of Manaar. This district, sheltered upon the east by the bridge of Adam from the inhospitable Sea of Bengal with its dangerous cyclones, forms a connection between the two rich

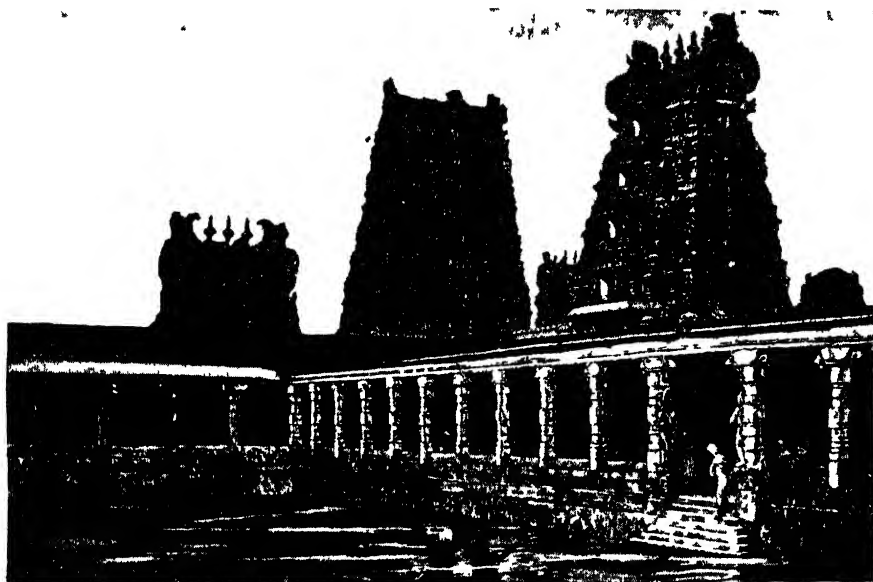
An Ancient Metropolis lands of India and Ceylon on the north and south. Korkay was an old town even when the Greeks first visited it and brought news of its excellence to the West. It owes its origin and its prosperity to the product of that gulf, the pearls, which were highly prized in antiquity, in which this Bay of Colchi has proved richer than any other part of the earth at any period of history. The age of that old trading station is

probably identical with the date of the use of pearls for ornamentation among the peoples of antiquity. The ancient ruins of Korkay have been discovered at a distance of several miles from the present coast line, buried in the alluvial soil which the Tambraparni brings down, advancing its delta ever further into the sea, not far from the modern harbour of Tutikorin. The legend relates that Korkay was founded by three brothers, who lived in unity for a considerable period, afterward separating and founding three kingdoms: the Pandya kingdom in the extreme south, the Chola kingdom in the north-east, and the Chera kingdom in the north and north-west.

Of these the most important was the Pandya kingdom, which for a long period held the harbour of Korkay as its capital. The totem sign or insignia of its kings was the Fish (carp), a fact confirming the legend, which states that the centre from which further civilisation was developed lay upon the sea. At a later period the capital was placed more in the centre of the country at Mathura. When

An Early Aryan Kingdom the first Aryan-Brahman hermits advanced into that distant territory, they found flourishing and well-organised states in existence. The later introductions of northern civilisation were collectively attributed to the name of Agastya. He arrived at the court of King Kulasekha, was well received, and wrote books in the language of the country, treating of every branch of science and culture.

Utterly different from its northern development is the history of the expansion of Aryan civilisation in the south. In the north, it had led to a racial struggle. The rude strength of races more powerful intellectually and physically had been pitted against backward tribes, the consequence being that the latter had disappeared or had been reduced to the lowest stage in the social organism, whereas in the south the struggle was fought with intellectual weapons, the higher knowledge and power of pre-eminent individuals. Brahmanism creeps in quietly and insinuatingly, makes concessions, leaves the people in possession of their language, increasing their vocabulary with elements of the sacred Brahman language (Sanskrit) only where it is incapable of expressing the terms of abstract thought and religious teaching.



THE GREAT HINDU TEMPLE OF MADURA

Showing the court of the sacred tank used for ablutions which is an important feature of all Hindu temples

But even then this language is so highly respected that Kings and towns consider it in honour to bear a Sanskrit together with their old Dravidian name which formerly are known to us only from the later accounts of the Greeks. Moreover the native name Pandya indicating the sap of a palm tree, one of the staple products of the country so closely

Results of Brahman Influence resembled the Pandya of Aryan legend that the two were considered identical and the Pandya dynasty of the southern kingdom was identified with the Aryan gods who had sprung from the Pandu dynasty in the north. The Brahmans even left the people their system of writing. The original native Vatteluttu alphabet, a wholly original creation maintained its ground in the three kingdoms of Southern India until the end of the first millennium A.D. when it was replaced by a more modern system which may be traced back to the Southern Asoka inscriptions.

We may perhaps assume that the conversion of the south to Brahmanism took place between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C.

The earliest historical mention of the Pandya kingdom of Southern India occurs in the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon. The forerunners of the Aryans under

Vijaya had already encountered a strong kingdom in that district to which the north of Ceylon was probably tributary and it appears that the new Aryan arrival who took wives from that country were obliged to send the regular tribute of pearls and conchs to the Pandya princes. The reports of Megasthenes at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C. mention the Pandya kingdom as lying at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula adding a word upon its productiveness in pearls. Roman coins are occasionally found in this southern portion of India and confirm Strabo's references to the commercial relations existing between the Romans and the Pandya kingdom and of the embassy sent by the latter to the Emperor Augustus. The

Historical Records of the South boundaries of this kingdom coincide upon the south and south east with the north coast of the Gulf of Manar and the Palk Straits. From the north end of these the frontier line advances in a westerly direction to the Palni hills. Upon the west the power of the Pandya king often extended to the Arabian Sea and even at the present day the language of the east Tamil, is spoken in the southernmost districts of the Malabar coast. During the

whole of its existence, the Pandya kingdom was distinguished by a brave and warlike spirit. It was continually at variance with its southern neighbours, the Singhaliese, and also with the Chola in the north. Generally speaking, its civilisation was far in advance of that possessed by any other state of Southern India.

Early Kingdoms of the South

The north-eastern neighbour of this most southerly state was the state of the Chola, a tribe of almost equal antiquity with the Pandya. Ptolemy speaks of the nomadic Sorai of this district, of the wandering Chola. The chief tribe was that of the Kumruba, a nomadic race of shepherds, and their restless life, perhaps, explains those warlike tendencies which brought them into continual discord with neighbouring tribes. They were also constantly involved in hostile undertakings against the more distant Ceylon. Their capital has often changed its position; Comba, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, now occupy the sites of their earlier capitals.

In the south of the peninsula the kingdom of the Chera, the third of the Dravidian kingdoms, occupied the coast of Malabar from about Calicut to Cape Comorin, though its frontiers at different periods extended eastward beyond the Ghats—Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem—while during other periods portions even of the district on the Malabar coast were occupied by the Pandya kings. On the whole, this branch of the Dravidian States was more peacefully inclined than its eastern neighbours. The fertile character of the Malabar coast favoured a more restful course of development, and rather inclined the inhabitants to tranquillity. The vernacular diverged from the Tamil as lately as one thousand years ago, and must now be considered a special language, though the old Tamil alphabet, the Vattezhath, still remains in use. Upon

Southern India Before the Brahmins

the north of the Chera kingdom the Brahman civilisation at an early period exercised a deeper influence upon the inhabitants of the Malabar coast than in any other part of Southern India. While the age of chivalry was at its height, the Aryans had advanced as far as Gujerat on the Gulf of Cambay; from this point Aryan influence extended eastward. Between the native independent states of the Bhils, colonists were con-

tinually advancing, and Aryan manners were extended over the west of Central India, reaching the land of the Mahrattas in course of time. The triumphant colonisation of the west coast, known by the Sanscrit name of Kerala, the land of the Chera, belongs to the later period of Brahman predominance. In the northern half of this district, especially in the modern Kanara and Malabar, a federation of sixty-four cantons seems to have existed before the Brahmans entered the country.

When the Brahmans pressed into this fruitful territory in greater numbers, they maintained the existing constitutional forms while securing their own recognition as the royal masters of the country. A legend of Brahman origin ascribes their arrival to the help of the Brahman god, Vishnu, incarnate as Rama, with the battleaxe. The legend represents him as a son of the Brahman sage, Jamadagni. During the absence of this latter, a sacrificial calf was stolen from his cell by the Kshatriya Prince Kartavirya, and the son avenged his father by killing the

Kshatriya. In the feud which resulted, Jamadagni fell a victim, and Rama swore vengeance upon the whole order of the Kshatriya, and exterminated them.

“He purified the earth thrice seven several times of the Kshatriya.” The gods rewarded him for his piety with a promise that the country should lie his as far as he could hurl his battleaxe. The weapon flew from Gokama to Cape Comorin. Thus the whole of the Malabar coast was gained and settled by the Brahmans, to whom Parasu Rama presented the district. At the present day the Malabar chronology begins with that throwing of the axe and the creation of the country, which is dated 1176 B.C. The legend was invented as a foundation for the claims which the Brahmans raised upon entering the country. Their theory was that they were the actual possessors of the land, which they had restored to its old masters only upon lease, and that therefore the warriors must reverence them and swear to them oaths of allegiance. Even at the present day the superior Brahman castes on the whole of the Malabar coast enjoy a far higher position than those upon the east coasts of the peninsula.



THE FOUNDING OF BUDDHISM

AND DECLINE OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION

BUDDHA AND HIS TEACHING

AN examination of the state of India about the sixth century B.C. shows the prevailing conditions to have been as follows. The Aryans had risen to a high prosperity, their social life had rapidly developed, states large and small had been formed, populous towns were adorned by the splendour of their royal courts and by the wealth of the inhabitants, agriculture, industry, and trade were flourishing. National feeling among the ruling race had also undergone a change, and in some respects a change for the worse: the bright spirit of youth, the sense of power, the pride of freedom, were things of the past. Society was divided or cleft asunder by the institution of caste. Any feeling of equality had given way to the spirit of caste, which induces the lofty to look down with contempt upon the humble, precludes all possibility of common action for the public good, and therefore makes national feeling impossible. For every caste its every action was accurately prescribed, while the highest activities, those of thought, were monopolised by the Brahmans.

Brahman Claims to Superiority

The latter claimed to have sprung from the head of the first man, and in actual practice were the head of society. But speculation had undergone a fundamental change since the period of Aryan immigration. The priests continued to offer formal prayers to the old gods in which no one any more believed. A deep sense of the futility of existence penetrated every thinking mind, while opinions were divided as to the means which should be adopted to gain release from existence. Schools and orders multiplied continually. It was as if one of the fierce cyclones of Bengal had burst upon the forest. The giant forms of the ancient gods lay dead upon the ground, and from this devastation new cults were rising,

each struggling with the other for air, light, and space. Of these, one alone was fated to become a mighty tree, collecting almost the whole of Central and Eastern Asia beneath its branches - Buddhism.

The centres of Indo-Aryan development slowly changed in the course of ages from west to east. Advancing over the north-west passes in the third millennium B.C., the Aryans occupied the Punjab, the Land of the Five Rivers, during the second millennium; about the middle of this period may have occurred those struggles on the frontier between the Punjab and the Ganges district, when King Sudas defeated the allied tribes of the west. The end of the period may be considered to include the flourishing times of the principalities on the Jumna and the upper Ganges, whose struggles have provided a foundation of historical legend for the great heroic poem of the Bharata. Another 500 years and the centre of gravity has again moved eastward to the countries which end where the Ganges delta begins and where the town of Benares rises. Here about this period were formed a number of principalities and free states, among them the powerful kingdom of Magadha with the old capital of Rajagriha, in that district of the modern Behar which lies to the south of the Ganges.

We should know exceedingly little of the different petty states lying on the northern side of the Ganges opposite Magadha were it not for the fact that here was the home of that religious teacher Buddha, whose doctrine is to-day accepted by hundreds of millions of men. Upon the spurs of the Himalaya, on the stream of the Rohini, the modern Kohani, had settled the tribe of the Sakya, within which the Kshatriya nobility still played an important part in the continual friction

that occurred with the neighbouring petty states. To this class belonged the chieftain of the tribe, Suddhodana of the Gautama family, the father of Buddha, who resided in the capital of the country, Kapilavastu—in its Sanscrit form, Kapi-lavastu. According to the Buddhist legend, Suddhodana had married two

**Birth
of
Buddha**

daughters of the neighbouring Kolya prince, on the other bank of the Rohini, who was also a Kshatriya. For a long time he remained childless, but in his forty-fifth year the elder of his wives, Maya, became with child. As, according to the custom of the period and of her order, she was journeying homeward to her father's house, there to await her confinement, she was surprised on the way in the grove of Lumbini by the birth of a son, who was named Siddhartha. This is the personal name of Buddha, who is often known by his family name of Gautama. All his other titles are additional names, the number of which is proportionate to the reverence and admiration of his devotees. In every case, like the titles of Redeemer, Christ, applied to Jesus, they are merely descriptions of his personal characteristics. For instance, Sakya Muni means the sage of the Sakya family; Bhagavat means the reverend; Sattha, the teacher; Jina, the conqueror. Buddha also is but one of these titles, meaning "The Enlightened."

The birth of Siddhartha is placed with some probability between the years 560 and 557, and his death between 480 and 477 B.C. On the seventh day after his birth his mother died, the child being then carefully tended and brought up by his aunt, Prajapati. According to the custom of the time, the young Siddhartha was married in his nineteenth year to

his cousin, Wasodhara, a daughter of the Kolya prince, and their union was blessed after ten years by the birth of a son, Rahula. Any other man would probably have been contented and happy in the position of Siddhartha. He had everything and

was everything which a noble Kshatriya could desire to have or to be. But in his twenty-ninth year a sense of dissatisfaction came upon him. Amid all his external prosperity, his lofty and serious mind could not refrain from the contemplation of the futility of existence.

His thoughts on the woe of the world and the means of liberation therefrom take in the legend a personal and objective figure. A god appears to him first as an old man in his second childhood, then as a stern tyrant, again as a corrupting corpse, and finally as a reverend hermit. It was the birth of his son which determined him to put into execution a long pre-conceived resolve. He saw in the child a new bond which would fetter him to the

**Flight
of
Buddha**

world. The story of Siddhartha's flight is the most moving picture in the whole legend of his life. Only once was he willing to look upon that which is the dearest thing in this world, only once would he press his new-born son to his heart. Quietly he glided into the bed-room where his wife and child were resting; but the mother's hand lay upon her child's head, and he could not take the child in his arms without waking her.

Thus he left wife and child without a word and went out into the night with no companion but his charioteer, whom he presented with all his ornaments and ordered to inform his family of his resolve. He then cut his hair short, exchanged his rich garments for the rags of a passing beggar, and made his way alone to the capital of the Magadha kingdom, Rajagriha, near which pious hermits had settled in the caves of the rock. To these he joined himself, hoping to learn from them the solution of the great riddle of existence.

But Brahman metaphysics brought no consolation to his soul. Neither from Alara Kalana nor from Uddaka Ramaputta could he obtain the object of his search—the path to freedom from the pain of existence. He left both teachers and turned to the forests of



AN EARLY INDIAN BUDDHA

The image of the Buddha here reproduced is from a very ancient Indian sculpture in clay.



A FAMOUS STATUE GROUP OF BUDDHA AND HIS PUPILS

This unique representation in stone of the great Indian sage, seated amidst his pupils, is one of the most famous religious curiosities of Siam, and is to be seen in the great pagoda of Wat Suthat at Bangkok.

Uruvela, near the modern Buddha-gaya, in which five Brahman hermits were already living a life of asceticism. For six years he surpassed them all in the cruelty of his penances until his former powerful and beautiful frame had been worn to a shadow. The reputation of his extraordinary self-torture spread far and wide, but he himself became the more unhappy in proportion as others esteemed him far advanced upon the road to salvation.

He fell in a swoon from weakness, but on his restoration to consciousness he had found strength to leave the path of error. When he again began to take food like other men he lost the belief and respect of his five companions. They departed and turned to the holy town of Benares to accomplish their purification in more sacred surroundings. The man they left behind had now to undergo a severe mental struggle.

Buddha's Mental Conflict

Legend represents the conflict between his intellect and his sympathies as a battle between bright and dark spirits who struggled in conflict so that the world trembled and was almost moved from its foundation. Siddhartha was left alone, wrestling for enlightenment by the banks of the Nairanjara. The prospect cleared and the mysteries of suffering and of the road

to salvation were laid open before him. He had now become the "Buddha," the Enlightened, who had attained knowledge of redemption not only for himself but for the whole world. For seven days Buddha remained in extreme exaltation of mind, in holy glorification under the sacred fig tree. A pair of benevolent men brought him rice cakes and honey, and he in return gave them his greatest gift, his teaching. These two men, Tapussa and Bhallika, were his first converts, who took "refuge with Buddha and knowledge."

The First Converts to Buddhism

Doubt then came upon the enlightened sage as to whether the coarse mind of the masses was capable of realising the great truths he taught. But the world god Brahma urged him to preach his doctrine, and Buddha gave way. He went to that very forest where the five companions of his former penance were staying and explained the main features of his doctrine, to them in the "Sermon of Benares." Neither a life of pleasure nor the extirpation of all pleasure could lead to the goal, the true way lying midway between these extremes. In broad outline he shows them the truth upon the question of suffering and the eight-fold road to liberation.

From this point onward the life of Buddha is entirely occupied with the

teaching and conversion of the people, The persuasion of five nobles of Benares brought about a rapid increase in his scanty congregation, to which fifty adherents were shortly added. The reputation of the new doctrine spread far and wide; he people thronged from every direction and from distant settlements to hear his teaching. Buddha

The Rapid Spread of Buddhism

sent out his sixty disciples as apostles: "Go forth, ye mendicants, upon your way, for the salvation of the people, for the good of the people, for the salvation, the advantage, and the prosperity both of gods and men." The Enlightened One did not remain alone after despatching his apostles. Shortly afterward thirty rich youths accepted his doctrine; they were followed by one thousand fire worshippers. The most important convert, however, was Bimbisara, king of the great Magadha kingdom. In him Buddhism gained a powerful patron, and the conversions of lay brothers immediately due to this success were numbered by tens of thousands. Even more important converts were the two most famous pupils of the master, Sariputta and Mogallana.

The conversion of King Bimbisara marks the first step of that policy which was characteristic of this religion in its later developments—that of entering into relations with the ruling powers and invoking their protection. Henceforward Buddhism rises and falls in the several states as their ruling dynasties prosper or decay. The same phenomenon appears in Ceylon, where the Buddhist communities attained to extraordinary prosperity under powerful and fortunate kings, while the political disasters resulting from the war with the Dravidians repeatedly brought the doctrine to the point of annihilation. Toward its patrons Buddhism invariably displayed a considerable amount of adaptability. Its first chief patron, Bimbisara,

secured the introduction into the monastic communities of the monthly penances formerly practised by many Brahman monks, the strict observance of the four quarters of the moon, the Poya days of the modern Singhalese, and also of the Uposadha days.

When Buddha returned, during his later wanderings, to his native town, where his son Rahula entered the community, at the request of the old prince he added to the rules of the community the regulation that no son should become a monk without his father's consent. The fundamental objections of Buddha to the institution of orders of nuns were overcome only by the influence of his foster mother, Prajapati,

The Rise of Buddhist Monasticism

who was of royal race and desired to found such an order. On the other hand, the new doctrine thus powerfully supported gained not only popular approval but also material help. Poverty was, as a rule, obligatory only upon individual monks, and from the outset the order was always glad to receive rich presents. The first of such foundations was that of the Bamboo Grove, near the capital of Magadha; and even during the lifetime

of the master, princes and rich men rivalled one another in making similar offerings. A long list of large gardens and parks were even then assigned to the order, one of the most famous of these being the garden of Jetavana at Sawatthi. In Ceylon, where the history of Buddhism is more easily followed, the larger and more valuable part of all the arable land eventually fell into the hands of the order.

Among the pupils who gathered round the person of Buddha, one of the most

human figures is his cousin Ananda, who, though not distinguished for intellectual power, engages our sympathy by his loving devotion to his master. But even in that narrow circle which gathered round the Enlightened One, the element of evil



MAYA AND THE CHILD BUDDHA
After an Indian drawing.



THE CITY OF BENARES WHERE BUDDHA PREACHED HIS GREAT SERMON

was to be found even in the apostolic land of Jesus. Devidatta a personality swollen with pride and dominated by immeasurable ambition is during the time of Buddha a type of that sectarian spirit which resulted in the repeated schisms of later years. even during the master's lifetime many believers were led astray by him. And is at a later period one sect invariably abuses and maligns another so here legend even reproaches the ambitious disciple with attempts upon his master's life.

For forty five years after his enlightenment Buddha traversed the country preaching his doctrine and making thousands of converts. At length a severe illness reminded him that the end of his life was approaching. In deep anxiety his congregation asked who was to follow him as their leader. But the

**Last Days
of the
Prophet**

master refers them to their own knowledge. Be your own illumination, be yourselves your refuge, have no other refuge, for the doctrine shall be your light, the doctrine shall be your refuge and have no other refuge. By sheer will power the sick man was cured for the time, but he himself prophesied his death at the end of three months. The last days of Buddha are related by the legend with details so realistic that it is probable they contain some substratum of historical truth. He is said to have gone to Pawa with his favourite pupil Ananda, where, with other

monks, he received hospitality from Kunda the smith. Hunted pork was set upon the table at their meal and after partaking of this he fell ill. However he continued his journey. But in the neighbourhood of Kusinara his strength failed him and lying down under two beautiful myrtles he waited death. He thanks his faithful Ananda for all his love and devotion asks the monks gathered round him three times whether any feels doubt, and when all have asserted their faith

Death of the Buddha he speaks his last words. Of a truth O monks I say unto you all that is must decay, strive for perfection and faint not. Then his life passed into Nirvana.

As the mortal remains of the King of kings are treated so shall one treat the remains of him who has been perfected, so runs the saying of Ananda when the Mullers of Kusinara questioned him upon the form of burial. The preparations lasted six days after which the funeral pyre was lighted with the utmost pomp. The ashes of the great departed were collected. Constant demands for relics came in with proposals to guard them in fitting memorials, and it was at last arranged that the remains should be divided into eight parts and presented to the eight most important states in which Buddha had lived and worked.

Later tradition relates that immediately after the funeral the most important monks met together in Rajagaha, under

the presidency of Kasyapa, who defined as accurately as possible the formulæ of the doctrine (the first council of Rajagaha). It is said that the sayings of Buddha relating to the discipline of the order were set forth by Upali, while the general teaching upon the daily life of all, including the lay adherents, was recited by Ananda. This teaching was then committed to memory by 500 monks, and by them handed down to tradition.

Exactly 200 years after the death of the master it became necessary to call a second council at Vesali. As a number of monks had supported views which diverged in detail from the original doctrine, a committee met at Vesali and determined the direction of Buddhist doctrine for the future.

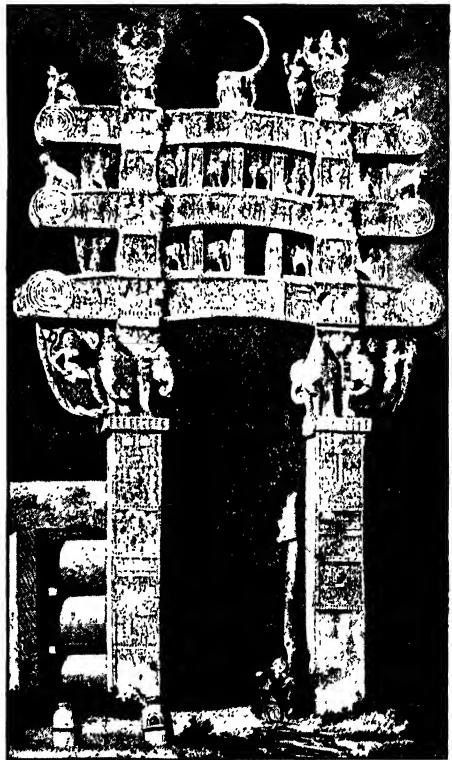
The first council of historical authenticity is the third, that of Patna, about 250 B.C. Dipawansa, the earliest chronicle of Ceylon, reports upon this as follows: "With the object of destroying infidelity, many of the pupils of Buddha, 60,000 sons of Jina, met together in council. Over this assembly presided Tissa Mogalliputta, son of Mogalli. For the purpose of purifying the faith and formulating the doctrine for the future, the president, Tissa, appointed 1,000 Arahats choosing the best members of the assembly, and held a synod. The third council was brought to an end after a space of nine months in the monastery of Asokarama, built by King Dhammasoka." In order that the doctrines of the master might be the better transmitted to the disciples, the council formulated his teaching in the canonical books of the Tripitaka, "the three baskets." This council was also responsible for the despatch of numerous missionaries, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon among other places; from this period begin the monastic annals of the Singhalese, which, at a later period, were worked into the chronicles. In these

there is mention made of the names of some of the missionaries who were then despatched, and the credibility of the chronicles has been considerably strengthened by the discovery of the tomb of one of those missionaries in North India.

Granted that the council of Patna is historically authentic, the same can by no means be said of the two preceding councils. It is indeed true that the council of Vesali was held 200 years after the death of Buddha

—that is to say, less than fifty years before the conversion of Ceylon; and we may therefore suppose that later tradition was upon the whole well informed of the events of that time. But the narratives of Ceylon make it plain that that council was not called to formulate the doctrines of Buddhism, but was merely a gathering of Buddhist monks from a limited area to settle certain points of detail concerning monastic morality. Individual monks had put questions to the meeting, for instance, whether it were lawful to eat solid food only at midday, or also in the afternoon until the sun had cast a shadow two ells in length; whether it was lawful to keep salt in buffalo horns; whether it was lawful to sit upon a chair covered with a plain cloth.

We can readily understand that such a gathering of monks may have grown to be considered a council, remembering



A GEM OF BUDDHIST ART
This wonderful carved gateway at Bhilsa dates back to at least 250 years before the Christian era and is considered one of the finest specimens of Buddhist art. It is here reproduced from Fergusson's "History of Indian Architecture," by permission of Mr. John Murray.

the Buddhist method of emphasising important facts by the multiplication of them. Thus, according to later legends, there was not one Buddha only but as many as twenty-four before him; the Buddha of the present age had not visited Ceylon once, but three times, and so on. Hence the canonical teaching required not one, but several formulations, and it was not enough to magnify the synod of Vesali into a council; it was necessary to presuppose another council held immediately after the death of Buddha—that of Rajagaha. This council, indeed, is mentioned only in appendices, which were apparently added to the canonical writings at a much later date.

As the history of the Buddha doctrine previous to Asoka is thus uncertain, we are justified in asking what amount of historical truth is contained in the legends upon the personality of its founder. The attempt has been made to deny the personal existence of Buddha; and this view has been justified by the allegorical meaning of the chief names in the personal history of Gautama. Siddhodana, his father's name, means "The man whose food is pure"; Maya means illusion; Kapilavastu means the town of Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy; Siddhartha means "He who has fulfilled his task." Such scepticism is, however, far too sweeping. In March, 1895, in the Terai of Nepal, near the village of Nigliwa, in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, about ten miles distant from the ruins of a memorial mound, an inscription of King Piyadasi, the "Pious," was discovered upon a pillar. This inscription states that Asoka, in the fifteenth year of his reign, had set up for the second time the memorial of the Konagamana Buddha, the mythical predecessor of the historical Buddha, and in the twenty-first year of his reign had himself visited the spot and there performed his devotions. The Chinese Hsien Tsang (Yen Tsung), who visited the shrines of the Buddhists about 636 A.D., mentions the memorial and the inscription on the pillar. Moreover, on December 1st, 1896,



A BUDDHIST TOPE, OR SACRED PLACE

There are many of these huge mounds in India, but their precise use is a matter of conjecture. They are flat on the top and surrounded with a wide platform at the foot, while elaborate gateways and enclosing walls encircle the whole. One of the gateways is shown in detail on the opposite page.

a pillar was examined near the village of Padeira, thirteen miles from Nigliwa. This pillar had also been seen by Hsien Tsang. It rose nine feet above the ground, was covered with inscriptions made by pilgrims, while upon the three feet of it below the level of the ground was found an inscription written in very ancient characters in the "Brahmi"—formerly and erroneously known as the Maurya or Asoka—alphabet, dating at least from the year 800 A.D.

The purport of the inscription was that Priyadarasin, after a reign of twenty years, here makes his prayer in person, expressly designates the spot a birthplace of Buddha, and makes the fact known by the erection of a stone pillar. At the same time, he

remit the taxes due from the village of Lummini (the modern Rumin-dei), and makes presents to the inhabitants. Finally, William Caxton Peppé, while making excavations in January, 1898, on his property at Piprawa, in the Terai—that is to say, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kapilavastu, opened an ancient memorial, and discovered a finely-worked sandstone chest covered by a giant slab, which, together with other

objects, contained bone fragments in an urn, and bore the following inscription: "This resting-place for the remains of the exalted Buddha is the pious offering of the Sakyas, the brother with his sisters, children, and wives." There is no reason whatever for casting doubt upon the authenticity of the inscription, and there-

fore we may consider that this latter discovery—the objects are now in the museum of Calcutta, while the bone fragments were given to the King of Siam—included the actual remnants of Buddha himself—that is to say, one of the eight parts into which the carefully preserved remnants of the Enlightened One were divided, which was handed over to the Sakyas of Kapilavastu after the death of Buddha and the cremation of his corpse. It is but a few years since methodical investigation into the field of Indian epigraphy was begun, and researches in this direction will no doubt speedily bring yet more valuable information to light.

For the rest of the life of Buddha we are forced to depend upon the internal probability of the legendary stories. Of these, the main features are far too simple and natural to have been evolved by the riotous imagination of later times. Especially is this true of the stories of his birth from a noble family, his education, his early marriage, his sympathy with the general sense of the futility of life, his retirement from the world, the penances which he underwent, his renunciation of Brahmanism, and his death. His personality is undoubtedly to be conceived in strict accordance with tradition, for to that personality the new doctrine undoubtedly owed a great deal of its success. Especially credible is that part of the legend which tells us of his dignified bearing, of his high intellectual endowments, of his penetrating glance, the firmness of his convictions, his oratorical power, his gentleness, kindness, and liberality, and the attractiveness of his character. When Ananda informed his master of the fact that the Maller Royya was an influential man whose conversion would be highly advantageous to their party, "He poured such a flow of love upon the Maller that he could not but follow the teacher as the calf follows the cow."

The benevolence of Buddha's character more than anything else drew the hearts

of mankind towards him. He had, no doubt, a carefully thought-out metaphysical system of his own; he made many rules to govern the life of his apostles, which were either borrowed from Brahman orders or were innovations of his own, but it was not to these that he owed his success. The great difference between him and the Brahmins was the deep, warm love which he bore for his neighbours. In his system under its later form, which still continues in Ceylon, we see only the lifeless labours of his successors. In Buddha himself lived and worked the originality of a high and lofty mind, coupled with the benevolent power of purity and warmth of heart. The influence of these characteristics continued for at least a century after his death, as is proved by the edicts of Asoka.

Asoka was not a Buddhist when he assumed the government of the powerful kingdom of Magadha (269 B.C.). About 261 he was converted, though he did not make public profession of his faith before 259. The humanitarianism of the master finds a strong echo in the decrees dictated by the glowing enthusiasm of his royal

A Great Royal Convert convert. Asoka gives expression of his warm love for the whole of humanity. "All men are to me as my children. As I wish my children welfare and prosperity in this and the next world, so I do to men." Many of his numerous inscriptions on rocks or pillars are intended for the instruction of his people upon the nature of true religion. "What is Dhamma? It is to flee from the evil and do the good; to be loving, true, patient, and pure in life." The king forgets none of the essential virtues—moral purity, truth, nobility of heart, kindness in word and deed, goodness to all, respect and obedience to parents, love to children, tenderness to the weak, kindness to all creatures, reverence to the priests, the utmost toleration for other faiths, liberality in almsgiving, the avoidance of anger, passion, and cruelty. How changed is Buddha's teaching in the dead conventionalism of its modern form!

One of Asoka's edicts, perhaps the last, gives us some indication of the date when Buddha's doctrines first became stereotyped. This is the inscription of Bairat, or Bhabra, discovered in 1840 and assigned by Edmund Hardy to the year 249 B.C. Here the later teaching first makes itself heard, and in this inscription occur only the later expressions

concerning Buddha, his doctrine and the community of his believers, together with the phrase, "Everything that has been said by the exalted Buddha is well said." Here alone is there any reference to the articles of a legal code. The decree of Bhabra was issued after the council of Patna by which it was influenced, and in this council Buddhist teaching was definitely formulated. The theory is

further supported by the despatch of many missionaries shortly after the conclusion of the council. A probable cause of this step was the reformulation of the doctrine. Thanks to this mission, and especially to that of Mahinda, the son of Asoka himself, to Ceylon, where the doctrine had remained unchanged in all essentials, later Buddhism and its history are fairly plain to us.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM AND THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGION OF JAINISM

BUDDHISM after Asoka, like the doctrines of the Brahmins, is founded upon a metaphysical basis. The fundamental principle of every Buddhist doctrine is Bodhi (knowledge). The connotation, however, of this term is in no way profound or comprehensive. The Buddhist philosophy, unlike the Brahman, does not seek to probe the reason of all existence, but while recognising that all life is suffering, and that every act of suffering involves fresh suffering, it confines itself to the discovery of release from suffering. The fundamental pessimism thus characteristic of Buddhism is the natural product of the age. The doctrine, however, is content with the fact of suffering as it is. It does not seek to advance to the conception of a supreme being, or even to the thought of an original world-soul in a state of passivity. It does not seek to explain suffering, as did the Brahmins, by supposing a descent on the part of the supreme being to the lower levels of action. Questions of this kind are beyond the sphere of that

The Great Problem of Life

knowledge which it desires. Hence there is for Buddhism no supreme divinity. Gods certainly exist, but, far from being able to help men, they suffer as men suffer. Thus for Buddha there are no thanks to be paid to God, no prayers or requests, and consequently no mediator between God and man, no priest, no sacrifice, no worship. The fact of a divine existence has been banished from the philosophy of this religion. The problem of life none the less remains to its adherents. What is the individual life? What is the process of its continuance by reincarnation? How can the suffering of life come to an end?

At this point Buddhist philosophy diverges from the Brahman system,

which posited an actual existence for the individual soul. According to Buddhism, there is no being which passes into another upon death. Personal existence is brought about by the conjuncture of a number of different elements which in themselves, and separately, have no personality or soul. These five elements of life are matter, feeling, imagination, will, and consciousness. The union of these is life, the division of them death. Upon death, one thing alone survives, the moral consequence, the final account of the good and the bad that has been done during life, the Kamma, an element of impulse

Life and Death

driving the other elements to reunite after death and form another life. Like the beam of the scales, according to the nature of the final reckoning the reunited elements rise and fall to the formation of higher or lower beings. Thus, not to be born again implies the extinction of that yearning for existence. The Kamma being the consequence of actions performed in life, it can be destroyed only if during life man avoids all temptation to action; that is, renounces all desire.

At this point knowledge comes by her own. Only he who has this perfect insight into the true connection of life and suffering can reach this height. Ignorance at the other end of the scale leads to continued action, to reincarnation and further suffering. Thus the most important point is, according to the Buddhist formula, the knowledge of the "four sacred truths." These embrace all that Buddha meant by knowledge. They are most concisely stated in the sermon of Benares:

"This, ye monks, is the sacred truth of suffering; birth is suffering, age is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering, to be joined to one thou dost not love is

suffering, to be divided from thy love is suffering; to fail of thy desire is suffering; in short, the fivefold bonds that unite us to earth—those of the five elements—are suffering, it is a yearning for existence which leads from new birth to new birth, which finds its desire in different directions, the desire for pleasure, the desire for existence, the desire for power. This, ye monks,

is the sacred truth concerning the release from suffering, this Buddhist desire must be extirpated by the Creed entire destruction of inclination, which must be avoided, put away, left behind, and driven out. This, ye monks, is the sacred truth concerning the way to release from suffering; it is this sacred eight-fold path of right belief, right resolve, right speech, right action, right life, right desire, right thought, and right self-absorption."

He who seeks relief in "Enlightenment" must first of all be convinced of the truth about suffering, and must abhor all temporal attractions. Typical for him must be the horror which seized Buddha upon his flight from the world at the appearance of the old and broken man, of the man with a deadly disease, and of the putrefying corpse. This feeling the Buddhist must carefully cherish. He must cultivate the habit of introspection by contemplation of the thirty-two elements in the human body which arouse disgust, and by meditation on death and corruption, for by these means only will he be brought to that frame of mind for which temporal affairs have no attraction. He alone who retires from the world—that is to say, the monk—can become a perfect Buddhist.

Buddhist monasticism is in immediate connection with the Brahman monastic system. As in the latter case a band of learners gathers round a famous hermit, so also in the former. The yellow garment, the shaven head, the alms pot, are borrowings from an earlier period; as also are the days of strict retirement during the

phases of the moon, together with the solemn penances and the cessation from activity during the three months of the rainy season. However, from the very first the organisation of the order was as weak and loosely connected as that of Brahman monasticism. Here, too, the master left his pupils to their own resources, a process which might prove successful provided that some clear mind or powerful intellect could be found to

command universal respect. This, however, was by no means invariably the case, and the looseness with which the order was organised resulted not only in schism, the chronic weakness of Buddhism, but also in its ultimate defeat upon the revival of Indian Brahmanism.

A necessary preliminary to the constitution of a monastic order was the existence of non-monastic friends of the Buddhist teaching—the Upasakas. Any form of human activity was in some way a contradiction of the command to leave the Kamma in complete passivity. The laity could thus never become Buddhists in the full sense of the term, and belonged only to the second class of the order; the community properly so called consisted only of mendicant monks, who depended for a living upon the benevolence of others, and who considered their name of beggar, or Bhikshu, as a laudatory title. In the course of time certain rules of conduct were formulated for this class and stereotyped according to the usual Buddhist method; they are characterised by a spirit wholly alien to the strong humanitarianism which

permeates the teaching of Buddha himself. Ten chief Rules for Monks commands were binding upon the monk. It was unlawful to kill any living thing—"either worm or ant"; nothing should be taken except what was given—"not even a blade of grass"; falsehood was forbidden and the use of intoxicating liquors; family ties were to be renounced as "a hateful thing"; food was not to be taken at the wrong time or at night; wreaths or scents were not to be used, and the monk was to sleep upon a mat spread upon the ground; dancing, music, singing or theatrical performances were to be avoided, and gold and silver were not to be used.

The order was open to any who desired to enter it. Disqualifications were infectious diseases, such as leprosy, etc., slavery, official posts, the lack of parental consent. The would-be monk must be more than twelve years old; he was obliged to pass a novitiate and receive full instruction upon the doctrine and morality under a monk in full orders; ordination could not be undergone before the twentieth year. The discipline imposed upon the monk the "Middle way," as Buddha had already taught in the sermon of Benares; that is to say, his

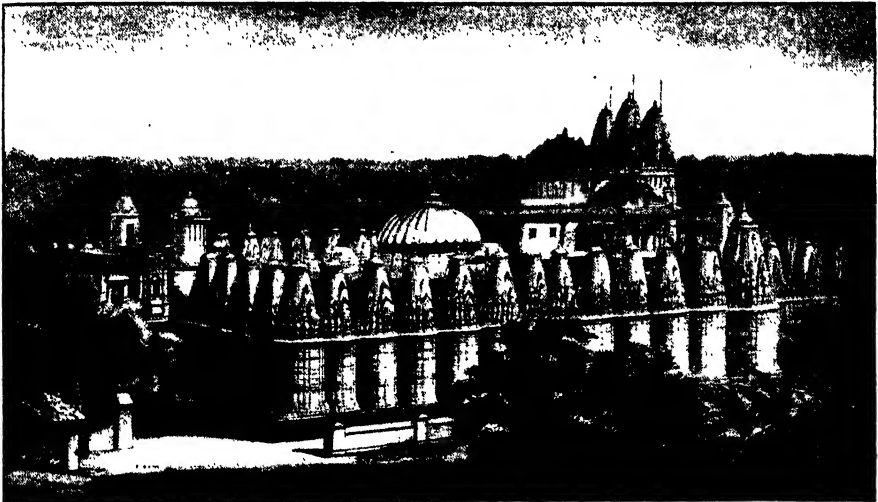
ANCIENT INDIA—BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

life was not to be a course of mortification, but everything was to be excluded which passed the satisfaction of the simplest needs, or could in any way lead to strengthen the ties binding the monk to the world.

The habitation was not to be placed too near villages or towns, the noise of which might disturb contemplation, though at the same time it was to be near enough to enable the mendicants to gain what they required. It was but rarely that a monk dwelt alone in a "Pansala"; in most cases several monks lived together. During the flourishing period of the order great monasteries

sions of Buddha's commands. In these assemblies new monks were ordained and business questions discussed. During the three months of the rainy season the monk was not to wander about, but to remain quietly in one place, either in his monastery or with some prosperous patron.

Female Monastic Orders Gautama consented with much unwillingness to the foundation of a female order, considering that it involved great dangers to his doctrine. The supervision of the nuns and the ordinances binding upon them were much stricter than in the case of the monks, who exercised a certain authority over the nuns. The



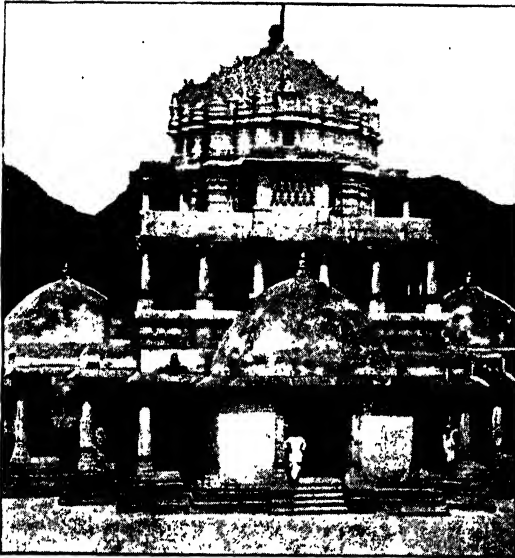
THE SPLENDID JAIN TEMPLE OF SHET HUTTISING AT AHMEDABAD
Dedicated to Dhurmanath, one of the deified mortals whom the Jains reverence as rulers of the world.

often sheltered a considerable number of Bhikkhus within their walls. The clothing—the upper garment of yellow—was to be entirely simple, and food was to be received in the alms dish from those who were benevolent enough to give to the beggar. The first half of the day was to be occupied in the task of mendicancy, and for the rest of the time the monk was to devote himself to introspection and pious exercises. Twice during the month, at the full and the new moon, the monks living within any one district collected for their solemn confession; the articles of confession were then read aloud, and an opportunity was thus given to individuals to confess their transgres-

The Life of the Monks

scriptions of Asoka make mention of many nuns, and under his government the female order was transferred to Ceylon by his daughter Samghamitta. However, it attained to no great importance, either in Ceylon or in India. According to the Singhalese chronicles, it seems to have entirely disappeared from the island as early as the end of the first millennium A.D.

An attempt to estimate accurately the importance of Buddhism with reference to Indian civilisation must begin by answering these two questions: Has this doctrine satisfied the religious requirements of the people? What has been the influence of its moral teaching? The Buddhist doctrine of liberation could bring complete satisfaction only to a few



Underwood & Underwood, London

THE JAIN TEMPLE OF MEMNATH ON MOUNT ABU

Built entirely of carved marble, this is an edifice of unrivalled beauty.

dominant minds. It is a doctrine of cold and unsympathetic nature, inasmuch as it offers no recompense for the infinite suffering of which the true Buddhist must feel the sway. It offers no supreme being which can sympathise with and relieve the miseries of human existence; it can promise no state of beatitude where man will be recompensed for his sufferings upon earth; it can promise only mere annihilation and nonentity. The doctrine was of too abstract a character to satisfy the great mass of the people, who desire gods made in the image of man, and yearn for some supreme object of adoration which is at least comprehensible to mankind. The immediate consequence of these desires was the transformation and elaboration of the legend

Legends of Many Buddhas

concerning Buddha's life. It was not enough to attribute to Buddha supreme wisdom, almighty power, and thousands of miracles; his personality was also multiplied. When the true doctrines have fallen into decay, and mankind has become evil, there appears at long intervals a new Buddha to resume the teaching of the same doctrines of salvation. The Buddha Siddhartha is said to have been preceded by as many as twenty-four Buddhas,

the last of which was Kasyapa; and five thousand years after the passing of Buddha into Nirvana a new Buddha, Maitreya, will arise. Of these personalities legends innumerable exist. The worshipper demands to see them in concrete form, and hence every Buddhist temple and palace is adorned with their likenesses and portraits, and especially with reproductions of Gautama. This desire for some tangible object of veneration appeared immediately upon the death of the master. A general demand arose for some sacred relic of the deceased, and his earthly remains were collected from the ashes of the funeral pyre and divided. In course of time the demand for relics increased in proportion to the distribution of the doctrine, and in every country of Buddhist faith there arose many thousands of shrines containing relics, stupas, or Dagobas, the goal of millions of pious pilgrims.

These relics were, however, purely symbolical. Buddha himself had entered the Nirvana—Nothingness: the people, however, demanded living gods, and Buddha himself had not denied the existence of these. The people, as a whole, were not so penetrated with the sense of the great suffering of existence as were the philosophical monks, although they suffered more than these from the petty cares of life, and their daily occurrence. Their old gods were called in to help in this department. The Buddhist mechanically repeats his formula of refuge; but in practice that refuge is made with the Aryan, Brahman, and Dravidian gods, including the sacred fig-tree and the Naga snake, the sun and the stars, the evil demons of the Dravidian faith, and the bright forms of Vishnu or Siva. All of these deities, together with Gautama, find a place in the broad creed of the Buddhist devotee, and during a solemn procession their grotesque images are carried side by side with the benevolent features of the Enlightened. In reality the earthly fate of the Buddhist is still guided by those old gods whom the master thought to set aside as of secondary importance. They are, no doubt, mere mechanical additions to the Buddhist faith in the southern

The Gods of the Buddhists

ANCIENT INDIA—BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

districts of Buddhism, as, for instance, in Southern India about the year 1000 A.D., and in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam at the present day; on the other hand, in northern Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia the doctrine with which they have been incorporated has been so entirely transformed by their influence that the original system of Gautama is scarcely recognisable. The ethical teaching of Buddhism is not based upon divine authority, but upon individual egoism; moral duties or virtues as such are non-existent, utilitarianism being the guiding principle. This principle, indeed, inspires the commands respecting personal behaviour, self-restraint, the government of the senses, self-sufficiency, vigilance. Indeed, every command explaining a man's duty to his neighbour, such as the exaggerated care against the taking even of animal life, or the exhortations to sympathy, kindness, and benevolence,

Ethical Teaching of Buddhism

spring not from the ground of the heart, but from the purely selfish desire to advance by their fulfilment toward the ultimate goal of liberation. The moral teaching of Buddha, as regards the manner in which it makes kindness and love binding upon all men, is high above the ethical system of the Brahmins and far below the purity and nobility of Christianity. Especially is it lacking in moral force. How, indeed, could a religion provide a strong and energetic ethical system when its chief duties consisted in the entire avoidance of action and its highest aim in total extinction—Nirvana. The indulgence of the system has been stamped upon the whole Buddhist world; stricken with fear at the thought of suffering, its strength lies rather in endurance and passivity than in action. In a people enervated by such beliefs it is impossible to expect any powerful bond of union, any feeling for the greatness of

The Grand Error of Buddhism

race or state, any sense of patriotism. We do not forget what the princes did for their people, but at the same time this could be only a drop in the ocean; they cared for the poor and the sick, planted fruit trees on the roads, constructed great works of irrigation, were liberal, especially toward the monastic orders. But this very liberality was a cause of further weakness: the best and the richest districts fell into the hands of the orders, and many strong arms were thereby condemned to inactivity. Meanwhile the people became impoverished, and bore their sad existence with resignation or indifference.

The caste system Buddha no more attempted to set aside than the gods; in his view both of these were necessary institutions as existing from the creation of the world. The great difference between his teaching and that of the Brahmins consists in the fact that he meant his precepts of humanitarianism to be binding upon all the castes. His followers were to be kind and benevolent even to the low-born Sudra, and were not forbidden even to accept food from him. At the same time a caste feeling was deeply rooted in



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A LITANY IN STONE: INTERIOR OF A JAIN TEMPLE

In Western Hindustan Mount Abu rises 6,000 feet abruptly from the desert, and on its top, in the 11th and 12th centuries, the Jains built the exquisitely carved marble temple of Vimala Sah, of which this is an interior view. The marble must have been quarried 300 miles away. The temple is dedicated to a prophet, Parsvanatha, whose image is repeated again and again in the carvings of the temple; indeed, this curious structure is a sort of litany in stone.

Buddha and the whole of his order: though we often hear of the reception of distinguished members of the higher and the highest castes by the master during his lifetime, instances of such treatment of the Sudra Buddhists do not occur. Even at the present day the collective Buddhist sects of Ceylon are recruited solely from the highest castes.

Buddhism and Woman Buddhism is also open to the further reproach of having done nothing to raise the social position of woman. The founder showed the greatest reluctance, and was induced only by a strong pressure from without, to admit the woman within his community, and even then she was not placed upon an equality with the man. Generally speaking, the only consolation he had to give to the woman in her subordinate position was that she must bear her burden, because it was appointed by the order of things, in the same way as the burden of a Sudra or of a worm.

Severe but true is Bishop Copleston's criticism of Buddhism that it lowers mankind by the very assertion of man's supremacy.

Buddhism, though the most successful, was not the only religious system which rose during that period of intellectual movement. Contemporary with Gautama was that personality to whom the now existing sect of the Jains refers the origin of its religion: his name was Nataputta, though he was known by his adherents as Mahavira Wardhamana, the revered Jina or world-conqueror. He, too, had his origin in that centre of intellectual movement on the lower Ganges, and his life and teaching are marked by many points of resemblance to his more important contemporary. Like Buddha, he was the son, born in 599 B.C., of a distinguished Kshatriya, by name Siddhartha, who was apparently governor of the outlying town of Kandapura, of Vesali, where the feudal aristocracy was as

The Founder of Jainism predominant as among the Sakya. On his mother's side he was related to King Bimbisara of Magadha, and, like Gautama, he found in this king a patron of his doctrine; indeed, these two religious systems owe their prosperity primarily to the existence of that great kingdom and its ruler. Until his twenty-eighth year Nataputta lived with his parents; then, however, like Gautama, he joined the Brahman

ascetics and lived for twelve years under their rules, surpassing all but one of these in the severest penances as a naked ascetic. Thus he arrived at supreme knowledge or Kewala, and so acquired for his soul freedom from its earthly trammels. The last thirty years of his life (until 527) were devoted to the dissemination of his teaching and to the organisation of the community he founded.

His honorary title of Jina has been taken by the sect which he founded, the Jains. They believe in a great number of prophets of their faith anterior to Nataputta, and pay special reverence to this last of these, Parsva, or Parsvanatha. Herein they are correct, in so far as the latter personality is more than mythical. He was indeed the royal founder of Jainism (776 ?), while his successor, Mahavira, was younger by many generations, and can be considered only as a reformer. As early as the time of Gautama, the religious confraternity founded by Parsva, and known as the Nigantha, was a formally established sect, and, according to the Buddhist chronicles, threw numer-

Doctrines Taught by the Jains ous difficulties in the way of the rising Buddhism. The numerous points of correspondence between Buddhism and Jainism are sufficiently explained by the fact that both systems originated in Brahman teaching and practice. The formation of the Jain canon dates from the fifth century A.D., during which period the "holy" scriptures were established at the Council of Valabhi, under the presidency of Devarddhiganin. But this council has been put as early as 154; and according to one authority the writings from which the canon has been formed are as early as the first, and perhaps the second or third centuries B.C.

The Jains, like the Buddhists, accept the Brahman theory of the misery of existence and the necessity for liberation. Where, however, the Buddhist philosophy diverges from the Brahman, they follow the older creed. According to their system, the soul has a real and self-contained existence; during life it is fettered to the base elements of the material body, which it leaves upon death. The soul is then enclosed in a form of ethereal lightness until the Karma—the ethical resultant of the actions performed in life—obliges it to become incarnate and to resume the burden of suffering.

ANCIENT INDIA—BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

Buddhist philosophy culminates in the release from this necessity of reincarnation—that is to say, in nonentity—whereas the Jains assumed the existence of an elaborate system of higher and highest beings which claim veneration from mankind. In the different regions occupied by these divine personalities, the Jina, or all-conquerors, take the highest place. They alone, released from death and from new birth, live in eternal and absolute purity. They are the souls, freed from all earthly trammels, of the great prophets, who are far more numerous in this religion

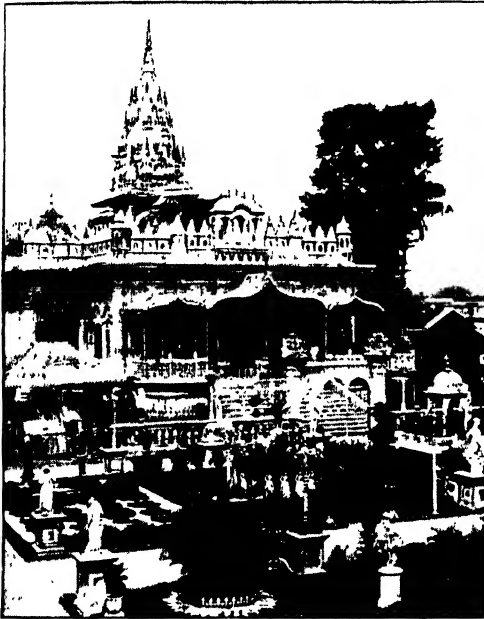
True faith consists in belief in the Jina and in the whole system of higher beings; true insight is provided by the philosophical system of the Jains. According to this system, both the world and the soul have an eternal objective existence. The misfortune of the soul consists in its connection with the body, and when its desire for action is extinguished it becomes free. The precepts of pure virtue coincide almost entirely with those of the Buddhist teaching.

The five fundamental precepts of the Jain monks are the same as the first four of the Brahmins, and run as follows: Thou shalt not kill any living being; thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not take what has not been given to thee; thou shalt refrain from intercourse with worldly relations. The fifth precept includes within itself the remaining precepts of the Buddhist monks; thou shalt renounce all earthly possessions, and chiefly shalt call nothing thine own.

While insisting upon the importance of these commandments, the Jain teaching also recognises the value of asceticism in its severest form as an aid to liberation. About the year 80 A.D. this point led to the schism between the two main sects of this religion, which, however, agree upon fundamental principles—the Digambara, "those who are clothed with the vault of heaven"—that is, the naked—and the Svetambara, "those clothed in white."

Centres and objects of worship are numerous, as might be expected from the high importance attached to the divine beings. All Jain temples are placed by preference upon lofty mountains, such as Mount Abu, Mount Girnar, in Gujerat, etc. These buildings are adorned with rich decoration, and with a wealth of designs representing the different Jinās with their tokens—the ox, the ape, the fish, etc.

Everywhere the Jains enjoy the reputation of honourable and capable men; their reliability and commercial industry has enabled them to acquire prosperity and often great wealth. Their benevolence is not without a somewhat comic side, as in some of the hospitals for animals which they have founded, and in their custom of wearing a respirator and carrying a small broom to avoid killing even insects involuntarily.

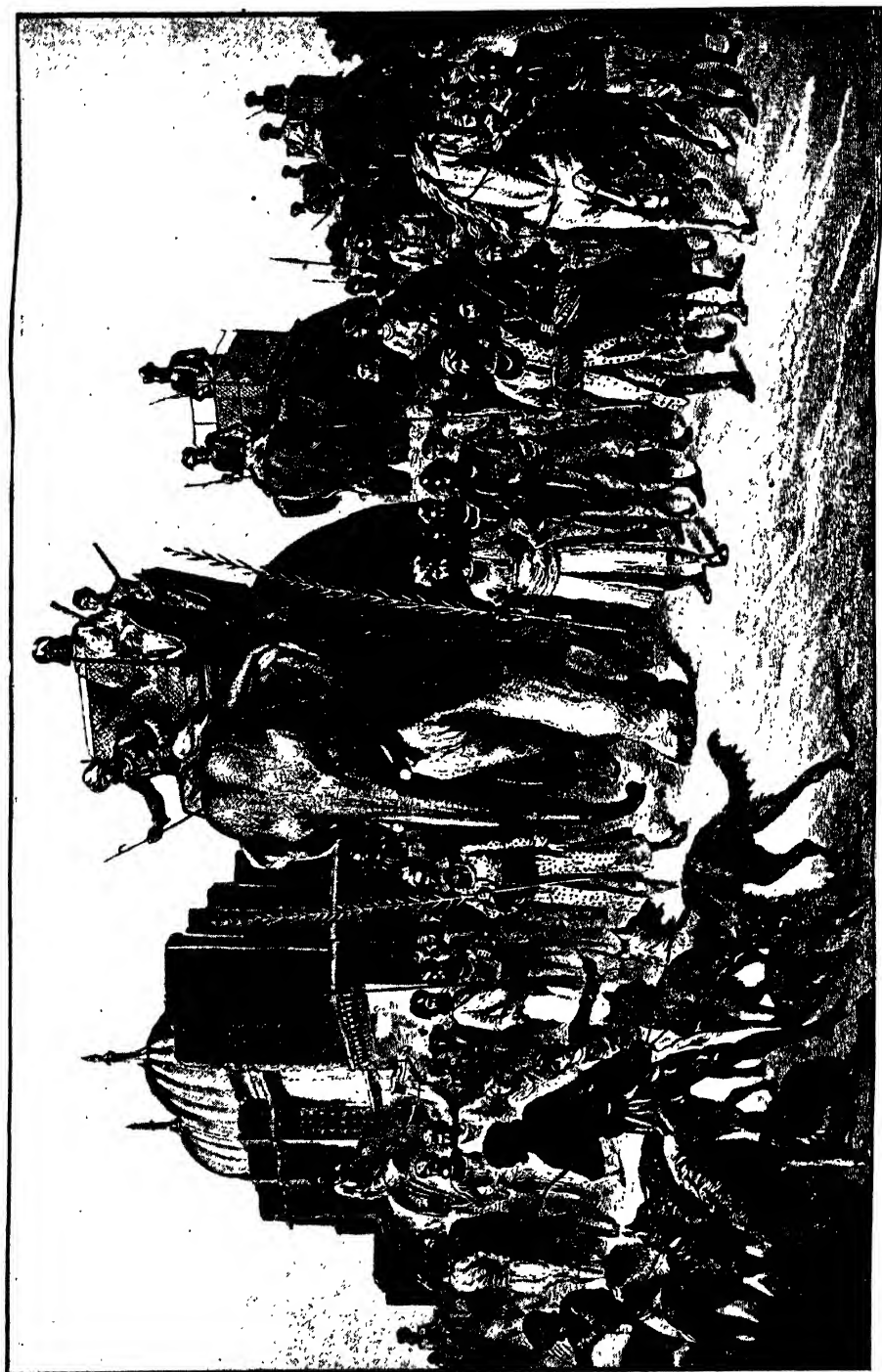


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THE RICHEST TEMPLE IN CALCUTTA

This Jain temple is one of the most magnificent in all India. It was built by a rich merchant, who lives in a palatial house near the temple. The chief material used is white marble, and every square foot of the surface is set with jewels.

than in Buddhism. Time is divided into three parts—present, past, and future; and in each of these divisions twenty-four Jinās appear at long intervals to bring knowledge to the world of those lofty truths leading to salvation. The twenty-third Jina of the present earthly period was Parsvanatha, and the twenty-fourth Mahavira. All of these Jinās, alike by their precept and example, have shown to the world the path to liberation, which consists in purity of faith, in true insight, and in virtue undefiled.



AN INDIAN NAWAB WITH HIS RETAINERS SETTING OUT FOR THE CHASE



INDIA FROM ALEXANDER TO THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS

RECORDS OF THE ANCIENT DYNASTIES

FROM the earliest times the inexhaustible natural riches of the great plains of the Ganges have been a source of prosperity and of misfortune to India. In every age this district has proved a strong attraction to foreign peoples.

The great Aryan immigration was the first movement of the kind of which we hear, but by no means the last. Legends speak of the invasion of Assyrian rulers, of Nimus and Semiramis: and though these may be purely mythical figures, yet those legends undoubtedly rest upon some historical foundation. Diodorus quotes the name of an Indian king, Stabrobates, "the lord of draught animals." It is true that this name appears rather Iranian than Indian. However, upon Assyrian monuments—as, for example, the obelisk of Salmanassar II., belonging to the year 842 B.C.—are representations of the Indian elephant and the rhinoceros, which were led before the victorious king, together with his prisoners. At a later period the Persian Cyrus is said to have undertaken a fruitless campaign to India, and upon his defeat to have retired to the same desert of Gedrosia through which Alexander retreated with

**Persian
& Assyrian
Invaders**

his Macedonians. There is no doubt that Darius subdued the races north of the Kabul River and west of the Indus, and explored the course of this latter stream about 510 B.C. Those tribes formed a special satrapy of Persia, and their contingents are said by Herodotus to have fought under Xerxes against the Greeks.

The Indian expedition of Alexander the Great is the earliest established chronological fact in the history of India. In the year 327 B.C. he started from Sogdiana and Bactria with about 100,000 warriors. Advancing along the Kabul River he was repeatedly obliged to wage desperate

conflicts with the bold mountain races and to destroy many of their fortified posts, but he arrived in the spring of the following year at the Indus frontier of the rich district of the Punjab.

The peoples there settled had changed but little since the time when their brothers had marched eastward into the Ganges district, had there founded states, and had struggled with the rising power of Brahmanism, with which they had eventually compromised. At that time the population was divided into a number of smaller tribes, the warrior caste holding the predominant position. Here Alexander met with a wholly unexpected resistance. Plutarch says of the Indians that the bravest and most warlike of them were the "mercenaries, who marched from one town to another defending each position to the last, and inflicting great loss upon Alexander." So intense was the animosity of the conqueror to this caste that, after promising unmolested retirement to the Kshatriya defenders of a town, he laid an ambush for them and destroyed them during their retreat. And "no less was the vexation caused him by the Indian philosophers, who reviled the kings who joined him and stirred up the free populations; for this cause he hangd many of them."

**March
of Alexander
to India**

Though the old bravery remained, the old tribal feuds had by no means died out, and Alexander was greatly helped by the strained relations subsisting between the Gandhara and their eastern neighbours, the Puru, the most important race in the Punjab. The Gandhara king, Taxiles, joined with other chiefs in doing homage to the invader, and supported Alexander's army with his own troops. In the spring of 326 the Greeks crossed the Indus near the modern Attok, and, after receiving the homage of the people, marched against

the Puru prince, Porus. This monarch awaited the Greek advance on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes. The Kshatriya fought with the courage of despair, and the greater portion of the Puru warriors were left upon the field of battle. The aged and heroic prince upon his war elephant retreated only when he found his army destroyed, his two sons slain, and himself seriously wounded. Not only did the Macedonians leave him his kingdom, but they added to it a number of conquered districts.

After a rest of thirty days Alexander advanced upon a fresh campaign; he had received trustworthy information concerning the peoples of the fruitful Ganges district, their populous towns and splendid capitals. However, his army failed him at the Hyphasis in the year 325, and the world-conqueror had come to the end of his victorious career. In boats and rafts he sailed down stream to the mouth of the Indus, and there divided his army into two parts. One of these returned to Persia by sea under Nearchus, while he himself was forced to retreat through the waterless desert of Gedrosia, under a burning August sun, and saved but a few remnants of the other half. Shortly afterward Alexander succumbed to his fatigues, his excesses, and the effects of the climate, in the year 323.

Alexander's Indian campaign had been of short duration, but the irresistible nature of his onset was equalled only by the importance of its consequences to the country; from the various tribes who had resisted the foreigners was formed the powerful Magadha kingdom. Among those who had been brought over to Alexander's side by the hope of personal advantage was an adventurer known as Chandragupta. A Sudra by birth—from his mother Mura, a low-caste woman, the royal family succeeding the Nanda was known as the Maurya dynasty—his position upon the lower Ganges had become untenable for him by reason of his intrigues. The confusion caused by the advance of Alexander into the Punjab seemed to him a favourable occasion for the realisation of his ambitions, and he contrived to maintain connection with both of the two parties.

After the retreat and death of Alexander dissensions broke out among the Greek

party remaining in the country; Porus was murdered by a Greek leader, Eudemus, and the Diadochi—the rivals in the succession to Alexander—began a series of quarrels over the division of the empire. Chandragupta then placed himself at the head of the Indian movement, secured predominance in the Punjab in 316 B.C., and in the following year gained possession of the Magadha kingdom, which, under his rule, extended, in 296 B.C., from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges. Seleucus Nicator found Magadha so powerful in 303 that he considered it prudent to secure the alliance of his eastern neighbour by giving him his daughter in marriage and renouncing his claim to Eastern Gedrosia, Arachosia, and Paropamisus. The excellent terms upon which these two princes lived is evidenced by their mutual despatch of ambassadors to the courts of Babylon and Pataliputra.

The first detailed description composed by an eye-witness of India and its people is that for which we have to thank the Greek Megasthenes. Only a few fragments remain to us of his work entitled "Indica"; but even from these we may learn many important details of the conditions of life in the Magadha kingdom. From a Greek point of view the description is highly prepossessing. Megasthenes praises the population for their honesty, uprightness, strength, moderation, and peaceful inclinations, though they are ready to repel invaders by force of arms. The prosperity of the state rested upon agriculture; this occupation was considered so sacred that it was not to be interrupted even in time of war, and the farmer could peacefully till his land while bloody battles were proceeding in the immediate neighbourhood. The kingdom was defended by a numerous well-organised, and highly-trained warrior class—one of the seven classes, or castes, of the people, between which so sharp a line of demarcation existed that they could not even eat together. The land was common property, and one-fourth of the produce was paid to the State to meet government expenses. The Buddhist ascetics were then considered a subdivision of the Brahmans.

The grandson of Chandragupta, the son and successor of Bindusara, Asoka (269 to 232 B.C.), was the most powerful ruler of ancient India; his kingdom



SCENE IN MODERN PATNA: THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE GREAT MAGADHA KINGDOM

The city of Patna was founded over 2,000 years ago, and was the capital of the ancient Magadha kingdom. Its most famous king was Asoka, the grandson of its founder, the convert of Buddha and the great protagonist of Buddhism.

extended over the greater half of the peninsula, and his influence far beyond these limits. After thousands of years no king has received such deep veneration as this Magadha ruler, whose name even to-day is deeply honoured from the shores of the Black Sea to the furthest islands of Eastern Asia, and from the shores of the polar ice to the equator. It is not to the greatness of his political power that he owes his fame, but to the gospel of human love, which he substituted for the teaching of Gautama.

The Greatest of India's Early Rulers

The Magadha kingdom, with its capital of Pataliputra, or Patna, founded by Chandragupta in 315 B.C., was not destined to exist long; its most brilliant period is the reign of Asoka, the grandson of its founder, under whom it extended over all North and Central India, and the Northern Deccan. Less than a century after the accession of the great king, and 137 years after the founding of the Maurya dynasty, the last ruler, the tenth of the dynasty, was overthrown by his general, Brihadratha. The succeeding dynasty of the Shunga lasted only 112 years—178 to 66 B.C.: the kingdom of the Kanwa, who succeeded, gradually diminished as the Scythians gained in power.

The natural conditions of the Asiatic Highlands impose a nomadic life upon the

inhabitants. Mongolian, Turco-Tartar, and Scythian peoples were continually struggling for the possession of the grass steppes and pasture lands after the immigration of the Aryans. Race collided with race, and, like a wave driven before the stormy blast, confusion reached the uttermost limits of the country. An unusually strong upheaval of this nature had disturbed these nomadic tribes in the second century B.C.

The Mongolian tribe of the Hiung Nu—progenitors of the Huns—living east of the Oxus district in the steppes between Khiva and Khotan, had attacked the Tibetan Yue Tshi, who are, no doubt, to be identified with the Scythian Issedones upon their western frontier. This tribe they had defeated and forced to emigrate.

Struggle for the Steppes

The conquered nation then advanced upon the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, founded about 250 B.C. by Diodotus, a kingdom which had now advanced beyond the Indus into the Punjab. Before the onslaught of these invaders the predominance of the Greeks in Bactria Proper came to an end shortly after the year 140 B.C. A Scythian offshoot, the Sakæ, under the leadership of the king Maues in 100 B.C. and Azes in 70 B.C., turned toward the Indus, and, following the course of this river southward to Sindh, ultimately arrived at Gujerat.

Another tribe, the Kushana, followed the Kabul River into the Punjab under the prince Kozulo Kadphises. Here they destroyed the last remnants of the Greek supremacy in the year 25 B.C., and the following king, Huemo Kadphises, extended his power over the larger part of North-West India.

The most important ruler of this dynasty was the next king, Kanishka, whose kingdom extended from Yarkand and Khokand to Gujerat, and from Afghanistan as far as the Jumna. From his anointing, on March 15th, 78 A.D., dates the Saka Chronology. Nahapana is sometimes regarded as the founder of this kingdom. Upon their advance into India the Scythian hordes came into contact with Buddhism, and enthusiastically embraced this new religion. Like Asoka, Kanishka called a special council at Kashmir to reformulate the doctrine of Buddha. Supplementary explanations were then added to the three Pitakas of the Council of Patna. From this council it appears that even at that time the old doctrines of Buddhism had not been preserved in their original purity in Northern India, but had undergone considerable changes under the influence of Brahmin and Dravidian ideas. At the same time, it is probable that the deities introduced by the Scythians were not entirely without influence upon the conclusions drawn up by the council of the mighty Scythian ruler.

The kingdom founded by Kadphises, like that of Chandragupta, reached its most flourishing period under the second successor of the founder, while its importance begins to decrease after the third century A.D., when other dynasties and states became more prominent. However, the history of India during the first millennium A.D. appears to the modern inquirer like a great mosaic picture, in which only individual or small related groups of stones are now recognisable. Coins, casual reports from travellers, especially Chinese, and inscriptions show us movement and counter movement, rise and decay among states both small and great, but in no case is it possible to reconstruct the history in detail. In many cases, we have only the most scanty sources of information, a few isolated names and events, while other states

certainly existed and have left behind not a trace of their career.

The famous Maurya dynasty began to decay shortly after the time of Asoka, but the old splendour reappeared for a moment under the dynasty founded by Gupta in 200 A.D. This king, who had formerly been a vassal of Magadha, made himself independent, and under his grandson Chandragupta I. and his immediate successors the prosperity of the kingdom advanced so rapidly that it included all the territory between Nepal and the Narbada, between Cutch and the Ganges delta. During the sixth century, however, the prosperity of the realm was shattered by the attack of the "White Huns" in 515. These invaders were utterly defeated about 530 near Kabror by Yasodharma, a vassal of the Gupta kingdom. He himself assumed the supremacy and further extended the boundaries of the kingdom, though its history from this point is known to us only by a number of royal titles.

A kingdom of larger extent further to the south was also formed during the struggle with the White Huns. Invasion by the White Huns who had left their habitations on the Oxus after the year 435 A.D. and had invaded India. In the struggle against their king, Mihirkula, Yasodharma had been anticipated by another vassal of the Gupta kingdom, Sanapati Bhatarka, in 495. This prince was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty and kingdom, which attained a high measure of prosperity under his sixth successor, Dhruvasena. It included Gujerat, extending to the Narbada. The rulers at one time showed special favour to Buddhism, and at another transferred their preference to the Brahmans or to the Jains, who still count many adherents in the old Valabhi district. The canons of this latter doctrine were definitely formulated at the Council of Valabhi.

To the second half of the first millennium A.D. belongs the development of an important Hindu kingdom in the Deccan, that of the Chalukya. This race is considered to have come from Northern India, and the founder of the dynasty, Jayasimha I., established himself about 500 A.D. in the Deccan at the expense of the Dravidian Pallavas. The new Hindu kingdom rapidly increased in size and power, and in the following millennium embraced the greater portion of the Deccan.

ANCIENT INDIA—FROM ALEXANDER TO THE MOHAMMEDANS

In the year 630 it was divided into an eastern and a western kingdom. The Chalukya prince, Vishnuwardhana, obtained the kingdom on the east coast, which included the coast line between the mouths of the Krishna and Godaveri. For a long period he was at war with the Chola on the south, and eventually succumbed to their attacks in 1060. The western Chalukya constituted a flourishing kingdom until the year 747, and were then conquered and reduced to great weakness by the Rashtrakuta. After a long period of depression, Tailapa Deva, the son of Vikramaditya IV., conquered the Rashtrakuta of Malkhed, and also Malava and the Chola, in 973, and became the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty, whose kingdom disappears towards the end of the twelfth century, when it was divided among a number of branch dynasties.

This period of political change and complete racial fusion had gradually obliterated the points of contrast existing between the original races and peoples. The unity of the Indian people, Hinduism as it is in modern times, had been slowly formed from this former ethnical dualism. Its character is marked

by two special peculiarities, religious belief and social institutions or castes.

During the time of Asoka we find great points of difference existing within the sphere of religious belief. The Brahman doctrine of the nature of the world and the Deity was a purely esoteric system of belief, the other castes, and particularly the great mass of the Sudra, believing in the power of demons. Within the Brahman school of thought a third faith had arisen—Buddhism. This had been at first tolerated by the Brahmins, as they had failed to recognise the points of opposition to their system which its teaching involved. It has largely to thank Asoka for the vigour of its advance. It

was preached throughout India by the royal missionaries, and was introduced into Ceylon immediately after the Council of Patna. It also penetrated far beyond the boundaries of its Indian birthplace. During the first century of our era it reached China, where it was recognised as the State religion during the fourth century.

Extent of Buddhist Dominion

In 372 it was introduced from China into Korea, reaching, in the fourth and fifth centuries, Cochin China, Ava, Formosa, Mongolia, and Japan during the sixth century. At an even earlier period that form of it established in the Pali canon had passed from Ceylon to Burma in 450, and afterward became the dominant faith of Siam in 638; it was

brought to Java from the Indian continent in the sixth or seventh century. We have a striking example of the powerful influence which its teaching of liberation and its humanitarianism exercised even upon uncivilised nations in the case of the Scythian Kanishka. At the Council of Kashmir the doctrines formulated at Patna were reasserted.

But even at that time in the North of India a schismatic movement had begun, due to the introduc-

tion of a barren system of dialectic, and also to the perversion of the doctrine and worship by the Dravidian belief in demons. At a later period the belief underwent so great a transformation among the Tartar and Mongolian peoples that the northern Buddhism of the present day is merely a frightful caricature of the pure Buddhist doctrine. The soul, to which Gautama had denied an objective existence, was reintroduced as an element of belief. The souls of the future Buddhas, the Bodhisattwas, especially those of the Manjusri and the Avalokitesvara, were accorded divine veneration, becoming personifications of the mystical religious knowledge and of the spirit of the Buddhist churches; while almighty power was



MONUMENT OF AN ANCIENT KING

This temple, on the hill of Takt-i-Suliman, near Srinagar, is believed by the Brahmins to have been erected by Jaloka, the son of Asoka, who reigned about 220 B.C.

Early Indian Religions

typified in a third divinity, Vajradhara. Thus the heaven of this Buddhist sect was provided with a trinity, and to this were attributed the most abhorrent characteristics of the lower gods; and Shamanist customs and incantations, together with bloody sacrifices, were introduced into the worship. This incorporation of Indian Dravidian ideas and customs with Buddhism is chiefly the work of the Indian monk Asanga, who lived at Peshawar, in the Punjab, during the sixth century A.D. The resulting doctrine, called by the northern Buddhists the Great Chariot, to distinguish it from that which they contemptuously termed the Little Chariot—the earlier Buddhism—together with the conception that the spirit of the Churches became incarnate in one temporal head, eventually led to the development of Lamaism in the countries to the north of India.

Next to the Asoka inscriptions the most important sources of information upon Indian Buddhism are the accounts of the Chinese Buddhists who made pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of their religion, especially the reports of Fa Hien (400-414) and of Hiuen Tsang (629-645). From Fa Hien we learn that in the whole of Nearer India the two doctrines, the Great Chariot, or Mahayana and the Little Chariot, or Hinayana, existed side by side, though at the same time the Brahman teaching counted numerous adherents. At

the time of Hiuen Tsang, Kashmir was entirely given up to northern Buddhism, while the Little Chariot was predominant in Western and Southern India; in the Ganges district Buddhism suffered greatly from the competition of Brahmanism. Hiuen Tsang was present at the Council of Kanauj, where the doctrines of the northern sect were formulated. Buddha's birth-place was at that time in ruins, but his religion was even then firmly established in those countries in which he had himself been personally active. In the rest of India the old doctrine was still highly flourishing, and only in Kalinga had it been driven back by the rise of Brahmanism throughout that district.

Shortly after the pilgrimage of Hiuen Tsang serious misfortunes came upon the Buddhists. These are most probably to be explained by persecutions, which were at most purely local; Indian Buddhism collapsed more from internal weakness and diversity of growth than from the open hostility of other religions. Soon after the conclusion of the first millennium A.D.—about 1200—it had ceased to exist almost throughout India. The princes of Kashmir and Orissa supported it for a time; but about 1340 its last stronghold, Kashmir, also fell, and when the first Mohammedan kingdom of India was founded, nearly the whole population, with the exception of some few adherents in Bengal and Orissa, together with the Jains, acknowledged the gods of Hinduism.

THE STORY OF LATER HINDUISM

THOSE long-continued political disturbances which we have described proved unfavourable to the strengthening of religious conviction. Among the Brahmans a period of deep metaphysical speculation had been succeeded by a period of repose, while the lowest gods and the rudest forms of worship had been gradually accepted by the people at large. It was not until the eighth century that the reaction began. Tradition names Kumarila, who lived in the first half of that century, as at once the deadly enemy of the Buddhists and the reviver of the Brahman religion. But the first great reformer so called was probably Sankara Acharya. He was born in the Deccan in 788, was chiefly active in Northern India, and died in the Himalayas in 820. He revived the Vedanta philosophy and created the new popular Hindu

religion. The esoteric portion of his doctrine acknowledges one unique supreme god, the Brahma Para Brahma, the creator and governor of the world, who is to be worshipped by mystical introspection; the elements of religious thought extant in the people as a whole he united and inspired in the figure of Siva. The great

apostle of the worship of Vishnu, on the other hand, was Ramanuja, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century. His doctrines were preached by Kabir (1380-1420) in Bengal, and Chaitanya (born 1485) in Orissa. From the time of those reformers onward, Siva and Vishnu have been the corner-stones in the system of Hindu worship. In the popular religion Brahma retires into the background. The fundamental element in the philo-

Blending of Religious Beliefs

Popular Hindu Religions

ANCIENT INDIA—FROM ALEXANDER TO THE MOHAMMEDANS

sophical conception of Vishnu is immanence, so that this kindly helping god becomes properly the god of incarnations, of Avatars. His being permeates all things, and hence he may appear in most different forms. Whenever gods or men are reduced to the extremities of need, Vishnu brings them help in one or another of his manifestations. Legend numbers many of these incarnations, in all twenty-two, but the generally accepted number is ten. In the first three the god appears as the fish, the tortoise, the boar; in the fourth, as the male lion; and in the later incarnations in human form, first as a dwarf; afterward, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth as Parasurama, as Ramachandra, and as Krishna—that is, in forms taken from the heroic legends of Indian antiquity. Of these incarnations Krishna has become the most popular, the people recognising a national characteristic in the amusing tricks assigned to Krishna by the legend. The representation of Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu no doubt belongs to a period when an attempt was made to unite Buddhism with the Hindu religion. A later theory also considers Buddha under this incarnation as an agent who tempts the wicked to scorn the Vedas and the laws of caste in order to secure their eventual destruction, and so to free the world of them. Finally, the last incarnation of Vishnu belongs to the future; at the end of the present age the god will appear as Kalki and found a new kingdom of purity.

A God of Many Incarnations

In the conception of Siva, Brahman ideas of "darkness" meet the demon beliefs of the Dravidians. It is among the mountain tribes of the Himalaya that the figure of Siva, the "mountain spirit," originates, borrowed from Kiraata, a divinity given over to sensual pleasures, drinking, and dancing, and followed by a train of lower spirits. The fundamental conception of the Dravidian races of divinity as evil in nature is commingled with the Brahman ideas of darkness in the

person of Siva, the god of destruction. As Rudra he personifies the destructive forces of nature; as Mahakala, the dissolving power of time; as Bahirava, he is the destroyer, or destruction as such; and as Bhuteswara, adorned with a garland of snakes and death's-heads, he is the supreme deity of all the demons of the Dravidian belief. Thus Siva is rather a Dravidian Vishnu than an Aryan creation; as, indeed, is manifested by the distribution of their several worshipers, the devotees of Siva being more numerous in the south and those of Vishnu in the north.

Thus in the northern districts of the Madras presidency the worshippers of Vishnu preponderate by a number varying from ten to one to four to one; while in the central districts of the presidency the number of adherents of each faith is almost equal. In the south, the worshippers of Siva surpass those of Vishnu by a number varying from four to one to sixty-seven to one. In the loftier conception of Siva, Brahman thought becomes more prominent; from death springs up fresh life, from destruction the new and more beautiful is restored. Thus the "destroyer" becomes a benefactor, Sada, Siva, Sankara, Sambhu; he personifies the reproductive forces of Nature, and as such is worshipped under the name Mahadeva, the great god, Isvara, the chief lord. No image is of more frequent occurrence in India than his symbol. Yet more definitely Brahman is the idea of the power of the sacrifice and of asceticism, and in this connection Siva appears in the form of the "Great Penitent," Mahayogin. Per-



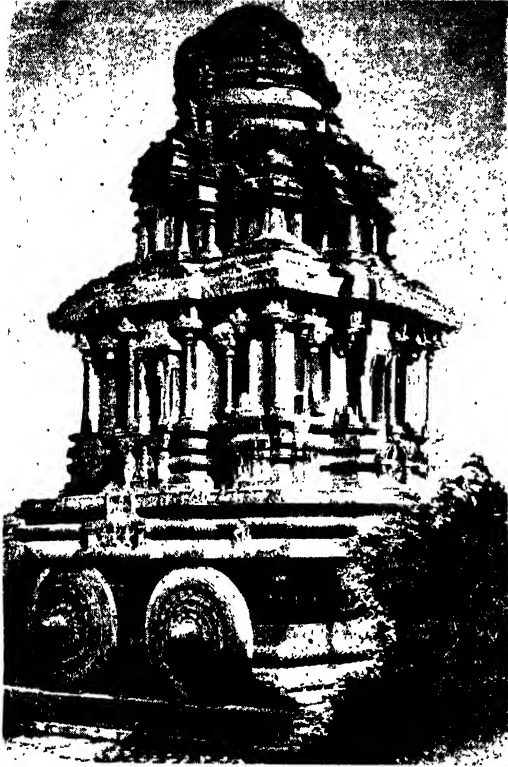
BRAHMA WITH HIS CONSORT SARASWATI

In Indian mythology, after a god was personified, he was given a consort. Saraswati is the goddess of learning.

sonification has not extended so far among the Hindu deities as it did among those of Greece and Rome; consequently, the Hindu pantheon is not composed of one great family of grandparents, fathers, mothers and children. Brahma and Vishnu had no son, and only two sons exist loosely connected with Siva—known as Subrahmanya, or Skanda, the god of war, and Ganesa, the god of cunning

Gods of the Hindu Pantheon

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ORIGINAL TYPE OF THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT

An ancient stone temple, built in imitation of the original type of the Car of Juggernaut, which, in many different forms, has so long figured and still figures in Hindu processions.

and success, who is invoked upon every necessity of daily life, and whose deformed, stumpy figure with the elephant's head is everywhere to be found.

Consorts are assigned to all the more important deities; yet the conception of wifehood has in this case been overshadowed by the personal attributes of the deity, might or power. According to Brahman philosophy, as soon as a supreme being becomes personal, his attributes coalesce into male and female divisions, the latter of which, contrary to our conceptions, is the more operative of the two. In the case of the less active gods, Brahma and Vishnu, this opposition is by no means so prominent. The consort of Brahma, Saraswati, is the goddess of learning and knowledge; while Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, is the goddess of supreme good and beauty. However, in the worship of Siva the

female side of his existence plays a more important part, owing to the fact that the god himself occupies a position of greater activity, and has absorbed a larger proportion of Dravidian deities who were essentially feminine. Each of the chief forms, under which Siva appears, has been intensified by the addition of a wife.

To the narrow circle of the supreme gods is added a number of superior beings, partly drawn from prehistoric legend, such, for instance, as the sacred singers of the Vedas, the Rishis, the Pandu brothers of the Bharata battles, and others drawn from the numerous band of lower deities worshipped by individual tribes. The Hindu heaven is spacious enough to contain any deity of the smallest importance or mystery, and includes stones and mountains, rivers and tanks, weeds and trees, useful and dangerous animals, spirits of the deceased, individual demons, and every variety of atmospherical phenomenon.

The wide differences—in fact, the oppositions—which characterise the manifestations of the divine element are reflected in the worship: the lowest fetich worship exists side by side with the veneration of the pure and higher powers of heaven. Hinduism is particularly

distinguished from all monotheistic religion by the fact that its votaries do not constitute a Church, or, indeed, possess a universally accepted creed. A Hindu may worship Vishnu or Siva in one or other of their different forms, as also Ganesa, or one of the many Saktis; his choice depends entirely on the forms of prayer and incantation which he has received from his spiritual tutor and adviser, the Guru. These formulae vary in the case of individual gods, and any god can be transformed into the patron deity of the Hindu who bears upon his forehead the sign of this special god. Under these circumstances common worship is impossible. Worship, like faith, is purely personal, and is composed of formulae and spells of magic power, of purificatory rites and sacrifices which the worshipper offers to the gods or induces his priest to offer for him.



CELEBRATION OF THE FEAST OF GANESA AT BENARES

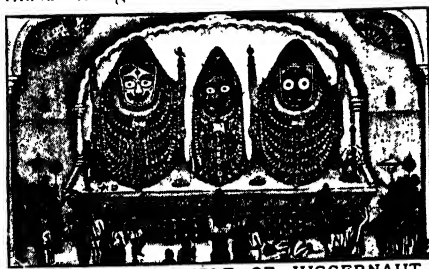
The image of Ganesa, the God of Success, who has the head of an elephant, may be seen in one of the vessels.

Worship of this kind, therefore, demands no great space or building where the congregation may meet together before their god; the sanctuary proper is never more than a small shrine or an unimportant chapel with the symbol or image of the god. The temples, which have increased to enormous size, especially in Southern India, owe their dimensions to the addition of subordinate rooms such as pilgrim halls, side galleries, or tanks surrounded by steps.

Divine worship is carried on under three main different forms. Vishnu, of all the supreme gods, is most like man in shape. Consequently, his statue is tended like a human being by priests specially appointed for the purpose. The worship of his image may be compared to the playing of a small child with its doll, and the offerings made to him are those things which delight the Hindu

heart—rice, coraco, pastry, and flowers or decorations of pearls and precious stones. Siva, on the other hand, the lofty and often terrible god, dwells at heights unattainable by humanity. It is exceptional for his temple to contain a statue. However, worship is rendered everywhere to his symbol, the lingam, which is bathed in holy water, smeared with butter or covered with flowers. The worship of the third group of gods, Dravidian in origin, necessitates a bloody sacrifice. Goats are slaughtered before the altars, and the images and temple floor are sprinkled with the blood of the animal. Poorer people offer a cock to these, or to other lower divinities. The human sacrifices prevalent at an earlier period are now practically abolished, though survivals in a milder form occur even at the present day.

To these forms of daily worship, prayer and sacrifice, must be added the religious festivals which occur upon the days dedicated to numerous individual gods. Scarce a people or a religion can be found which celebrates so many pious festivals as the Hindus. Specially meritorious is a pilgrimage carried out under circumstances of unusual difficulty to the source of some holy stream—such as the Ganges or the Narbada—or to one of the great sanctuaries of Siva or Vishnu. As Brahmanism had already sowed the



IDOLS IN A TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT

seed which was to develop into Hinduism and its religion, so upon the social side the Brahman caste regulations provided a practical basis for organisation. The caste system has been promoted by many influences and checked by many others. Even Buddhism showed a tendency to equalise and level the sharp barriers existing between the castes. When at a later period Mohammedanism was introduced, its adherents declined to recognise caste, and many Hindu sects in imitation laid down the social equality of all men as a fundamental principle.

On the other side influences existed which furthered the persistence and multiplication of the castes. During antiquity the incorporation of members of foreign races must have produced subdivisions within the several castes; newcomers would be regarded with some contempt by the older members, and differences of this nature grew in course of time to absolute division. Within the warrior caste this process was constantly repeated; and in the same way deep schisms often arose within the Brahman caste, especially in the south. It was a common occurrence for a caste or some part of it to claim and acquire a higher position by means of falsified genealogies or other evidence, though without obtaining absolute recognition. Local separation of the members of one and the same caste naturally results in a multiplication of castes. The divided parts mistrust one another, especially on the point of purity of descent, and ultimately the sense of their common unity is lost, and that which had been one caste becomes two. Caste divisions of this nature are especially common among nomadic shepherd tribes or trading and agricultural castes, which are driven from time to time by outbreaks of famine to change their dwelling-place and to divide their forces; divisions may also be brought about by war and the shifting of political boundaries.

Increase of Caste Divisions A man who has arrived at high prosperity often attempts, and with success, to break away from his caste brothers, and to assume the name and the special customs of a higher caste. Religious divisions are also a frequent cause of caste disruption.

One of the commonest causes of caste increase is change of profession, which often results in a change of circumstances

or social conditions. Under European supremacy it is a phenomenon of daily occurrence that the Hindu who enters the service of a white man thinks himself better than his former caste brothers, and new castes of coachmen, water-bringers, grass-cutters are constantly arising in this way. At the present time separation of profession is the main characteristic of the caste system, profession being invariably hereditary. This custom tends to preserve the purity of blood; no one who belongs to one caste may marry with the member of another caste. Among the higher castes mere contact defiles, or the breath of a low-born man even at a considerable distance. Eating with a member of another caste is absolutely forbidden. Stern precepts thus regulate individual behaviour. Castes have their own presidents and inspectors, appoint pecuniary fines or expulsion as punishment for grievous offences, and also watch over the welfare of the whole, by maintaining the rate of wages and the hours of labour, by organising strikes upon occasion, and by supporting the poor and maintaining widows and orphans. Almost as great an obstacle to national development as caste influence has been the low position held by the woman. Among the Aryans and also among the lower native tribes the woman was respected and honoured. During the epic period she was the central point of interest in the brilliant tournaments of the Kshatriya, and was the equal companion of man for the poets of the succeeding age, whereas now she is but a miserable creature, an oppressed and hard-worked slave.

Position of Women in India

Here, too, Brahman influence is to be traced in the repression of the woman. The Brahmans considered that the safest means of securing racial purity, the fundamental precept of their social organisation, was to limit the freedom of the woman to the closest possible regulations. The only task left to her was to present her husband with descendants of pure blood, and to this task everything that may raise the esteem in which woman is held was ruthlessly sacrificed. Contempt and stern compulsion accompany her from birth to death. Should a son be born to a Hindu the festival conch-shell is blown, and the friends bring congratulations and cheerful offerings; but when

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the child is a girl, the father looks upon the ground in embarrassment, while his friends offer him condolences instead of congratulations. Special festivals are arranged only in honour of boys and never of girls. After the birth of a son the mother remains unclean for three weeks, but for four weeks after the birth of a daughter. The boy is instructed by his spiritual tutor in accordance with his father's position; the girl receives no instruction at all. Whatever she learns she learns from her mother, who knows nothing more than a few texts and prayers for the possession of a faithful husband, and a few curses against polygamy and infidelity.

At the age of seven to nine years old the girl is married to a boy of from twelve to fourteen years of age, or even to an old widower, without any attempt being made to consult her inclination; often she meets her husband at the ceremony for the first time. After the ceremony is concluded she remains for the moment in her parents' house, to be transferred to her husband upon the first signs of puberty.

Practice of Child Marriage Mothers of thirteen and fourteen years of age are by no means exceptional in India. How unfavourable an influence must be exercised by early marriages of this kind upon the physical and intellectual welfare of the nation is sufficiently obvious. Upon her marriage a girl begins a miserable life of slavery within the prison of the woman's apartments; she must cover her face before every male member of the family, she may not speak to her husband for days together, she may not call him by name or eat with him; her existence is passed in deadly monotony. Before the period of the English supremacy the woman's ideal was to be cremated with her dead husband. These suttees are now a thing of the past, but the lot of the widow is almost worse than death by fire. The death of her husband is ascribed to her ill deeds committed in a former state of existence, and her remaining days are weighted down by hatred, severe penance, mortification, and the burden of the heaviest tasks.

Such is the lot of woman in those strata of society which profess to fulfil the ideal of Hindu existence. In reality, these severities are often tempered by mildness and affection. Among the poorer Hindus of the lower castes the wife is

obliged to share the task of procuring sustenance for the family, and thus rises to be the equal of the man, and gains self-respect by the consciousness of being of some use in the world, though at the same time even in this class of society the wife is considered an inferior being.

In the subordination of civil society as arranged by themselves, the **Brahman Claims to Learning** Brahmins retained learning and science as their prerogative, and were themselves under the special protection of the goddess of learning, Saraswati, the chief wife of Brahma.

The Brahmins have left their special mark upon the whole religious, scientific, and artistic literature of India by the creation of a learned language, Sanscrit. The earliest hymns of the Vedas, dating perhaps from the third millennium B.C., are written in an ancient but highly-developed language: from this the popular tongue gradually diverged as in course of time it was broken into different dialects. The priests considered it of high importance that the language in which they spoke to the gods should be higher and more perfect than the vulgar tongue. As they gradually rose above the common people to power and influence they transformed the language of religious thought and worship by a strictly logical and scientific procedure into the Samskrita, the "perfect language," as distinguished from the vulgar tongue or "original" language, the Prakrita. They can pride themselves upon including in their number the greatest grammarian of all time, Panini, who flourished apparently about the middle of the fourth century B.C. The contrast between the esoteric lore of the Brahmins and the more popular teaching of Buddha is expressed in the fact that Buddha and his disciples preached to the people in their own tongue in every country which they visited. It

Sacred Languages of India was not until Buddhaghosha (410-430) had transcribed the commentaries of the great Buddhist Mahinda into the sacred books that this language, the Pali, became the sacred tongue of southern Buddhism. Brahman influence is also apparent in the formation of the southern branch in so far as this latter chose Sanscrit and not Pali for the purposes of religious writing.

The most important part of Brahman literature is concerned with religious

questions. The Vedas are the foundation of all later religious and philosophical developments. Of the four collections of the Vedas, the Rig Veda belongs to a remote period of antiquity, parts of it undoubtedly dating from the third millennium B.C., while two later collections, the Sama and Yajur Vedas,

belong to the period when the ritual had been formulated. The Vedas are collections of hymns and texts which the priest had to repeat during the performance of sacrifice. There were three orders of priests, and each of the three collections which we have mentioned was for the use of a particular order. To the Hohis, or highest of the three orders, belonged the Rig Veda, which they were required to recite in a loud voice. Next to them came the Udgahi priests; they used the Sama Vedas, which they sang in chorus. The Yajur Vedas were for the use of the Adhwaryu priests, who were allowed only to mutter in a low voice. The fourth Veda, the Athar, contains magical formule against sickness and the attacks of enemies, together with extracts from the Rig Veda. The Brahmanas also belong to pre-Buddhist times; these are prose compositions containing a substratum of historical truth interwoven with legendary narratives, and consist primarily of a description of the ritual employed in the great sacrifices as performed by the different priests. The Upanishads are works of a different character, and contain the results of Brahman philosophical speculation, together with religious and philosophical teaching upon the nature of the world and the world-soul from a monotheistic point of view. They are marked by a profundity of speculation and richness of thought which are evidence of the serious prosecution of the truth for its own sake. Wholly different are the Tantras,

which belong to a much later period; these are a collection of mystical religious precepts, prayers, and magic formule for the service of Siva in his more esoteric character and female personification.

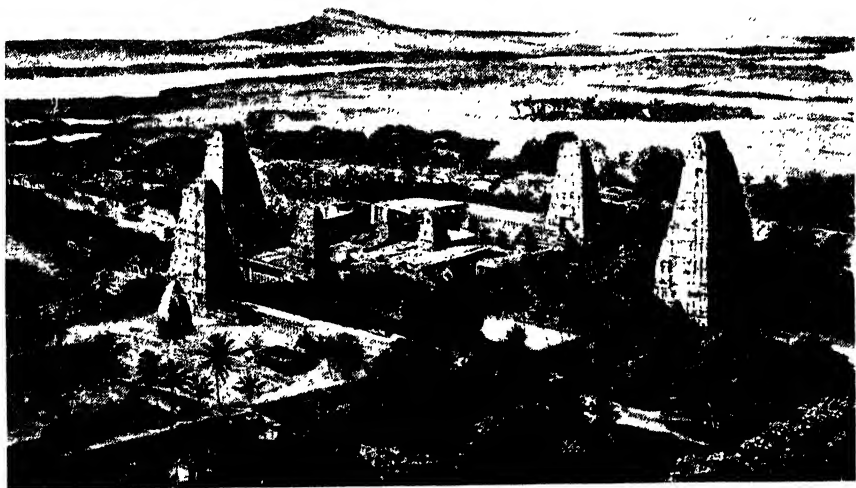
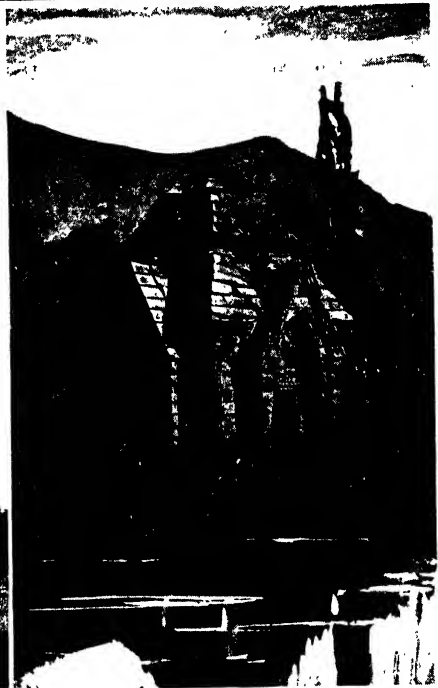
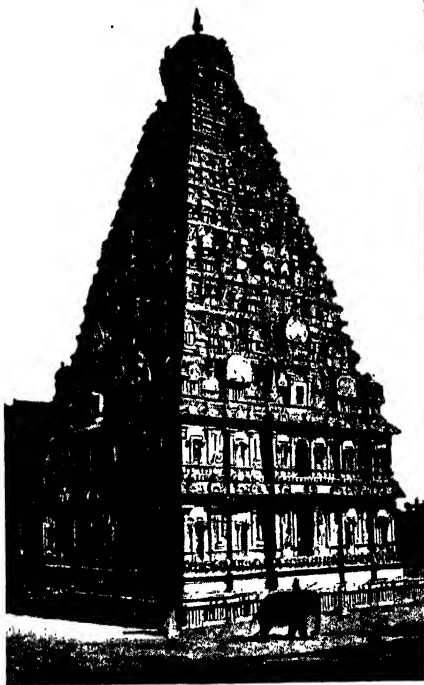
Though these writings were composed at a later date than those previously mentioned, they are none the less considerably older than the extant version of the eighteen Puranas, with their eighteen appendices, amounting in all to about 400,000 double lines, and dealing with

the legends of Vishnu. These were also included by the Brahmins among the "Scriptures of Antiquity," though their age cannot certainly be determined. In their present form they are a later edition, but their fundamental elements exist in part in the Mahabharata.

Together with religious writings the Sanscrit literature includes all other departments of Brahman thought. The historical is their weakest side. In this respect the Brahmins are in strong contrast to the Mohammedans, who were ever ready to write the histories of their age and their rulers; and also to the Buddhists, in whose chronicles all important events affecting the monasteries were transmitted to later generations. These chronicles have entirely disappeared in the general ruin of Buddhist monasteries in India; in Kashmir alone, where Buddhism maintained its ground to a late date, the historical sense has not entirely vanished with the monasteries. The book of the kings there written, the Rajatarangini, carries on the history of this district into the post-Buddhist period.

In Ceylon, where Buddhism remains the dominant religion, the chronicles have been continued from the earliest period to the dissolution of the Singhalese kingdom and the British occupation.

Brahman thought was unequal to the task of scientific investigation into natural causes; in this department inquiry was checked by the conception of a divine element, which penetrated the vegetable and animal worlds, and was even immanent in the stone. At the same time the duty of sacrifice gave them a certain knowledge of the parts of the body and their surgical treatment; indeed, this was a good school for empirical surgery, in which native practitioners acquired a high degree of skill. Even such difficult operations as those for cataract, stone, reconstruction of the nose, removal of the testis, were successfully and skilfully performed; and the medical treatises of the Brahmins make mention of no less than 127 different surgical instruments. At a later date, when the Arabs became acquainted with Indian surgery they gave full recognition to their superior knowledge. The treatment of internal disease rested upon purely empirical methods; a large collection of specific remedies existed, and the chemists



THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE

Hindu architecture became monumental after stone had been introduced as a material by Greek influence. It found its highest expression in religious buildings. In the earliest period, temples were hewn out of the living rock and left open. Then came an era of primitive shrines, such as the smaller picture on the right. The later ages rose to an oppressive wealth of decoration of which the pyramid tower at the top of the page is typical. The temples grew to immense size, tower being added to tower, while courts and ablution tanks were added for the use of worshippers.

employed in the preparation of medicines had acquired scientific knowledge of a number of important chemical bodies.

Astronomy was a science in closest connection with the priestly calling; indeed, the primeval religion of the Aryans had consisted in prayers to those powers which were manifested in heavenly phenomena,

Astronomy in Early India in the movements of the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars. Thus even in the earlier Vedas the solar year is calculated with

a high degree of accuracy, the year consisting of twelve months of thirty days, an intercalary month being added to every fifth year. Religious sacrifices and festivals were also performed on dates previously fixed by means of astronomical calculation. Still, in the period of Alexander the Great astronomy as an exact science was at a comparatively low level, and much help was given by foreigners who had made further advances in these studies. Towards the middle of the first century A.D., however, the science made a great advance, though it relapsed during the period of the formation of the great Mohammedan states. Only by individual princes—for example, those of Jaipur—has astronomy been studied in modern times with any degree of interest. Side by side with this science stands that of mathematics, for which the Brahmans showed high capacity. They developed independently the decimal system of notation, and the Arabs undoubtedly learnt very much from the mathematical studies of the Brahmans. The study of algebra reached its highest point in the person of Aryabhata—born in 476 A.D.

The sacred hymns of the Indians are admirable compositions; of no less importance are the epic poems composed under Brahman influence, the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Epic materials have also been incorporated with the Brahmanas.

The Early Literature of India The development of the fable with characters from the animal world by the Indians is well known. One of the earliest collections of this nature, the Panchatantra, probably goes back to the second century B.C., and is, at any rate, earlier than the sixth century B.C., when it was translated into Persian; in another form this collection enjoys greater popularity as the Hito-padesa. The Indian fable has made its way over the whole world, and Æsop's fables, together with the story of Reynard

the Fox, are but an echo of Indian poetry. Of dramatic works the Indians have about sixty pieces of ancient date, almost all of which are comedies rather than tragedies.

Painting and sculpture hardly rose above the level of decorative art; the breath of pure beauty observable in the representations of Buddha is due to Greek influence. Both arts were subordinated to architecture, and are characterised by the fantastical conjunction of human and animal forms, the multiplication of individual members of the body, by exaggeration of movement, a total lack of proportion, the desire to fill up space, and an ignorance of the laws of perspective.

Architecture produced more successful results and became monumental after stone had been introduced as a material by Greek influence. For more than a thousand years this art was confined to the erection of religious buildings; palaces of any size or splendour do not appear until the rise of the Mohammedan kingdoms. Hinduism in religion and worship has left

Religion and Indian Architecture its stamp upon architectural style; there being no congregations, the sanctuary proper is but a narrow space to contain the statue or the symbol of the god. But round about the sanctuary, for the convenience of the pilgrims who arrived to make their offerings and to perform their pious vows, were erected long corridors, great pillared halls, and large tanks approached by flights of steps for ablution.

In this way temples which enjoyed a high reputation and were visited by tens of thousands of pilgrims during the year often grew to enormous size. Especially is this true of the Dravidian temples, which are distinguished by their size and massiveness and by their towered gates with richly adorned pyramidal roofs rising in terraces. The buildings of the Chalukya kingdom are characterised by delicacy of decoration, and those of the Jains by an oppressive wealth of ornament. To the earlier Buddhist period belong the huge temples, hewn out of the natural rock and left open, of Karli, Ajanta, Ellora, and other places. Noticeable in Buddhist architecture are the numerous buildings containing relics of enormous size, which are especially common in Ceylon. The famous mosques belong to the later Mohammedan period.



THE MOHAMMEDAN SUPREMACY IN INDIA

THE DYNASTIES BEFORE THE MOGUL EMPIRE

HISTORIANS are accustomed to detail the events of the Mohammedan period of India according to the succession of dynasties. This long period, however, upon a more careful examination of its content, falls into two main divisions which end and begin respectively with the year 1526. The first of these periods is characterised by continual ferment and confusion. Hindus and Mohammedans are in a state of uninterrupted and fierce struggle, kingdoms are founded and overthrown, dynasties rise and fall. During

War Between Religions

the second period, however, a greater stability prevails; the opposition between the two peoples gradually disappears, and for more than three hundred years India is dominated by seventeen monarchs of one and the same dynasty, that of the Moguls in unbroken succession.

During the first period the supremacy passed through the hands of these dynasties:

Dynasty	Years of Reign
House of Ghazni	1001-1186
House of Ghor	1186-1206
The Slave Dynasty	1206-1290
House of Khilji	1290-1321
House of Tughlak	1321-1412
The Seids	1416-1451
Bahadur Lodhi	1451-1526

The first of these dynasties was confined to the Punjab; that of the Ghors extended the Mohammedan supremacy over the whole lowland district of Northern India; the Slave rulers advanced to the Vindhya Mountains, and the second of the Khilji rulers governed the whole of India almost to the southern point. The Mohammedan power in India then reached its first period of greatest prosperity. Then began the downfall: the Tughlak rulers lost the

Deccan and Bengal, and under the two last dynasties the frontiers of the kingdom often extended but a few miles beyond the walls of the capital at Delhi.

This period of five hundred years was a time of severe oppression for the Hindus, a time of cruel murder and bitter struggle. As the lightning flash announces the oncoming storm, so also a warning movement preceded that convulsion which burst upon the unhappy land, the impulse to which was given by India herself. In the year 979 A.D., Jaipal, the Prince of Lahore, in the Punjab, considered that the growing power of his western neighbour, Nasir ed-din Sabuktegin, lord of Ghazni, threatened danger to himself. He sought to reduce this prince by means of an incursion into Afghanistan; this effort resulted in a friendly settlement. When, however, Jaipal, supported by the princes of Delhi, Ajmir, and Kanauj, resumed the offensive in 988 he was utterly defeated at Lamgan. Turco-Afghan hordes marched through his country murdering and plundering; Sabuktegin established himself at the confluence of the Kabul and the Indus, and thus got possession of the obvious base for an invasion of India. He was succeeded by his son Ismail, who, however, was dethroned in 998 by his brother, the famous Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud (998-1030), also known as Bhut Shikan, or the Iconoclast, was the most important ruler of the Ghazni dynasty. From his Tartar father he had inherited tenacity and military prowess, while his mother, a Persian woman, had given him a feeling for higher civilisation. He was a clever, energetic, and enterprising man, and also a zealous patron of science and

art. Magnificent mosques and palaces arose within his capital; famous poets and scholars were the adornment of his brilliant court—among them Firdusi, the chronologist el-Beruni and the universal historian Abu Ali el-Hussein, known as ibn-Sina or Avicenna. He founded and richly endowed a university in Ghazni;

**Scholar,
Warrior,
and King**

education was also supported by a museum of natural history. Splendid foundations were created by him to provide for men of high intellectual gifts. Although military operations almost constantly kept him away from his country, no internal disturbance took place during the thirty-three years of his reign.

As a matter of fact, Mahmud had no comprehensive political insight. His Indian operations were by no means undertaken with the object of conquering the magnificent country and furthering the development of its material resources, but were mere raids and forays for the purpose of capturing gold, jewels, and slaves. The Mohammedan world is inclined to consider Mahmud of Ghazni one of the greatest rulers of all time, and his co-religionists and contemporaries regard his military achievements as unequalled by those of any ruler; but this belief is founded not so much upon his military achievements as upon the religious fanaticism which overthrew the idols of hostile peoples and destroyed the temples of the unbelievers. In this respect also they overestimate their hero and his intentions; the devastation of the Indian temples was undertaken by Mahmud chiefly with the object of plundering the enormous treasures which had been gathered there in the course of centuries.

The first years of the new ruler were occupied by struggles with his smaller

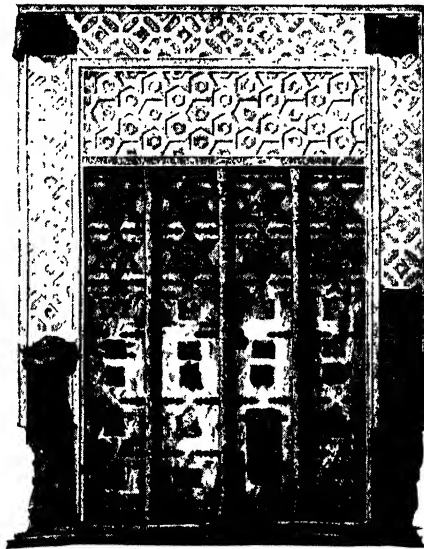
neighbours. Then he turned his face to India. In the year 1001 Jaipal was defeated for the second time and ended his life upon the funeral pyre, the Western Punjab, with Lahore, falling into the hands of the conqueror. This, Mahmud's first Indian campaign, was succeeded by sixteen furious raids upon Kashmir, Multan, the Ganges, and even the southern point of the peninsula of Gujerat; especially rich was the booty gained by the plunder of the temples of Nagarcot, Tanesar, Somnath and Mattra; yet the boundaries of the Ghazni kingdom extended no further than the Western Punjab. Its extension upon the west and north was far greater, for Mahmud found time in the intervals of these campaigns to conquer the countries

**Plunder
from the
Shrines**

of Ghor, or West Afghanistan, Transoxania and Persia. When Mahmud died in 1030 at the age of sixty-three he left a powerful kingdom behind him. His fourteen successors, however, were unable to preserve it unimpaired; the quarrels of pretenders to the throne, internal revolts, and the attacks of enemies upon the west and north (the Seljuks) resulted in eventual disruption. In 1150 Ghazni fell into the hands of the princes of

Ghor; its numerous and magnificent buildings were utterly devastated, and only the tombs of Mahmud and of two other princes remained intact. The last two members of the Ghazni house, Moizz ed-dowlet Khusru Shah, 1152-1160, and Khusru Malik, 1160-1186, maintained an uncertain sovereignty in Lahore until this last remnant of the once powerful Ghazni kingdom was swept away by the princes of Ghor.

Since the date of its subjugation by Mahmud (1010), Western Afghanistan had played a subordinate part; but in 1163, when Ghiyas



GATE LOOTED BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

One of the famous sandalwood gates of the Hindu temple at Somnath which were carried off by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1024, but which, in 1842, were brought from Afghanistan to Delhi by Lord Ellenborough



A SCENE IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF LAHORE

The old city of Lahore was the capital of the Western Punjab. The period of its highest splendour was in the reign of Akbar, about the end of the sixteenth century. Its carpets, its silks and woollen fabrics, have long been noted.

ed-din Mohammed ibn-Sam ascended the throne, the power of Ghor rapidly increased. The new ruler appointed his brother, Moizz ed-din Ghorî, as co-regent, an unusual proceeding in a Mohammedan state, and upon the death of Ghiyas (December 10th, 1203), the regent became sole ruler.

In 1186 the Ghaznavid monarch, Khusru Malik, was attacked, conquered, imprisoned, and ultimately murdered along with his sons in 1192. With their death, the dynasty of the Ghazni princes became extinct, and the Western Punjab, with its capital of Lahore, was added to the kingdom of Moizz ed-din. The acquisition of these territories advanced the boundaries of Ghor to the immediate neighbourhood of the Rajput states; in particular, the kingdom reached the frontiers of Ajmir, which was governed by Pithora Rai. This state became the object of the next operations of Moizz ed-din. A battle was fought at Thanessvara within the narrow space between the

Expansion of Mohammedan Power

desert and the mountains, and between the streams of the Sarasvati and the Jumna Tarain, in which the Afghan cavalry was utterly defeated by the Indian warrior castes (1191). In the next year, however, Moizz ed-din conquered Ajmir and the Hindu states attached to that kingdom. Pithora Rai was captured in flight and slain. Shortly afterward Ajmir fell into the hands of the conqueror, who displayed even greater cruelty than

Mahmud of Ghazni, and massacred the inhabitants or sold them into slavery.

He then advanced upon Delhi. This town, after its capture by his field-marshal, Kutb ed-din, in 1193, remained henceforward the chief centre of the Mohammedan power in Hindustan. In 1194 Moizz ed-din defeated the prince Jai Chendra, of

A Great Mohammedan Kingdom

Benares and Kanauj, thus extending his frontiers to the borders of Behar. In the following years he was occupied with his brother in Merv, Kharizm, and Herat, until the death of the latter left him the sole ruler of the great kingdom. In the meantime, Kutb ed-din and the second in command, the Khilji chieftain, Mohammed ibn-Bachtyar, had subdued Behar (1194) and Upper Bengal (1195). Gwalior (1196), Gujerat and Oudh. The dynasty of Ghor then attained the zenith of its power. A defeat suffered by Moizz ed-din in the course of an undertaking against Kharizm in 1204 broke up the western part of the empire as far as the Punjab. The sultan, indeed, succeeded in suppressing the revolts of his governors in those provinces; but he himself fell a victim on the Indus in 1206 to the dagger of an assassin.

Moizz ed-din Ghorî left no male descendants, and had made no arrangements for the succession, the immediate consequence being great disorder. One of his nephews, Ghiyas ed-din Mahmud, was, indeed, set up as heir to the throne, but

four of his governors in the chief provinces made themselves practically independent. In India the experienced general and governor, Kutb ed-din Ibak, immediately grasped the reins of government (June 26th), while civil war continued for nine years (1206-1215) in the other provinces of the empire, until their incorporation with Kharizan. When Kutb declared himself independent, Hindustan - in its narrower sense, the district watered by the Ganges and Jumna—which had hitherto been merely a province of the kingdoms of Ghazni and Ghor, became independent also. The new ruler had originally been a Turkish slave of Moizz ed-din. From a subordinate position he had gradually risen to become commander-in-chief and governor, a career that was typical of the rise of many rulers in succeeding times. Though many of these ascended the throne by hereditary right, yet the whole of this line of rulers has received the common name of the Slave Dynasty (1206-1290).

Kutb had enjoyed his power for only four years when an accident at polo caused his death at Lahore in 1210. His character has been thus described by a Mohammedan historian: "The kingdom was full of the honourable and cleansed from the rebellious; his benevolence was as unceasing as his bloodshed." His religious zeal is evidenced at the present day by the splendid mosques and the proud minaret in Old Delhi, which still bears his name, Kutub Minar. His son, Aram Shah, was a weak-minded prince, and in the very year of his accession (1210) was defeated and apparently murdered by the revolted Shams ed-din Altamsh, who also had been a Turkish slave, and had found favour with Kutb, who had given him his daughter, Malikah Jihan, in marriage, and entrusted him with the governorship of Budaun. Altamsh

did not immediately get the whole country into his power; a brother-in-law of Kutb had made himself independent in Sindh, Multan, Bhakor, and Sivistan. The Punjab also revolted from him, and in Behar and Bengal in 1210 the governor, Hasan ed-din, of the family of the Khilji, laid claim to the territory. Before Altamsh was able to turn upon him, the invading armies of Genghis Khan burst upon Western Hindustan.

This conqueror had utterly devastated the kingdom of Kharizm, and when the fugitive monarch, Jelal ed-din Mankburni, sought shelter in the Punjab, he was pursued by Genghis Khan, who devastated the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Peshawar and Malikipur (1221-1222). The fugitive prince of Kharizm had begged Altamsh for assistance; the latter, however, was careful not to irritate the Mongol bands, and remained inactive in Delhi until at length the thunder clouds rolled away as rapidly as they had come. Thereupon Altamsh subjugated Bengal and Behar in 1225. In 1228 he got the Punjab and Sindh into his power, and also subdued the kingdom of Malwa in the south after a long struggle (1226-1232). Those Hindu states which had not appeared against him in open hostility were treated mildly and made dependent upon the kingdom under certain conditions. On the death of Altamsh (1236), his kingdom extended from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and from the Himalaya to the Vindhya Mountains. His government was well organised, a spirit of vigor-

ous intellectualism prevailed in his court, and the ruins of Ra Pithura, or Old Delhi, are evidence not only of the wealth, but also of the artistic taste of this highly-gifted monarch. A time of disturbance followed. In the next eleven years no less than five descendants of Altamsh sat upon the throne of Delhi. All the Slave princes were threatened by danger on three sides—from the Hindus, who were the more reluctant to submit to a foreign yoke in proportion to the pressure laid upon them by the fanatical Mohammedans; from the generals and governors who were attracted by the success which had attended the rise of the first Slave princes; and from the Mongols, whose devastating campaigns were continually and rapidly repeated after the first advance of Genghis Khan.

The immediate successor of Altamsh was his second son, Feroz Shah Rukn ed-din, whose government (1236) came to an end after seven months in a palace revolution. His place was taken by his sister, Raziyah Begum, a woman admirably fitted for supreme power, and the only Mohammedan queen who reigned upon the throne of Hindustan (1236-1239). Her powerful and masculine intellect, her strength and sense

INDIA BEFORE THE MOGUL EMPIRE

of justice, her spirit and courage, enabled her to fulfil the heavy responsibilities of her position; and she did not shrink from riding into battle upon her war elephant in male clothing. However, as says the historian, Mohammed Kasim Hindushah Firishtah (about 1600), her only fault was that she was a woman. Her love for an Abyssinian slave made her unpopular among the people, and a series of revolts began, which ended in her downfall. The country was further disturbed both by internal dissensions and by Mongol invasions during the short reigns of the two following rulers (Bahram Shah and Mastud, 1240-1246).

Protection from these dangers was not forthcoming until the reign of the serious and upright Nasir ed-din Mahmud Shah (1246-1266), the sixth son of Altamsh, who left almost the entire business of government to his brother-in-law and father-in-law, the Grand Vizir or Wazir, Ghiyas ed-din Balban. The Mongols were defeated in 1247. They had meanwhile overthrown the Abbassid kingdom of Bagdad. Hulagu confined his power to Persia, and expressed his

A Mongol Embassy at Delhi

friendly intentions by sending an embassy to the court of Delhi. The spirit of those times and the character of the all-powerful wazir can be inferred from the fact that on the entrance of that embassy the city gate of Delhi was decorated with the corpses of Hindu rebels. Of these there was indeed no lack. Hardly had a revolt been suppressed in one quarter when new disturbances broke out elsewhere, and it became necessary to crush the Hindus with measures of the sternest repression in the Junna Doab, in Bandelkand, in Mewar, Malwa, Utsh, Karrak, and Manikpur successively.

On February 18th, 1266, Mahmud died, and was succeeded by the wazir Ghiyas ed-din Balban, who had previously been the virtual ruler of the empire. He, too, had begun his career as a Turcoman slave. He inflicted severe punishment upon the bands of rebels in the north-east and upon the Hindus of Mewar, Behar, and Bengal, and is said to have slaughtered 100,000 men during his conquest of the Rajputs of Mewar. Among military operations against foreign enemies, we must mention an incursion of the Mongols into the Punjab. They were defeated in two battles by the sultan's son, Mohammed

Khan, who was, however, himself slain. Balban was especially distinguished for his fanaticism; and if Delhi under his rule gained a reputation as a centre of art and science, this is due not so much to the ruler as to the disturbances of the period, when every intellectually gifted man fled to the place of greatest security. The capital thus

A Centre of Science and Art

became a refuge for numbers of deposed princes and high dignitaries, and for a long time streets and squares were named after countries from which those rulers had been expelled. Balban died at the age of eighty in 1287. He was succeeded by his grandson, Moizz ed-din Kei Kobad, a youth of eighteen, who had inherited his father's sternness and cruelty without his strength. He plunged into a life of dissipation and soon became a tool in the hands of his wazir, Nizam ed-din. In 1290 he regained his freedom of action by poisoning the wazir, but shortly afterwards was himself murdered in his palace by the new wazir, Jelal ed-din.

Even under the rule of Balban a transformation had been taking place. This monarch had abandoned the guiding principle of his predecessors of placing upstarts from among the slaves in the most important offices, and had given them to men of distinguished families of Afghan or Turco-Tartar origin. Of these families one of the most important had long been that of the Khilji, which had been settled partly in the district at the sources of the Amu Daria during the tenth century, while other branches had advanced to Afghanistan. There, while retaining their Turkish dialect, they had embraced Mohammedanism, and gradually adopted the Turkish civilisation.

Their tribal chieftain, Jelal ed-din Khilji, was seventy years of age when the above-mentioned palace revolution gave him the supreme power in Delhi in the year 1296. His dynastic title was Feroz Shah

A Prince of Afghan Descent

II. To secure his position he put out of the way the son of Kei Kobad, by name Gayomarth. In other respects, however, he was a man of mild character, well disposed to all men, moderate to weakness, even against his foes, a friend to the learned classes and the priests. He was soon forced to turn his attention to the Mongols. These he successfully overthrew in person in the Punjab (1292), while his nephew, Ala ed-din Mohammed, whom he

had appointed governor of the Doab, between the Jumna and the Ganges, suppressed a revolt in Bundelkand and Malwa (1293). Ala ed-din then advanced, on his own responsibility, in 1294, with 6,000 horse, upon a mad raid through the pathless mountains and forests of the Vindhya Mountains, 700 miles southward. On the way he plundered the temple of Somnath. But the greatest booty he found in the well-watched fortress of Devagiri, which he captured by treachery. Before the southern princes were able to collect their troops, he had returned to his own province by another road. Under the pretext of asking pardon from his uncle for his independent action, he enticed the aged Feroz Shah into his own province, and there had him assassinated (July 19th, 1295).

This deed is entirely characteristic of Ala ed-din Mohammed Shah I., who seized the government in 1296, after expelling his cousin, Ibrahim Shah I., the lawful successor. Cruel, false, and treacherous, with a ruthless tenacity which made him secure of his object in every undertaking, he was an entire contrast to his benevolent uncle. To his subjects he was invariably a terror, although he won general popularity by his splendid court, his liberality, and good order. Conspiracies and revolts of relations, wazirs and Hindus continued throughout the twenty years of his rule, but were always suppressed with fearful severity. The kingdom was also disturbed by three Mongol invasions. The first of these was vigorously repulsed in 1297, while the other two (1298 and 1303) created but a small impression, and were the last of their kind for a long period. It was not until 1310 that Mohammed Shah was able to realise the desires he had formed, on his incursion to Devagiri, of extending his power upon the south.

Rise and Fall of Kingdoms

The history of the Deccan during the first Mohammedan century of North India is occupied by struggles between the Rajputs and Dravidians, and by the foundation and disappearance of Aryan-Dravidian kingdoms in the Central Deccan, such as the Southern Mahratta kingdom, that of the Eastern Chalukya in Kalinga, and that of the Western Chalukya in the Northern Konkan. To these must be added from the thirteenth century the

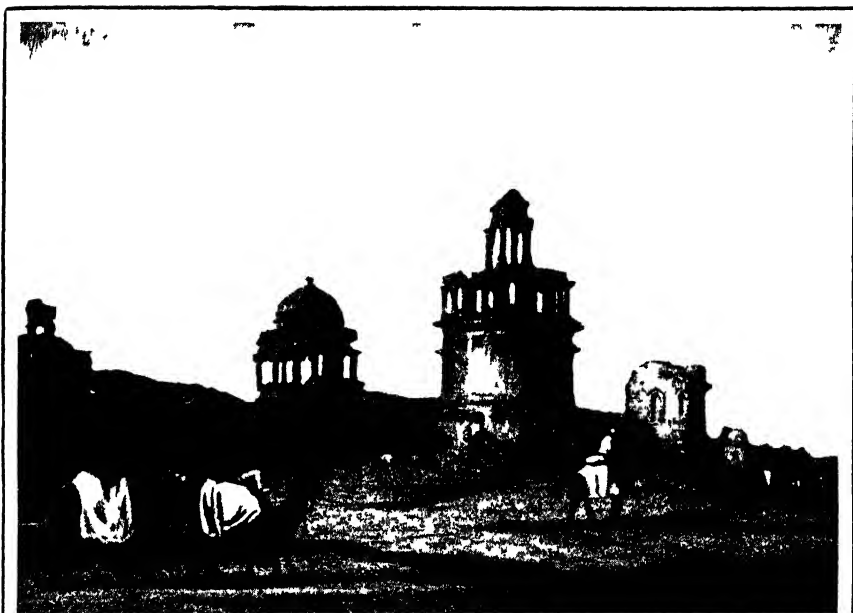
kingdoms of Ganpati and Bellala; further to the south that of Mysore, and the earlier kingdom of the Pandya, Chola, and Chera.

Mohammed Shah I. entrusted the conquest of the Deccan to his favourite, Malik Kasur, a former Hindu slave, who had renounced his religion, embraced Mohammedanism, and risen to the highest offices in the kingdom. He overran the Mahratta country in a rapid series of victories; the capital of the Bellala, Dvaras-amudra, was captured and plundered (1311); the kingdoms of Chola and Pandya were subjugated; and in two years the whole of India, as far as Cape Comorin, was subject to the rule of Delhi. The conquered princes became tributary vassals, though only when they revolted or declined to pay tribute were they deposed and their territory incorporated with the empire.

This brilliant success in no way diminished the number of revolts which were called into existence by the universal unpopularity of the sultan and his favourite. Mohammed Shah contracted the vice of drunkenness, and after suffering from

dropsy, died on December 19th, 1316, perhaps from poison given him by Kasur. The latter was, however, overthrown in the same year. After the eldest son, Shihab ed-din, or Omar Shah, had reigned for a short period, Mubarek Shah, the third son of Ala ed-din, ascended the throne on March 21st, 1317, and immediately secured his position by blinding his brother. Some statesmanlike regulations aroused general hopes of a good reign, but shortly afterward the young and voluptuous sultan left all State business to a Hindu renegade from the despised Parvari caste, by name Nasir ed-din Khusrû Khan. On March 24th, 1321, the sultan, with all the members of his family, was murdered by his emir, who became sultan of Delhi, under the title of Khusrû Shah. Unpopular as he had been while grand wazir, the animosity against him was raised to the highest point by the shameless outrages upon Hindu and Mohammedan religious feeling which he committed in giving the wives of the murdered sultan to his favourites in marriage, setting up images of the Hindu gods in the mosques, and so forth. Failing a legitimate heir to the throne, a revolt was headed by the Mohammedan governor of the Punjab, Ghiyis ed-din Tughlak; he attacked and slew the

A Line of Vicious Rulers



One of the splendid tombs of antiquity. The domed structure is the tomb proper and the round tower in front is one of several such towers that stood around it. The monument stands about a mile from modern Delhi.



A general view of a scene of desolation and of the shadow of departed glory. The old capital of the Mogul Emperors stands in a barren plain, snakes and other reptiles finding harbour in the crevices of the ruins.

RUINS OF ANCIENT DELHI, THE CAPITAL OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS

unpopular ruler at Delhi, after a reign of little more than four months.

The supremacy of the Khilji had seen only three generations: and of this period of thirty years two-thirds belong to the reign of Mohammed Shah I. Under his

Fusion of Hindu and Mohammedan

strong government the kingdom had undergone a great transformation. The hereditary enemies of the country, the Mongols, had been driven back for a long period, and, after their conversion to Mohammedanism, had retired to the Asiatic highlands. Many of those who had remained behind embraced Mohammedanism and took service in the army, though in 1311 they were all put to death in consequence of a conspiracy. The Khilji showed themselves largely tolerant in religious questions, and the frequent revolts of the Hindus were inspired rather by race-hatred than by religious oppression. Gradually the points of difference between the peoples began to disappear. The Mohammedans adopted many Hindu customs, and the latter also began to conform to those of the ruling race, as is proved by the case of the Hindu favourites, whose influence was constantly an important factor in the Indian history of that period. From this gradual fusion arose the commercial dialect of the country, Hindustani, or Urdu, the language of the camp. The different elements composing the vocabulary of this dialect indicate the extent of the racial fusion which then took place.

Under Mohammed Shah I., the kingdom had attained its greatest extent abroad. A decree issued in Delhi was valid as far as the southernmost point of India, and only a few Rajput princes continued to maintain their independence. The acquisitions, however, which had been made thus rapidly were never united by any firm bond of union, and even during

Mohammed's time that process of disruption began which made terribly rapid progress under the following dynasties.

Ghiyas ed-din Tughlak, the son of a Turcoman slave belonging to the sultan Balban, and of a Hindu mother, had risen by his own merits to the position of a governor in the Punjab, and showed himself no less capable during the short period of his sultanate (1321-1325). He directed his attention to the improvement of the country, to the security of the western frontier, to the recovery of those parts of the kingdom which had fallen away, and to the suppression of a rebellion at Tirhat. Upon his return from Tirhat he and his eldest son were killed by the collapse of a pavilion erected for a festival, a catastrophe which had perhaps been brought

The Rule of the Son of a Slave

about by his second son, Fakhr ed-din Juna Khan, who succeeded him in the government as Mohammed Tughlak (1325-1351). His government was marked by the infinite misery which he brought upon the country. He was a man of high intellectual capacity and had enjoyed an excellent education, was learned as few were, a distinguished author and a patron of learning: at the same time he carefully observed all the precepts of

his religion. He was liberal to extravagance, and founded hospitals, almshouses, and other benevolent institutions. But all these good qualities were entirely overshadowed by the madness which characterised his every political action. His eccentricity



THE TOMB OF MOHAMMED TUGHLAK

The ruler whose remains lie in the mausoleum shown above was the grandson of a slave. He was "one of the most accomplished princes and furious tyrants who have ever adorned or disgraced humanity."

approached the point of insanity. He led a huge army against the Mongols with the object of inducing them to buy his retreat for an enormous sum, before swords had been so much as drawn on either side (1327). One hundred thousand men were sent to China, across the Tibetan passes of the Himalayas, which

INDIA BEFORE THE MOGULS

were utterly impassable for an army on this scale; they perished almost to the last man in ice and snow (1337). A third army was sent to Persia, but disbanded before operations began, and the soldiers dispersed plundering over their own country.

In 1339 a decree was suddenly issued to the effect that all the inhabitants of Delhi should emigrate to Devagiri, which was henceforward called Daulatabad; twice they were allowed to return and twice was the emigration decree re-issued, on one occasion during a fearful famine which carried off many thousands. The obligatory use of copper currency, instead of silver, brought financial disaster upon the country. At the monarch's pleasure man-hunting parties were organised throughout whole provinces; his own subjects were the quarry, and they were killed like beasts. The taxes were

raised to an impossible extent and extorted with such cruelty that large masses of the peasants fled to the forests and formed robber bands. The natural result was that revolts broke out in every direction against this mad ruler, and that the provinces strove their utmost to secure their independence. The empire, which had embraced almost the whole of India upon the accession of Mohammed ibn Tughlak, was diminished, at the time of his death in the fever swamps of Sindh, by the loss of Bengal, the coasts of Coromandel, Devagiri, Gujerat, Sindh, and all the southern provinces; of twenty-three provinces scarce half were left to him. Mohammed ibn Tughlak, says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "left behind him

the reputation of one of the most accomplished princes and furious tyrants who have ever adorned or disgraced humanity." The damage which Mohammed had inflicted upon the empire could not be repaired even by the upright government of his successor, Feroz Shah III., who was born about 1300 and reigned from 1351 to 1388. His attempts to recover the re-

volted provinces ended with the acquirement of only a nominal supremacy. The country was, however, largely benefited by his domestic policy, and he enabled the kingdom to recover its prosperity by a sensible and upright system of taxation, by the honesty of his judicial administration, by his regulations for military service, for which purpose he earmarked the revenue of certain districts, by the completion of useful public works such as irrigation, channels, reservoirs, dams, and canals—for instance, the great Junna canal, which the British have recently restored in part—and by the foundation of schools and hospitals.

The last five representatives of the house of Tughlak followed one another in rapid succession after the death of Feroz. The period from 1388 to 1394 was one of incessant civil war; ultimately the once powerful kingdom was reduced

to a few districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. At this juncture the Mongols made an invasion in larger numbers and with greater ferocity than they had ever previously attempted. They were no longer the undisciplined hordes of Genghis Khan, but the well-drilled bands of Timur. While the last of the Tughlak princes, Mahmud Shah II., found a safe refuge in Gujerat, the grey-haired conqueror advanced to Delhi, which opened its gates to him upon a promise of protection (December 18th, 1398). But one of these "misunderstandings" which often occurred during the campaigns of Timur resulted in a fearful massacre of the population. The conqueror, laden with booty, returned to Samarkand in 1399, and Mahmud Tughlak then reappeared from his hiding-place. With his death, which closed an inglorious reign over an empire which was almost non-existent (February, 1412), the dynasty of Tughlak became extinct.

After the Afghan Daulat Khan Lodi had ruled for a short period (1413-1414), Khizr Khan, who had formerly been a



TIMUR, THE MONGOL INVADER

The Mongol prince and general whose warriors invaded India and captured Delhi in 1398

A Dynasty Becomes Extinct

governor and then a revolted emir of Multan, seized what was left of Hindustan. His own province speedily revolted, and his attempts to recover the Punjab before his death in 1421 proved fruitless, as did those of his three descendants, Mubarek Shah II., who ruled till January 28th, 1435, Mohammed Shah IV., until 1445, and Alim Shah; their dominion was practically confined to the town of Delhi. These rulers—Shiites, reputed to be of the house of Ali—are collectively known as the dynasty of the Seids (1414-1415). Under Alim Shah the boundaries of the empire were distant about an English mile from the capital, and at no time did they extend further than a distance of twelve miles.

In the year 1451 Bahlul Lodi, who ruled over the Punjab in Lahore, took possession of the town of Delhi. He died in 1488, but his son Nizam Iskander, who died in 1517, succeeded in extending the boundaries of the kingdom westward beyond Lahore and eastward beyond Benares. However, under the grandson of Bahlul, Ibrahim (1517-1526), a proud and tyrannical ruler, serious revolts broke out. The eastern districts were entirely separated from the kingdom, and his governors in the Punjab rose against him and called in his powerful neighbour Babar from Kabul to his assistance. These shocks put an end to the feeble rule of the Lodi princes, and a new period of brilliant prosperity then began for Hindustan.

Mohammed ibn Tughlak had undergone the mortification of seeing the southern province with its capital of Daulatabad secede during his lifetime, in spite of the partiality he had shown for it. The Viceroy of the district, Hasan Gangu, a Shiite Afghan, declared himself independent in 1347, transferred the capital to Kulbarga on the west of Haidarabad, and became the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. His frontiers extended from Berar to Kistna, and from the Sea of Bengal to that of

Secession of a Province

Arabia; to this empire were added Konkan, Khandesh, and Gujerat by his great-grandson, Ala ed-din Ahmed Shah II. (1435-1457). The Bahmani dynasty attained its greatest power at the outset of the reign of Mahmud Shah II. (1482-1518), who ruled over the whole of the Deccan north of Mysore. This rapid rise was followed by an equally rapid fall; by the revolts of the provincial governors, the

north was broken into five minor Mohammedan states between 1484 and 1512, while in the south the kingdom of Bijanagar rapidly rose to high prosperity.

Of these revolted governors the first was Fattah Ullah Imad Shah, of Berar, a converted Hindu of Bijanagar; his empire, which was founded in 1484, continued until 1568, when it was absorbed by Akbar. In rapid succession followed the governors, Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose empire lasted from 1489 to 1686, and Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, from 1490 to 1595. Two years later the governor, Barid Shah, of Bedar, made himself independent, his dynasty lasting until 1609, as did finally in 1512 Kutb Shah of Golconda, his dynasty lasting until 1687. None of these petty Mohammedan states were able to secure predominance, and after a varying period of prosperity all were re-absorbed into that Delhi kingdom from which they had originated.

In this rivalry of the Mohammedan Deccan states the greatest success was attained by a Hindu state in the south, the kingdom of Bijanagar, which was founded in 1326 by two fugitives from the low caste tribe of the shepherds, though it was unable to attain any considerable importance in view of the overwhelming strength of its Mohammedan neighbours on the north. The first dynasty of Bijanagar became extinct in 1479; the second, a side branch of Narasinha, founded about 1450, rapidly rose to prosperity. The Chola had long since lost their former importance, and the power of the Pandya was then broken. At the end of the fifteenth century Bijanagar was indisputably the predominant Hindu power in the south of the peninsula; the petty Hindu states from Kattak, or Cuttack, to Travancore were dependent upon this kingdom. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was in possession of the whole of the east coast.

The importance of this great Hindu state and of its artistic rulers is evidenced by the magnificent ruins which are now buried in the jungles of Bellary. Bijanagar was under no apprehension of attack from the Mohammedan states in the north, which held one another in check until the middle of the sixteenth century; when, however, they joined in common action against the Hindu state, the latter inevitably collapsed.



THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER AND GLORY

THE series of the so-called Mogul or

Mongol emperors begins with one of the most brilliant and attractive figures in the whole of Asiatic history, the sultan Mohammed Babar, who earned the title of "the Lion." In fact, his race was Turk rather than Mongol. He was the son of Omar—four generations removed from Timur in direct descent—one of the small princes in the magnificent mountain country of Ferghana in the upper Oxus district, his mother being a Mongolian woman. On the death of his father in 1403 he found himself surrounded by danger on every side. In 1404 he took up the reins of government in person, and the following ten years of his life are full of battles and dangers, bold exploits and severe defeats, brilliant successes and heavy losses; now he was on the throne of a great kingdom, and again an almost

**The First
Mogul
Emperor**

abandoned fugitive in the inaccessible gorges of his native mountains; his adventures during that period would themselves suffice to make up the most eventful life that man could possibly desire. At the end of 1504 he was obliged to yield before the superior power of the Uzbeks, and, giving up all hope of territory from that side of the Hindu Kush, he fled across the mountains to Afghanistan. Two months later (1505) he had taken Kabul, which remained henceforward in his possession, but even then his life was a constant series of desperate efforts and remarkable changes of fortune. At the same time his personality is most human, and for that reason most attractive; he was a man of pure and deep feeling, his love for his mother and his relations was as remarkable as his kindness to his conquered foes. The depth and the warmth of these sympathies he has expressed with every elaboration of style in Turkish and Persian songs, and his memoirs, written in East Turkish, reflect

an extraordinary character and certainly form one of the most remarkable works in the literary history of any nation.

The defeats which Babar had suffered in Transoxania and Bactria induced him to turn his gaze to India; he was able to claim the Punjab as the heir of Timur, and the invitation of Daulat Khan, the rebel Lodi governor in Lahore, gave him both a pretext and a motive for attacking the neighbouring kingdom in 1524. He

**Babar
Invades
India**

found no difficulty in overcoming such resistance as was offered in the Punjab. He was especially superior to his opponents in artillery, and crossed the Sutlej at the end of 1525. At Panipat, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, ten miles north of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi took up a position on April 21st, 1526, with a force whose numbers are reported as 100,000 soldiers and 1,000 war elephants to oppose the 25,000 warriors of Babar, and lost both his throne and his life. Delhi and Agra, which had been the residence of the Hindustan Afghans from 1503 to 1504, immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror, who divided the rich imperial treasures among his warriors, including the famous diamond, the Kohinoor, "the mountain of light." This jewel, which had previously been taken from the Khilji Mohammed Shah, now fell to the lot of Humayun, the son of Babar; after many vicissitudes, it ultimately became the glory of the British Crown jewels. The victory of Panipat gave Babar possession of North India to the north-east of Delhi and also the small strip of land along the Jumna as far as Agra.

**Spoils of
a Great
Victory**

Shortly before the end of 1526 he was also master of the district south of the Jumna as far as Gwalior. He was now opposed by the Hindus. The princes of Rajputana, led by Rana Sanka, marched against him with a powerful army to a

point seven miles west of Agra. A battle was fought at Fattchpur Sikri, or Kanwa, on March 16th, 1527, where the Rajputs were utterly defeated; Mewar fell into the hands of the conqueror, who immediately proceeded to reorganise the administration of his new acquisitions. How the Rajputs could fight with the courage of despair, Babar was to learn in the following year when he besieged one of the princes who had escaped from the battle of Sikri, in his fortress of Chanderi. As his troops were storming the walls on the second day the enemies set fire to the town with their wives and children after the manner of the old Kshatriyas, and then rushed upon the foe with drawn swords; the bodyguard of the prince killed one another, each man struggling for the first blow. In 1529 Mahmud Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim, was expelled from Oudh, the southern part of Behar on the right bank of the Ganges was captured, and the Raja Nasir ed-din Nasrat Shah of Bengal was forced to lay down his arms.

In three years Babar had conquered in a series of brilliant victories the whole of the plains of Northern India as far as Bengal. Now, however, his health, which had been undermined by the extraordinary privations of his life, began to fail. On December 26, 1530, Babar the Lion died before he had reached the age of fifty; his last words to his son and heir, Humayun, were "Do not kill your brothers, but watch over them tenderly."

Babar was succeeded by his son, Nasir ed-din Mohammed Humayun, who was born in 1507; he, however, had not inherited either his father's iron will or his pertinacity, much less his firm principles,

his high ambition, his warmth of heart, and his unchanging fidelity. Babar had intended Humayun to become ruler of the kingdom, and had destined the governorship of Kabul and Kandahar for his second son, Kamran. Humayun con-

sidered that his brother would be more closely united to himself if he also received the governorship of the Punjab. But by thus renouncing his native territory he also lost command of the stout warrior Afghan tribes, thereby considerably weakening his military power in India; and this, moreover, at a time when enemies rose against him on every side, after the disappearance of the powerful figure of Babar. His first duty was to crush the revolts raised by the generals of the last Afghan rulers, and then to punish Bahadur Shah, the Raja of Gujerat, for his intrigues. Bahadur was expelled by the emperor in

person; hardly, however, had he returned to his capital to deal with an outbreak in Bengal, when the troops he had left in Gujerat were driven out and he was even obliged to renounce his claims to Malwa.

Meanwhile, upon the east, in Bengal, a heavy storm was threatening the Mogul power. Ferid Khan, a Mohammedan of high talent, who apparently belonged to the Afghan royal family of the Suri, had assumed the leadership of all the enemies of the Mogul rule, and was speedily able to secure the possession of Bihar. Humayun was forced

to besiege the strong fortress of Chunar, an operation which detained him for many months at Benares; meanwhile, Bengal was conquered by his cunning opponent, who had in the meantime adopted the title of Sher, or "Lion," Shah. He then



THE EMPEROR BABAR
Who reigned from 1525 to 1530



BABAR REVIEWING HIS TROOPS

This great Mogul emperor was a man of strong character, wide tolerance and warm sympathy.

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

defeated the descendant of Timur in two battles in 1539 and 1540; after these misfortunes Humayun was obliged to abandon his kingdom and take refuge with his brother Kamran at Lahore.

Here, however, his position was equally unstable. Kamran was terror-stricken at the unexpected success of Sher Shah, with whom he concluded peace, the price being the cession of the Punjab, while the deposed emperor was forced to spend a period of disappointment, terrible privation, and constant flight in Rajputana; on October 14th, 1542, his son Akbar was born to him in the desert of Thar at the time of his greatest need. In 1543 he turned to Kandahar. Sher Shah, who had been master of the whole Ganges district since his decisive victories over Humayun, now turned his attention to the improvement of domestic organisation, and did his best to foster the progress of agriculture, to provide for public peace and security, to improve communication by making long roads, and to reorganise the bureaucracy, the taxation system, and the administration of justice. He met with a violent death on May 22nd, 1545, during the siege of a hostile fortress.

His successor, Selim Shah, attempted to continue his father's administration; his short reign

(1545-1553) was largely occupied with the suppression of different revolts. Under the government of his incompetent or vicious successors, Feroz (1553), Mohammed (1553), Ibrahim (1554) and Secander (1555), the empire rapidly fell to pieces.

Disturbances broke out in every quarter, and the way was opened for the return of Humayun. He defeated two armies in Sirhind, and returned to Delhi as king in the summer of 1555; but, almost exactly six months after his re-entry, he died in

January, 1556, from an injury caused by a fall.

The young Abul-fath Jelal-ed-din Akbar, who ascended the throne of Hindustan on February 23rd, 1556, had been entrusted by his father to the care of the faithful Turcoman Bairam Khan, whose bold action had in the meantime inflicted a total defeat upon the armies of the Lodis, under Hemu, on November 5th, 1556, in a second battle of Panipat, and had advanced beyond Delhi and Agra. State administration was for four years carried

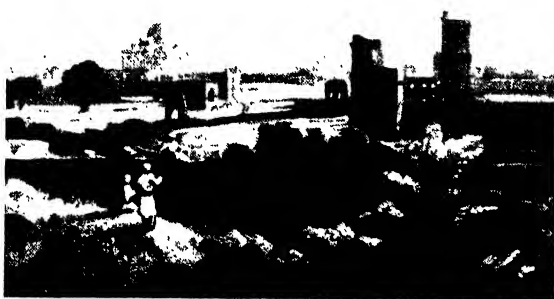
on also by Bairam, who made himself unpopular by his jealousy for the prestige of his title of Khan Babu, or royal father. However, during a hunting expedition Akbar suddenly returned to the capital, and in 1560 issued a decree to the effect that he would henceforward take all State

business under his own control. Bairam in surprise attempted a revolt, but, lacking adherents, was obliged to submit to the young emperor, who received him with all honour. In the same year, Bairam was murdered by one of his enemies when on the point of making a pil-

grimage to Mecca. Akbar was then obliged to confront the task of uniting into one powerful kingdom the whole of Hindustan, which had been devastated by centuries of war and was broken into hundreds of petty principalities. Before



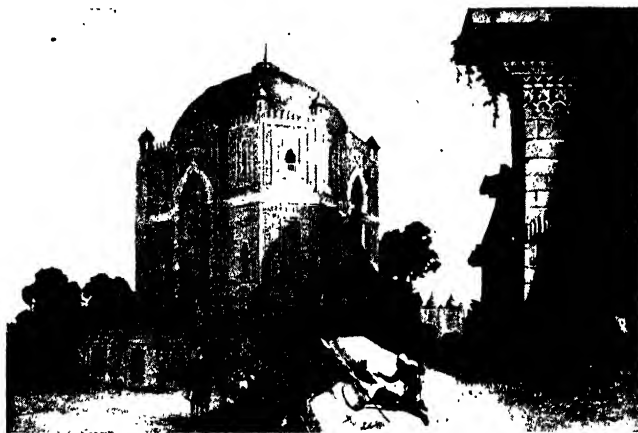
THE EMPEROR HUMAYUN
Who reigned from 1530 to 1556.



THE TOMB OF HUMAYUN AT DELHI

Humayun was the son of the great emperor Babar, and the father of Akbar; he possessed none of the great qualities of these rulers, and his reign was interrupted by a usurpation while he was a fugitive.

his time every conqueror had been the ruler of a foreign land, whence he had drawn support and strength; Akbar at the age of eighteen was obliged to rely upon himself alone. The character of Babar had been inherited by his grandson; Akbar possessed his grandfather's intellectual powers, his iron will, and his great heart with all its kindness and benevolence.



TOMB OF ONE OF HUMAYUN'S MINISTERS AT DELHI

Humayun's Minister, Tardi Beg Khan, was Governor of Delhi when it was taken by the army of the Lodis, during the minority of Akbar, Humayun's son and successor. He was beheaded, and is said to be buried in this tomb, although this is questioned.

The son of a fugitive emperor, born in the desert, brought up in nominal confinement, he had known the bitter side of life from his youth up. Fortune had given him a powerful frame, which he trained to support the extremities of exertion. Physical exercise was with him a passion; he was devoted to the chase, and especially to the fierce excitement of catching the wild horse or elephant or slaying the dangerous tiger. On one occasion, when it was necessary to persuade the Raja of Jodpur to abandon his intention of forcing the widow of his deceased son to mount the funeral pyre, Akbar rode 220 miles in two days. In battle he displayed the utmost bravery. He led his troops in person during the dangerous part of a campaign, leaving to his generals the lighter task of finishing the war. In every victory he displayed humanity to the conquered, and decisively opposed any exhibition of cruelty. Free from all those prejudices which separate society and create dissension, tolerant to men of other beliefs, impartial to men of other races,

**Greatest
Mogul
Emperor**

whether Hindu or Dravidian, he was a man obviously marked out to weld the conflicting elements of his kingdom into a strong and prosperous whole.

In all seriousness he devoted himself to the work of peace. Moderate in all pleasures, needing but little sleep, and accustomed to divide his time with the utmost accuracy, he found leisure to devote

himself to science and art after the completion of his State duties. The famous personages and scholars who adorned his capital were at the same time his friends; every Thursday evening a circle of these was collected for intellectual conversation and philosophical discussion. His closest friends were two highly talented brothers, Shekh Feizi and Abul Fazl, the sons of a learned free-thinker. The elder of these was a famous scholar in

Hindu literature; with his help, and under his direction, Akbar had the most important of the Sanscrit works translated into Persian. Fazl, on the other hand, who was an especially close friend of Akbar, was a general, a statesman, and an organiser, and to his activity Akbar's kingdom largely owed the solidarity of its internal organisation. For a long period in India, central authority of any description had been unknown, and the years of Humayun's exile had proved unfavourable to the introduction of a stricter system among the Moguls. Under Akbar, also, many generals, after he had reduced a revolted province to order, attempted to keep back the taxes payable to Delhi and to claim the district for themselves, as in Oudh, Malwa, and Bengal. Some were overthrown with a strong hand, others the emperor was able to bring over to himself by clemency. His own brother, Mohammed Hakim, who attempted to occupy the Punjab in 1566, was expelled from the country. Akbar won over the Rajput princes by a display

**A
Royal
Mæcenas**

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

of kindness and concession. He himself married the two princesses of Ambur and Marwar; and his eldest son, Selim or Jehangir, had a princess of Ambur to wife. The princes of those petty states who were treated by the powerful Emperor as equals gladly forgot that their ruler was an alien both by his creed and his

A Policy that Made Friends

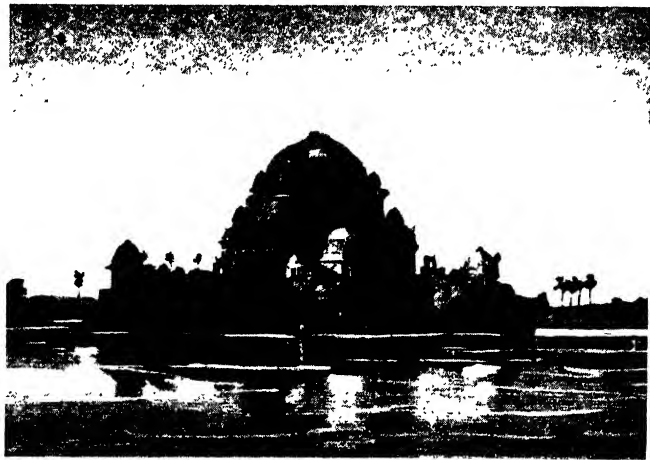
descent, and considered it an honour to occupy high positions in Akbar's army. Of these one only, the Prince of Chitor, maintained an attitude of hostility. His capital was besieged by Akbar in 1567, and the bold commander was shot by the emperor himself upon the walls. After the old Rajput custom, the garrison first killed their wives and children, and then themselves; but the prince, who had fled, still declined to submit. At a later period, during Akbar's lifetime, the son of this expelled monarch succeeded in founding a new state in Udiipur, whose rulers still pride themselves upon the fact that their genealogy remains unstained by any trace of connection with the emperors of Delhi.

The remnants of the last Mohammedan dynasty offered a yet more vigorous resistance to Akbar than the Rajputs had done. In 1559 these "Afghans" were expelled from Oudh and from Malwa. In Gujerat various pretenders to the throne were quarrelling among themselves. One of these called in Akbar to his help. Akbar adopted a strong policy and expelled the combatants collectively, reconstituting the country as a province in the years 1572-1573. In 1581 fresh disturbances broke out, and an indecisive struggle was continued for a long period, until peace was at last secured by the death of Mozaffar III. Habib in 1593. Similarly, much time elapsed before Bengal was definitely conquered. With the exception of the son of Suleiman Khan Kararani, Daud Shah, who had surrendered in 1576, neither the Mogul generals nor the Afghans were definitely pacified until 1592. Orissa also

fell into the power of the ruler of Delhi. In Sindh military adventurers, stragglers left from the Afghan supremacy, also continued their intrigues; they were subdued in 1592, and pacified by the gift of high positions within the empire. A short campaign against Prince Yusuf of Kashmir, belonging to the Chak dynasty, led, in 1586-1587, to the incorporation of that province, which now became a favourite summer residence of the Mogul emperors. A harder struggle was fought with the Yusufzai tribes of the almost inaccessible Kafiristan. Even at the present day the configuration of their district has enabled them to maintain their independence. The last conquest in the extreme west was Kandahar, which had been already occupied by Humayun, but had been retaken by the Persians in the first years of Akbar's reign. The emperor recovered this district in 1593-1594.

Thus the kingdom of Akbar extended from Afghanistan to Orissa, and from the Himalaya to the Nerbada. Beyond this latter boundary the confusion was no less

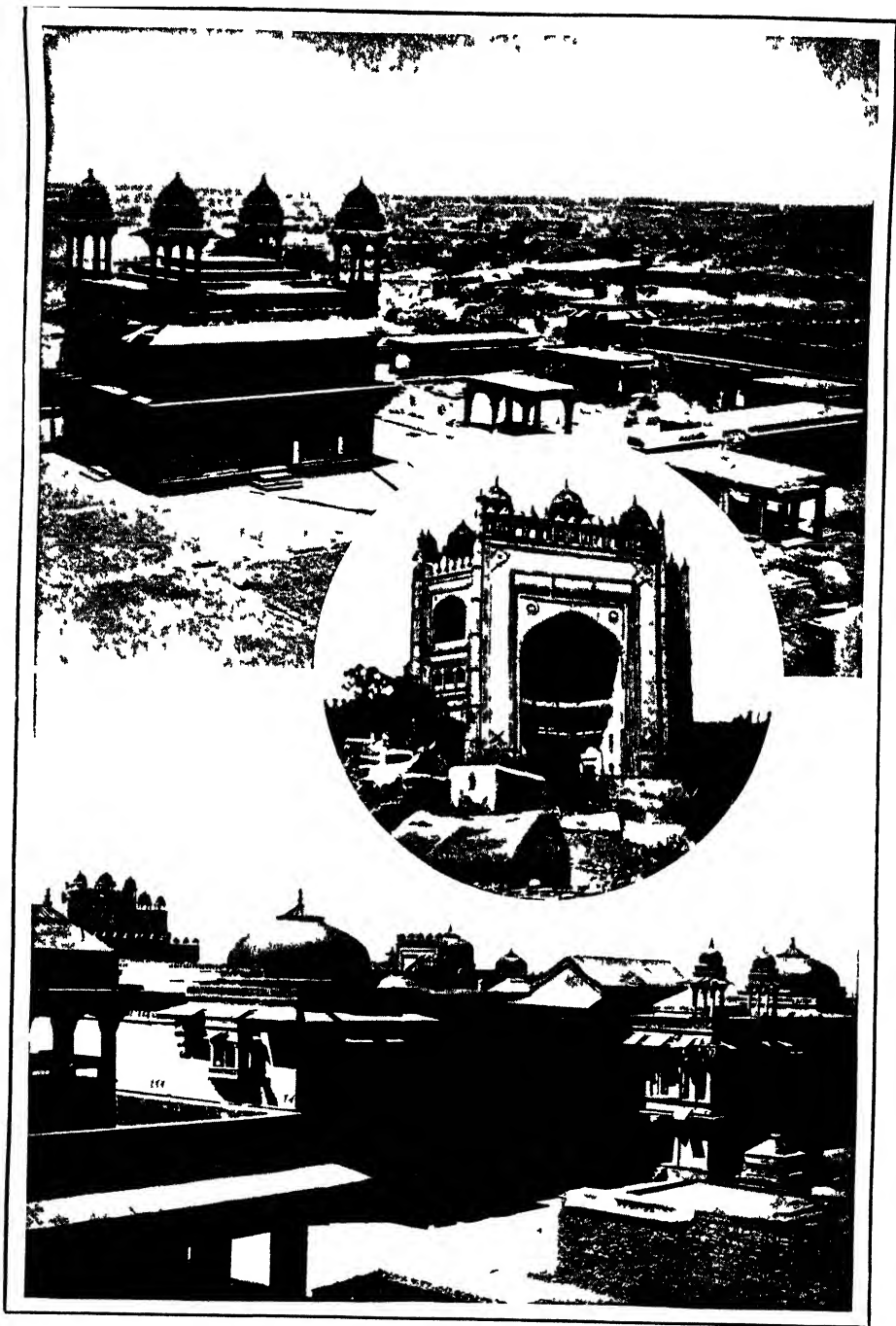
Extent of Akbar's Empire



THE TOMB OF SHER SHAH AT SASSERAM

Ferid Khan, a Mohammedan of high talent, deposed Humayun, the son and successor of Babar, and, under the name of Sher Shah, reigned until his own death in 1545.

than it had previously been in the north. Akbar was called in by one of the disputants, and his army quickly got possession of Berar, with its capital, Ellichpur. An unexpected resistance was, however, encountered before Ahmednagar, the central point of the Mohammedan states of the Deccan. A woman of unusually strong



IN THE ROYAL CITY OF AKBAR RUINS OF AGRA

These different views of the ruins of the palaces of Fatehpur Sikri at Agra represent buildings dating from 1556-1600 and are thus monuments of the days of Akbar perhaps the greatest emperor who ever held sway in India.

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

character, by name Chand Bibi, who was regent for her great-nephew Bahadur Nizam Shah during his minority, united several of the disputing princes before the approaching danger. When besieged in her capital, she succeeded in inspiring her adherents with so fierce a spirit of resistance that the Moguls were glad, in 1596, to conclude peace on the condition that the claims of Chand Bibi to Berar should be given up. Fresh disturbances led to a renewed invasion of the Moguls. After an indecisive battle, Akbar himself, in 1599, took command of his troops, but Ahmednagar resisted until Chand Bibi was murdered by her own troops in 1600.

Akbar now set up a nominal ruler, Mor-teda II., whose dynasty came to an end in 1637 under Shah Jehan.

The last years of Akbar's life were troubled by severe domestic misfortunes and by his sorrow at the death of his friend, Abul Fazl. The Prince Selim, or Jehangir, who had been appointed his successor, was addicted to the pleasures of drink and opium, and was of a passionate temper and a deadly enemy of his father's chief counsellor, F a z l.

Akbar had appointed his son as Viceroy of Ajmir: that, however, proved insufficient to satisfy his ambition. He aimed at the possession of the Imperial throne, took possession of the State treasury, assumed the title of King, and occupied Oudh and Behar. Akbar, however, treated him kindly, and Selim made a show of submission, but revenged himself by a cowardly stroke. He incited one of the petty princes in Bandelkand to murder Abul Fazl by treachery in 1602. This calamity was followed by the loss of Danial, the third prince, who succumbed to an attack of drowsy on April 8, 1605, a disease which had already carried off his elder brother Murad in 1599. By these heavy blows of adversity the emperor's

powers were broken. After a long illness his condition rapidly grew worse, and on October 15, 1605, died Akbar, the greatest ruler who ever sat upon the throne of India.

Under the rule of every Mohammedan conqueror who had invaded India from the north-west, the land had suffered by reason of the twofold antagonisms of religion and race. The Hindus, who formed the majority of the population, were considered of no account: they repaid with their hatred the pride and scorn with which they were treated, and prosperity for India was obviously impossible under such rulers. History has justly honoured

Akbar with the title of "The Great," but the honour is due less to his military successes, great as they were, than to the insight with which he furthered the internal welfare of the country and to the manner in which he softened the antagonisms of religion and race by gradually obliterating the most salient differences.

At the time of his accession Akbar was a good Mohammedan, and in 1576 he projected a pilgrimage to Mecca to the grave of the Prophet. Shortly afterwards, however, the inter-

change of philosophical ideas at his evening gatherings was stimulated by the presence not only of the Mohammedan mollah, but also of the learned Brahman priest, and even the Roman missionary. No one of these religions appeared to him as absolutely true. Under their influence, and in the conversation of his confidential friends that conception of the jealous God which Mohammed had borrowed from Moses was transformed to the idea of a Supreme Being watching over all men with equal love; while the doctrine of the God incarnate became in him a pure belief, high above all material conceptions, to the effect that the Deity can be apprehended not through any revelation in human



INDIA'S GREATEST NATIVE EMPEROR

The strength and wisdom of Akbar, his measures of reform, his equal treatment of all races and creeds, and the nobility of his character amply justify his title of "The Great"

shape, but only by the exercise of reason and understanding; that He is to be served not by all kinds of ceremonies and empty forms, but by moral purity of life. If weak humanity desires material symbols of the Supreme Being, then the loftiest to be found are the sun, the constellations, or the fire. Akbar's conception of God left no place for ritual precepts, for prophets or priests. To support his dignity, however, in the eyes of the people, he issued decrees announcing that the king was the head

Religious Views of Akbar

of the Church, his formula of confession being as follows: "There is no God but God, and Akbar is his Caliph." At the same time, he never employed force to impose his religious views upon dissentients. These views, indeed, were too abstract and profound for popular consumption, and were unintelligible except to a small circle of philosophical adherents. Toleration was a fundamental principle in his character, and he was never anxious to convert the members of other religions. Every Mussulman was allowed the free exercise of his religious principles; but, on the other hand, such principles were binding upon no one else. Thus he was opposed to those many forms of compulsion which Mohammedanism lays upon public and private life. Akbar did nothing to further the study of the language of the Koran, and showed no preference for Arabic names such as Mohammed, or Ahmed. The formula of greeting, "Peace be with you," was replaced by the sentence, "God is great."

Thus to a certain extent Akbar curtailed the privileges of his native religion. At the same time he removed many of the disabilities which burdened the Hindus and their religious practices. The poll-

tax upon unbelievers, a source of deep dissatisfaction among the Hindus, and the dues levied upon pilgrims during their journeys, were entirely remitted. Their religious practice was interfered with only in cases where the pronouncements of the priests were totally opposed to the principles of humanity—as, for instance, in cases of trial by ordeal, child marriage, compulsory death upon the funeral pyre, and the enforced celibacy of widows. The civil rights of Mohammedans and Hindus in no way differed, and every position in the state, high or low, was open to members of either religion.

In the domestic administration of his great kingdom Akbar displayed the greatest foresight and energy. Former rulers had been accustomed to collect the taxes by methods unconceivably disastrous. The revenues of important districts had been appropriated to individual generals, who were allowed to extort the utmost possible amount from the inhabitants, and for this purpose large masses of troops were permanently kept on foot. The Imperial taxes properly so-called were collected by an army of officials who were accessible to influence of every kind, and appropriated no small portion of the receipts as they passed through their hands. Sher Shah had been the only ruler

to introduce a more equitable system of taxation, and the regulations made during his short reign were swept away in the confusion of the following years. In its main details Akbar's system was a further development and extension of that of Sher Shah. He was fortunate in finding in the Hindu Todar Mal a man of stainless probity and admirable capacity for organisation, who did more than anyone else to renovate the administration and especially the taxation system. Todar Mal was the first official



JEHANGIR, THE SON OF AKBAR
Mohammed Selim, the son whom Akbar appointed his successor, and who reigned as Jehangir, or "the World's Conqueror," undid much of his father's work and proved a most unworthy successor.

Reform of Taxation

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

to make a complete and exact census of the whole territory north of the Narbada. A survey was taken of all arable land, an accurate estimate made of the products, and taxation was calculated from these data, the amount being established at one-third of the average produce for the previous ten years. Undue severity was thus avoided as far as possible, and in times of famine or failure of the crops taxes were remitted and advances made of gold or corn. Sher Shah had, indeed, appointed only one-fourth of the yearly produce as the unit of taxation. Akbar's regulations, however, proved more advantageous both for the State and for the agricultural population, as speculation was prevented by a strict system of bookkeeping and by the possibility of appeal to higher officials; while the fixity of the regulations enabled one-half of the revenue officials to be dispensed with. All officials, officers and soldiers included, received a fixed and liberal salary, and were no longer obliged to depend upon incomes drawn legally or illegally from subsidiary sources.

Trade and commerce were promoted, a strong impulse in this direction being given by the introduction of a uniform currency. The hundreds of different currencies which had hitherto been in circulation were called in, and an Imperial coinage was struck in the mints of every province. The empire was divided into fifteen provinces—three of which were in the Deccan—and these were governed under Imperial direction by governors, who were invested with civil and military powers. The administration of justice as far as the Mohammedans were concerned, lay in the hands of a supreme judge, Mir-i-adl, whose decision was final. He was assisted by a Kasi, who undertook preliminary investigations and produced the legal codes bearing upon the case. The Hindus were judged by Brahmans with a legal training. The organisation of the army was,

comparatively speaking, less vigorous and consistent. On the whole, however, the internal organisation of the state, which was laid down to the smallest detail in the ordinances of Akbar, marked a great step in advance, and proved a blessing to the country, which enjoyed a prosperity hitherto unexampled.



SIR THOMAS ROE
Ambassador from King James I.
to the Court of the Emperor of
India between 1615 and 1618.

When Akbar died, he had appointed as his successor his son, Nur-ed-din Mohammed Selim, who took the Imperial title of Jehangir—that is, World Conqueror. In previous years he had often been a sore anxiety to his father, chiefly by reason of his drunkenness and furious temper, which provoked him to acts of cruelty and frequently broke out during his reign. When his chief general, Mahabat Khan, had married his daughter without previously announcing his intention, he had the newly-wed couple flogged with thorns, and deprived the general of the dowry and of his private possessions. After the revolt of his son Khusr-u, he had 700 of his adherents impaled along the road before the gates of Lahore, while his son was conducted in chains upon an elephant through this avenue.



SHAH JEHAN I.
Who reigned from 1627 to 1658

Sir Thomas Roe made some stay at the Indian court from 1615 to 1618 as the ambassador of King James I., and has given us an account of the brilliancy of the court life, of the Emperor's love for splendour and display, of his kindness to Europeans, numbers of whom came to his court, of his tolerance to other religions and especially to Christianity. Two pearls in his crown were considered by him as representing the heads of Christ and Mary, and two of his nephews were allowed to embrace Christianity. The same ambassador, however, also relates accounts of banquets that lasted through the night, of which drunkenness was the invariable result, the orgies being led by the Emperor himself. At the same time the Emperor attempted to play the part of a stern Mohammedan; when during the day one



RUINS OF OLD AGRA WITH THE TAJ MAHAL IN THE DISTANCE

of the initiated allowed a thoughtless reference to one of these orgies to escape him the Emperor asked seriously who had been guilty of such an offence against the law and inflicted so severe a bastinado upon those who had been his guests at the forbidden entertainment that one of them died. Of the general condition of the empire Roe gives a description

An English Ambassador in India

which compares unfavourably with the state of affairs under Akbar. He praises the financial arrangements but characterises the administration as looking the officials as tyrannical and corrupt and mentions the decay of militarism in the army the backbone of which was now the Rajput and Afghan contingents. The time will come he wrote when all in these kingdoms will be in great combustion. However the reign of Jehangir passed without any great collapse. Akbar's institutions had been too firmly rooted to fall by the maladministration of one government only.

Jehangir had been already in 1586 married at an early age to a daughter of Rū Singh of Amber, a Persian woman however by name Nur Jahan. The Light of the World gained complete influence over him. Her grandfather had occupied an important position in Tahirān her father however was so impoverished that the future Empress upon her birth was exposed in the street where a rich merchant found her adopted her and called in her own mother as foster

nurse. Nur Jahan received a good education and by her wit and beauty she won the heart of Jehangir then Crown Prince whose attentions became so pressing that upon Akbar's advice a young Persian was given her hand together with an estate in Bengal. Hardly had Jehangir been a year upon the throne when he made proposals to the husband which the latter answered by killing the emissaries who brought them and wounding him all but to pieces in consequence. In 1611 Nur Jahan gave way and henceforward her influence over the Emperor was complete. As long as her excellent father who had been made wazir of the empire was alive she exerted that influence for good. Jehangir restrained his drunkenness and ceased those inhumanities which had stained the imperial title in previous years.

A war with Udipur was rapidly brought to an end in 1614 by the second prince Shihāb-ud-din Mohammed Khurram or Shah Jehan. His bold action also brought the war against the Mohammedan Deccan

which had opened unfavourably, to a successful conclusion. The Emperor hated his eldest son Khurram who died in imprisonment in 1622 but the second was both his favourite and that of the Empress who gave him her niece in marriage. He was publicly appointed successor to the throne. Nur Jahan however had consulted no one's pleasure but her own after her father's death and she now gave her favour to the youngest of the princes who

Power of a Royal Consort

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

was closely connected with herself by his marriage with her daughter.

When his father fell seriously ill, Shah Jehan, who had been placed in the background, marched upon Delhi, but was obliged to retreat to Telingana and Bengal, where he was defeated by Mahabat Khan. The latter then suddenly incurred the displeasure of the Empress, and with a view of anticipating any act of hostility on her part, he seized the persons both of the Emperor and the Empress. They succeeded in escaping from imprisonment and in concluding a compact with Mahabat which provided that he should once more take the field against Shah Jehan; but the general was afraid of the later vengeance of Nur Jehan and deserted to the prince. There was no further collision between the two parties; the Emperor died in 1627, while upon a journey from Kashmir to Lahore. Nur Jehan was treated with respect by the successor to the throne; she survived her husband by nineteen years, which she spent in dignified seclusion, winning universal affection by her benevolence.

Shah Jehan I., after the slaying of his brother Shahriyar, who had formed an alliance with two sons of Danial, and the suppression of a revolt in Bandelkand, put an end to the short rule of his nephew Dawarbaksh, the son of Khusr, and found himself in undisputed possession of the throne in 1628; under his rule the Mogul Empire attained the zenith of its wealth and prosperity. The Emperor displayed great perspicacity in the choice of capable officials, exercised a strong personal supervision over the administration, introduced many improvements, and in the course of twenty years extended the system of territorial occupation and taxation which had been created by Todar Mal to the districts on

the far side of the Narbada. Though he is described as reserved and exclusive before his accession, he afterwards appeared kindly, courteous, and paternally benevolent to his subjects, and succeeded in winning over those Mohammedans whom Akbar had formerly affronted, without losing the good-will of the Hindus.

The best evidences for the brilliance of this period are the numberless private and public buildings which arose under the government, not only in the two capitals of Delhi and Agra, but also in all other important centres in the kingdom, even in places which are now abandoned. Under Shah Jehan, Delhi was as entirely transformed as Rome under Nero or Paris under Napoleon III. The palaces of his

period, with their reception rooms, their marble pillared halls, their courts and private rooms, together with the mosques and mausoleums, marked the zenith of Mohammedan art in India. Of these monuments the most famous is the mausoleum called the Taj Mahal, "Crown of the Harem," the grave of Nur Mahal, "Light of the Harem," a favourite consort of the Emperor.

Opposite the imperial fortress of Agar rises this building, one of the most delicate constructions in the world, its outline clear and simple as crystal, built in marble of wonderfully delicate colouring, with decorations which bear the mark of a fine and restrained taste. Symbolical of court life and splendour was the famous peacock throne, a decoration for the imperial chair, made of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, and other jewels, which represented in its form and colours a peacock's tail fully extended. The traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689), a jeweller by profession, estimates the collective value of the precious stones employed in this ornament



NUR MAHAL, "LIGHT OF THE HAREM"

The Taj Mahal, the richest mausoleum in all the world, was built by the Emperor Jehan in memory of his wife, Nur Mahal, who is here represented in an engraving from Dapper's "Asia," published in 1672.

at £160,500,000. Though such works of architecture and artistic skill must have cost enormous sums, and though many lives were sacrificed in the numerous wars of Shah Jehan, the people enjoyed high prosperity under his rule; and the Emperor, surpassing in this respect the Medicean Lorenzo "the Magnificent,"

A Period of High Prosperity

left a vast quantity of State treasures behind him at his death. Those disturbances which had broken out in the Deccan in 1629 were speedily suppressed by the Emperor, who forced the State of Ahmednagar to conclude a peace favourable to Delhi. After a fresh outbreak four years later this province was incorporated with the Delhi kingdom in 1637, and Abdallah of Golconda, an ally of Ahmednagar, was forced to pay tribute. Affairs beyond the Afghan frontier ran a less favourable course. The Uzbegs, who had penetrated into Kabul, were at first driven back from Balkh; in 1637, Kandahar, which had been occupied by the Persians, was also reconquered. When, however, the Uzbegs renewed their advance in 1618, the Emperor's third son, Mohammed Muhi ed-din Aurangzib, was forced to retreat during the winter of 1647 over the Hindu Kush, and lost the greater part of his army in consequence; Kandahar was reconquered by the Persians in 1648, and remained in their possession, Shah Jehan definitely renouncing the idea of reconquest in 1653. In the year 1655

then surprised on some trivial pretext. But before the subjugation of this district could be carried out, Aurangzib received news of his father's sudden illness, and was obliged, in 1657, to conclude a treaty with Mohammed of Bijapur, on conditions favourable to the latter, in order that he might march northward with his army.

Shah Jehan had been prostrated by uræmia. Four of the Emperor's sons, who were equally brave but different in position and character, immediately appeared as rival claimants for the throne. Dara Shukoh, born in 1613, was a man of Akbar's type, talented, liberal, well disposed to the Hindus, and friendly to Europeans and Christians. His manner, however, was against him; he was passionate, often insolent, had no personal following, and was especially unpopular among the Mohammedans. The second prince, Shojah, was a drunkard, and was hated by the Mohammedans for his leanings to the Shiite doctrine. On the other hand, Aurangzib was a fanatical Mohammedan,

Rivals for the Throne

beloved for his affability, with a halo of glory from his recent exploits, but ambitious and treacherous. The fourth prince, Murad Baksh was of a noble disposition, but was intellectually of no account, and was marked by a leaning to sensuality. Aurangzib, who was at the head of a well-tried army, allowed his two elder brothers to destroy one another, while he gained over the short-sighted Murad by exaggerated praise and flattery, and by

promises of the succession. With the help of Murad he then defeated Dara, who had emerged victorious from the struggle with Shojah, and invited the unsuspecting man, under a pretext of celebrating his victory, to a feast. On the next morning Murad awoke from his



CAVALRY SOLDIER OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE

Bijapur was

INDIA—THE MOGUL EMPIRE

debauch to find himself a prisoner in the citadel of Delhi, but was afterwards transferred to the State prison of Gwalior.

Meanwhile Shah Jehan I. had recovered and again assumed the government. As, however, he favoured his eldest son, Aurangzib made him prisoner in 1658, and kept him under honourable restraint in the citadel of Agra until his death in 1666. Shortly afterwards Aurangzib succeeded in seizing the person of his eldest brother; and in 1659 Dara was condemned to death on a pretended charge of apostasy from the Mohammedan faith. Murad met the same fate in 1661, as a result of an attempt to escape from his imprisonment. Shuja fled to Bengal, and perished in 1660 in the malarial district of Arakan, while his sons were kept prisoners until their death in Gwalior. Thus no rival except Aurangzib remained to the successor of Shah Jehan among his brothers or relations.

Aurangzib, or Alamgir I. (1658-1707) had inherited none of the great talents of Babar and Akbar, neither their statesman-like foresight nor their humanitarian disposition, and still less that religious tolerance which had made the people prosperous and the state powerful. Those famous monarchs had been creative minds, capable of finding the right measures to deal with every difficulty; whereas Aurangzib was a narrow-minded monarch who displayed his good qualities invariably at the wrong time and in the wrong place. His actions were dictated, not by love for his subjects, but by ambition, mistrust, and religious fanaticism. No one was ever better able to conceal his true feelings; no means were too contemptible or too arbitrary which could enable him to reach the goal of his ambition. His effort was to promote the one true faith of the Sunnah, and his ambition was to be the type of a true Mohammedan monarch. To his co-religionists he displayed a leniency which was a direct invitation to mismanagement, intrigue, and disobedience, while his hand was heavy upon the hated Hindus who formed the majority of his subjects. He was well read, especially

in the Koran, and his private life was marked by moderation and simplicity; his public appearances were characterised by an excess of splendour and by painful observance of every religious duty.

At the beginning of his reign the Emperor seemed inclined to model his behaviour upon the religious tolerance of his ancestor Akbar, and married his son Mohammed Muazzem to the daughter of a Hindu prince. But after a short interval his fanatical hostility to the alien religion made itself felt, and discord between the Emperor and his subjects was the natural result. The tax upon all saleable articles, which was only 2½ per cent. for the Mohammedans, was doubled by Aurangzib in the case of the Hindus; the hated poll-tax, which Akbar had abolished, was again imposed upon the Hindus, and while preference was shown to the Mohammedans, a double



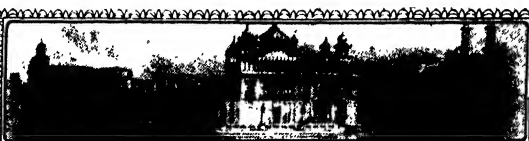
EMPEROR AURANGZIB
The third of four brothers, he obtained the throne by treachery in 1658. His oppression hastened the disruption of the empire.

burden was laid upon the Hindus, who were also excluded from the administration and the army. In 1679 Aurangzib pulled down the three most sacred temples of the Hindus in Multan, Mattara, and Benares, and erected a mosque upon the site of the temple of Krishna. In Rajputana alone the Brahman sanctuaries which were devastated by his fanaticism might be counted by hundreds; the priests were killed, and the temple treasures transferred to Delhi.

The Satnamis, a purist Hindu sect on the left bank of the Sutlej, were the first to revolt against such oppression—a movement that was repressed only with difficulty. Their example was followed by the Rajput tribes, and the struggle was carried on with varying success and with such bitter cruelty that from that date the Rajputs have displayed a deadly hatred to every later ruler of Delhi. Aurangzib's own son, Mohammed Akbar, the fourth prince, enraged at the inhumanity of the imperial orders given him, joined the side of the oppressed, but was forced to flee; he first turned to the Mahrattas, who were at war with his father, and afterwards retired to Persia, where he died a few years later, in 1706.

**Religious
Bigot on
the Throne**

**Revolts
Against
Oppression**



THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

AURANGZIB had successfully led the army of Shah Jehan against the Mohammedan states in the Deccan, and had inflicted severe losses upon Golconda and Bijapur; but independent rulers were still powerful in that district. In the meantime a third state founded upon the basis of national religion had grown from insignificance to a power more formidable and coherent than any of the surrounding states. This was the Mahratta people, a powerful tribe inhabiting the district of Maharashtra and the country to the south; from this centre capable men had for many years migrated to the neighbouring Mohammedan principalities, especially to Bijapur, where they had occupied important positions in the administration and in the army.

Rise of Mahratta Power

The head of one of these immigrant families, Shaj Bhonsla, had distinguished himself as a cavalry commander, and had been rewarded by the Mohammedan Sultan of Bijapur with the military fief of Puna, and later with a more important district in the modern Mysore. From his marriage with a woman of noble birth sprang the founder of the Mahratta power, Sivaji. National and religious sentiment inspired him with deep hatred for Mohammedanism. During his father's absence in the southern parts of his fief the son, with the help of the troops under his command and other Mahratta allies, seized a number of the strongest fortresses, confiscated the taxes, and plundered the lands of his lord far beyond the boundaries of his own district; his father was then suspected of complicity and imprisoned by the Sultan of Bijapur. Sivaji entered into negotiations with the powerful Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, and the fear of this mighty monarch procured the release of his father; the son then displayed even greater insolence to Bijapur. Ultimately an army was sent against him under Afzal Khan; Sivaji induced the hostile commander to agree to a friendly meeting before the fort of Pratapgad, where he murdered him; the army was

taken by surprise and massacred in large part. Ultimately he secured the cession of additional territory and the right of maintaining a standing army of 50,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry.

These events had taken place shortly before the accession of Aurangzib. The upstart now directed his attacks against the empire itself. His marauding bands advanced into the neighbourhood of Surat in 1662, and an imperial army retreated before him with disgraceful cowardice. A new expedition succeeded in inducing Sivaji to appear in person at the court of the powerful emperor. Aurangzib received the Hindu with almost contemptuous coldness, and proposed to confine him forcibly in Delhi. However, the cunning Mahratta and his son made good their escape, hidden in two provision-hampers. In the year 1674 Sivaji declared himself independent, assumed the title of Maharaja, and proceeded to strike a courage in his own name. Had Aurangzib been a far-seeing ruler, he could not have failed to recognise a dangerous enemy in this rising Hindu state on the south-west, and would have entered into an alliance with the Mohammedan states in the Deccan. But he hoped to secure sole supremacy over all the Mohammedans in India, and even furthered the action of the new Hindu prince when he extorted from Bijapur one-fourth of its yearly revenue as payment for freedom from his plundering raids—a tax known as the Chaut, which was later, under the name of the "Mahratta tribute," to be a source of sore vexation to the Delhi kingdom.

The Mogul Dominion Threatened

The far-seeing opponent of the two Mohammedan powers availed himself of his favourable position to develop, as far as possible, the internal organisation of his Hindu state. Society was organised on the pattern supplied by the old traditions; the Brahmins, whose intellectual training and higher education had been developed through long generations, were the born counsellors of the nation; the chief

official posts were occupied by members of noble Brahman families, who saw that the administration was properly conducted. The warriors, claiming a doubtful descent from the old Kshatriya immigrants, formed the professional officers and the well-drilled and regularly-paid army. The agricultural class, or Kunbis, not only devoted their energies to production, but also formed the guerilla reserve of the standing army. All remaining handicraftsmen or merchants formed collectively the fourth class, or Shankardachi.

The state thus organised had a small standing army of cavalry armed with lances which, when necessity arose, could be rapidly increased to a powerful force by calling out the militia, and could as rapidly be reduced to its former dimensions. The Mahratta army was a highly mobile force, and consequently far superior to the slow-moving troops of the Mogul Emperor; when these latter appeared in overwhelming strength, they found only peaceful peasants tilling their fields; the moment the enemy divided his forces he was immediately attacked unawares.

Mobile Mahratta Army Plundering raids and the Mahratta tribute imposed upon neighbouring states brought in a large yearly revenue; the booty taken in war was in part divided among the soldiers and the militia, but the larger part was distributed among the small and almost impregnable mountain fortresses which guarded the State chest and military treasuries. Thus Sivaji had at his command a strong army ever ready for action and self-supporting, while the expensive and incapable troops of his opponent devoured the riches of the empire; the Mahrattas had no lack of recruits to swell their ranks, while the Mogul army had great difficulty in maintaining its strength, though enlistment proceeded far and wide. Such was the opinion that Aurangzib thought he could play off against the sultans of the Deccan; in reality the Mahratta power, joining now one and now another of these opponents, inflicted injury upon both and aggrandised itself at their expense.

In the year 1672, Sivaji surprised an imperial army, and inflicted so severe a defeat that for a long time the Mogul troops were forced to confine themselves to the defence of their headquarters in Aurangabad. Revolts in the north and the north-west of the empire had made it

impossible to unite all the imperial forces for action upon the south. A favourable opportunity seemed, however, to have arisen in 1680, when Sivaji died and was succeeded by his son Sambaji, who was nearly his equal in energy. This was the date of the secession of Prince Akbar. The Emperor, who was by nature sus-

Overthrow of the Mohammedans picious, now declined to trust anybody, and placed himself at the head of his southern army with the object of crushing his Mohammedan opponents, Ali of Bijapur and Abul Hasan of Golconda, intending afterwards to overthrow the Mahrattas. In 1683 he marched to the Deccan; in 1686 Bijapur was taken, and Golconda fell the next year. The last independent Mohammedan states in the Deccan thus disappeared.

In 1689 Sambaji and his son, who was six years of age, were captured by Aurangzib; the father was killed after the most cruel tortures, and the child kept in strict confinement. This action, however, aroused the obstinate Mahratta race to yet more irresistible efforts. Aurangzib was utterly defeated at Berampur, and his youngest son, Mohammed Kambaksh, with his commander-in-chief, Zulfikar, suffered such heavy losses on the east coast that the prince was forced to withdraw and unite his troops with his father's. Other imperial armies were repeatedly beaten or forced to surrender. The very forces of Nature seemed to be conspiring with the enemy; a sudden inundation of the River Bhima cost Aurangzib the whole of his baggage and 12,000 cavalry. The Mogul emperor gathered all his forces for a final effort; strong citadels were captured and Mahratta troops scattered. But fresh fortresses were occupied, and the Mahrattas dispersed only to reunite at some other centre. Ultimately, the queen regent, Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, the brother of Sambaji, had recourse to desperate measures, and devastated the whole country in order to deprive the enemy of his supplies. At this moment the bodily powers of the old emperor gave way, and in 1707 Aurangzib, or Alamgir I., died in a fainting fit.

Confusion of Mogul Power On the death of Aurangzib the finances of Delhi were in utter confusion; the greater proportion of the revenue existed only on paper, and had been diminished

by embezzlement, by revolts, and by the generally impoverished condition of the nation, while the expenditure had risen enormously during the long-continued war. The Hindu population, who were considered as subjects of the second class only, were inspired with deeper hatred for the Mohammedan dynasty. The strong foundations of the State had been shaken; a state of ferment existed at home, the south was threatened by the Mahratta power which Aurangzib's blind policy had aggrandised, and the states on the north-west beheld these anxieties with delight. Moreover, the dynasty upon the peacock throne of Delhi had degenerated; the power of the house of Timur had spent itself in a short succession of brilliant rulers, and the emperors of succeeding years were but miserable shadows of their great predecessors.

In the next twelve years no fewer than eight rulers succeeded one another on the throne. The first, Muazzem Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I. (1707-1712) displayed much tolerance, but his strength was unequal to the task of restoring the broken organisation. His vicious successor, Moizz ed-din Jihandar Shah (1712-1713), was an utterly insignificant figure. He was succeeded by Farokhsir, 1713-1719, a weakling who surrounded himself with foolish counsellors, and vainly attempted to curb the growing power of the nobles by clumsy intrigues; he was murdered in the palace. Two children were then placed in succession upon the throne; both succumbed to consumption, Rafi ed-darajat after three months, and Rafi ed-daula Shah Tehan, in an even shorter time. The rule of Roshen-akhtar Mohammed Shah (1719-1748) was of somewhat longer duration. He, however, was a voluptuary who cared only for his own pleasure, and handed over the imperial seal to his chief wife to use as

she pleased. His son, Ahmed Shah (1748-1754), was taken prisoner and blinded with his mother; he died in 1774. Even shorter was the rule of his aged successor, Aziz ed-din Alamgir, who was murdered by his grand wazir in 1759.

Such, during the first half-century after Aurangzib's death, were the "wielders of the sceptre" in Hindustan, with the exception of a few unsuccessful candidates for the throne, such as Azin Shah (1707), Kambakhsh (1707-1708), Nekusiyar (1710-1723), and Ibrahim (1720). The royal power was in the hands of ambitious Ministers, of harem favourites, of flatterers, and of parasites who pandered to the excesses and debauches of the rulers. Shah Alam Bahadur suffered greatly from dependence upon Zulfikar, one of Aurangzib's bravest generals during his wars in the Deccan, and Jehandar Shah was but a

tool in the hands of this man; after the latter's accession, during a revolt of Zulfikar, he was handed over to the rebels, who killed both him and his betrayer. The next four rulers were elevated to the throne by the "king makers," two brothers who gave themselves out to be descendants of the Prophet; these were the Seids, Hussein Ali and Abdullah, who murdered Farokhsir, made two children emperors, and were finally suppressed a year after the accession of Mohammed Shah.

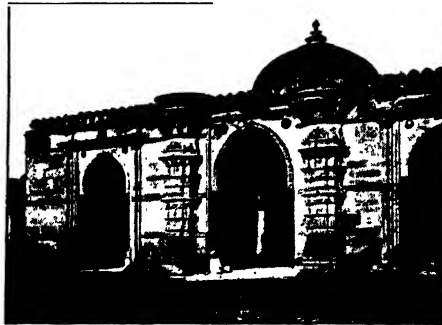
Hussein Ali fell under the dagger of an emissary of the Emperor, while Abdullah was defeated with his army; his rank

saved him from death, but he was kept in life-long imprisonment. Henceforward the business of State was conducted by women and parasites. Ahmed Shah and Alamgir II. were pure nonentities compared with their ambitious, faithless, and despotic commander-in-chief and Minister, Ghazi ed-din, grandson of Asaf Jah of Haidarabad.



SHAH ALAM

He reigned from 1707 to 1712, but was unequal to the task of keeping the empire together.



MOSQUE OF SHAH ALAM AT AHMEDABAD

INDIA—DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

Such were the hands that steered the ship of State, which was now tossed by wild waves amid dangerous reefs and began to strain in all its joints. The degenerate bureaucracy had but one desire—to turn the weakness of the Government to their own advantage; taxation became extortion and robbery, while bribery and corruption took the place of justice. Princes and vassals, generals and wazirs tore away provinces from the empire, while warlike Hindu tribes threw off the Mohammedan yoke. Thus the Bhartpur Jats in Rajputana gained their independence, and the principality of Jaipur seceded. The Jaipur rulers—Jey Singh II. in particular—were distinguished for their devotion to astronomy. Jaipur itself was built as a capital in 1728, the splendid town of Ambur having been previously abandoned at the order of the above-named Jey Singh. In Oudh the Shiite Persian Sadat founded the kingdom of Lucknow, while a converted Brahman, Murshid Kuli Khan, formed a kingdom of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. Malwa fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and in the south Asaf Jah seized the whole province of the Hindustan Deccan.

To the many difficulties and troubles of the empire was added the outbreak of fanatical religious wars. In the extreme north-west of India, in the Punjab, Nanak (1469-1538), who had been under the influence of Kabir, preached, about 1500, a new doctrine of general peace and brotherly love. He made an attempt to obliterate the differences between Brahmanism and Mohammedanism by representing all the points of divergence as matters of no importance, and emphasising the immanence of the Divine Being as the one material point. It was a pure reform, dissociated as far as possible from any sensualism of theory or practice. All men were equal before God according to this theory, which did not recognise divisions of caste. The adherents of Nanak, whose numbers were at first but small, called themselves Sikhs—that is, disciples or scholars. During the next 150 years they

organised themselves as a federation of districts united by religious and political ties.

It was only to be expected that the denial of the authority of the Vedas should please the Hindus as little as the refusal to accept the Koran pleased the Mohammedans. One of the Sikh gurus, or spiritual leaders, Arjun, was accused under Jehangir of being implicated in a revolt; he was thrown into prison in 1616 and so cruelly tortured that he died. From this moment the character of the religious movement entirely changed. Hur Govind, the son of Arjun, thirsting for revenge, issued new proclamations and gave a new character to the sect in 1638; the disciples of peace now became warriors of fanatical fierceness. The movement would perhaps have died out if the fanatical Aurangzib had not executed the guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675.

The Sikhs Become Warriors



FAROKHSIR AND MOHAMMED SHAH

Both of these rulers were weaklings, and allowed the decay of the empire to proceed apace, Farokhsir reigning from 1713 to 1719 and Mohammed from 1719 to 1748.

Hatred of the Mohammedans immediately flamed up afresh. Govind II., the son of the murdered man, declared himself the son of God sent by his Father to drive and extirpate evil from the world; warrior and Sikh were henceforth to be equivalent terms.

"Ye shall no longer be called Sikh (disciples), but Singh (lions)." Govind maintained his

ground with varying success against Aurangzib, who was then occupied with the Mahrattas in the south. Shah Alam Bahadur attempted to win over the Sikhs by conciliation; in 1708, however, Govind was murdered by a Mohammedan Afghan, and the anger of the Sikhs was boundless.

Pillaging and murdering with appalling cruelty all who declined to accept their faith, they advanced upon Delhi, but were utterly defeated by Bahadur, and forced to retire to inaccessible hiding-places. The emperor, however, died suddenly at Lahore in 1712, perhaps from poison. The sect grew powerful during the disturbances which then broke out, and, under Farokhsir, reoccupied a large part of the Punjab. Led by their chief, Bandah, they again advanced in 1716, marking every step in their advance by ruthless devastations; Lahore was captured, the governor defeated, and an

imperial army driven back. Fortune then declared against them; they were repeatedly beaten by the imperial troops and driven back with Bandah into one of the northern fortresses, where they were starved out and killed. Bandah escaped, owing to the devotion of a Hindu convert, who personated his leader, and succeeded

Decline of Sikh Power in duping his captors for some time. But of the once formidable sect there remained only a few scattered bands, who

gained a scanty livelihood in the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Punjab. At this period a foreign Power swept over Hindustan like a scourge from heaven. Nadir Shah, the son of a Turcoman, though born in Persia, had begun his career as leader of a band of freebooters, and had seized the throne of the Safavi dynasty on March 20, 1736. The lack of ceremony with which the Persian Ambassador was treated in Delhi gave him an excuse for invading Hindustan in 1738. After conquering the Mogul army, which had been reinforced by the troops of Sadat, Wazir of Oudh, and of Asaf Jah, Nizam of Haidarabad, he marched into the capital in 1739. Strict discipline was preserved among the troops. A report suddenly spread among the Hindus that the Persian king was dead; the inhabitants then threw themselves upon the soldiers, who had dispersed throughout the town, and slaughtered 700. Nadir Shah attempted to restore order, but was himself attacked, and then commanded a general massacre of the inhabitants. From sunrise to sunset the town was given over to pillage, fire, and murder, 30,000 victims falling before the Persian thirst for vengeance. All the treasures and jewels of the royal treasury, including the peacock throne, the pride of Delhi, were carried off, the bullion belonging to the empire, to the higher officials, and to private individuals was confiscated, and heavy war indemnities were laid upon the governors of the provinces.

Massacre and Pillage The sum total of the booty which Nadir carried off from Hindustan has been estimated at £50,000,000. Eight years later Nadir Shah was murdered, on June 20, 1747; his kingdom immediately fell into a state of disruption. In Afghanistan the power was seized by Ahmed Khan Abdali, who styled himself Shah Durani, adopting as his own the name of his tribe; he was strongly attracted by the rich booty which Nadir

had carried off from Hindustan. In six marauding raids between the years 1747 and 1761 he devastated the unhappy land and its capital. The massacre of Mattra, the sacred town of Krishna, which took place during the third invasion of Ahmed Shah, was a terrible repetition of Nadir's massacre at Delhi; during a festival of the inhabitants a detachment of Ahmed's army attacked the throng of harmless pilgrims in the defenceless town and slaughtered them by thousands.

In less than a century after the death of Shah Jehan the once powerful Mogul Empire had sunk to the lowest point of misery and weakness; it would undoubtedly have disappeared altogether had not the British become predominant in India. Meanwhile, important events had taken place in the south during the first half of the eighteenth century. Saho, the grandson of the Mahratta prince Sivaji, was released shortly after the death of Aurangzib; he was—and in this respect he became a pattern for the treatment of young Indian heirs to the throne—wholly estranged from the national

Ebb Tide of Mogul Fortunes interests of the Mahrattas. He had grown up in a harem under the influences of the Mohammedanism with which he had been surrounded, and his thoughts and feelings were rather Mohammedan than Hindu; his first act as king was to make a pilgrimage to the grave of his father's murderer.

Previous to the accession of Saho, the Mahratta government had been in good hands. When Sambaji had been captured and killed, his young son, who was also a prisoner, had been declared king; meanwhile, the government had been carried on by the brother of Sambaji, Raja Ram, and after his death by his no less capable widow, the kingdom suffering no deterioration, notwithstanding the imprisonment of the monarch. When, however, Saho took up the power in person a change occurred for the worst. Enervated in body and mind, he left all State business to the care of his prudent Minister, Balaji Wiswanath, officially known as the Peshwa; and it was to the efforts of this man that he owed the establishment of his position with reference to the Mogul kingdom, though he would himself have been well content to become a vassal of Delhi. The chief work of the Peshwa was to reduce to order the whole organisation of the Mahratta state with its peculiar

military basis. During the reigns of Hussein Ali and Abdullah he marched upon Delhi and procured not only the recognition of the sovereignty of the Mahratta princes but also the formal right of levying upon the whole of the Deccan the Mahratta tax, one-fourth of the whole state revenue. Thus, under Saho, the power practically fell into the hands of the Peshwa; and when his post became recognised as hereditary, the new Brahman Mahratta dynasty of the Peshwas grew up side by side with, and rapidly overshadowed, the dynasty of Sivaji.

Baji Rao (1720-1740), the son of Balaji Wiswanath, who united the intellect of a Brahman with the energy of a warrior, raised the Mahratta kingdom to its highest point. He was forced by the prince and his adherents to establish the power of the constitution upon a territorial basis. But he saw that the strength of his people consisted primarily in their military organisation; his country would be more powerful if its sphere of interest was marked by no fixed boundaries, and if it could gradually extend its claims to the

**Extension
of Mahratta
Influence**

Mahratta tribute over the whole of the fallen Mogul Empire, and even further. In matters of domestic policy, the Peshwa conducted State business entirely upon his own responsibility, without consulting the prince, who had become a merely nominal ruler. A refusal to pay the Mahratta tribute, and the murder of the Mahratta general, Pilaji Gackwar, gave Baji Rao the opportunity of subjugating Gujerat. In 1723 he captured the province of Malwa, and in the negotiations with Delhi he secured not only all the country south of the Chambal, but also gained the cession of the three most sacred towns of the Hindus, Mattra, Allahabad, and Benares. When the Mogul Emperor raised objections, Baji Rao advanced to the walls of Delhi in 1737; at the beginning of 1738 he forced Asaf Jah of Haidarabad, the plenipotentiary of the Grand Mogul, to cede all the country south of the Chambal. But before the agreement could be confirmed by Mohammed Shah, the devastating invasion of Nadir Shah burst upon the country, and even the Mahrattas shrank back in dismay. It was not until after the death of Baji Rao, in 1740, that his successor, Balaji, the third Peshwa, secured the formal completion by Delhi in 1743 of

the contract proposed in 1738. About the same period (1741-1743) the Mahrattas repeatedly advanced north-eastward against Bengal, the last of these movements being under the leadership of Raghuji Bhonsla; from this district they extorted the Mahratta tax and the cession of Kattak, a part of Orissa, in 1743.

**Zenith of
Mahratta
Power**

Called in by Delhi to bring help against the revolted Rohillas Rohilkand, they completed the subjugation of this tribe, and were rewarded with new concessions as to tribute; after the third invasion of the Afghan Ahmed Shah, they penetrated to the north-west corner of India, captured Lahore, and drove the scanty Afghan garrison out of the Punjab. They had now reached the zenith of their power; wherever the Mogul kingdom had exercised dominion during the period of its prosperity, the Mahrattas now interposed upon all possible occasions; though not the recognised dominant power, they exacted their tribute almost everywhere.

They met their match, however, in Ahmed Shah. The Mahratta general, Sindhia, was defeated, and two-thirds of his troops slain, while the army of the general, Holkar, who succeeded him, was shattered. Thereupon, a new and greater army advanced against the Afghans, under the cousin of the Peshwa. The decisive battle was fought on January 6th, 1761, at Panipat; the Mahrattas were utterly defeated, 200,000 falling in the battle or in flight, including the general, a son of the Peshwa, and a number of important leaders.

The Peshwa survived this disaster but a short time. The Mahrattas were obliged to withdraw from Hindustan, and never again did the Peshwas recover their former importance; the Mahratta kingdom was now transformed into a loosely united confederacy. The later successes of this people were gained by individual and almost independent Mahratta

**A Great
Defeat and
its Effects**

princes with the help of European officers and soldiers. The policy of Baji Rao had exactly suited the nature of the Mahratta state; the position of the Prince had sunk to unimportance, and the Peshwa had been raised to the highest point. At the same time, however, individual commanders had tended to become more and more independent. The principle of rewarding the chief general with the Mahratta tax levied

from a rich province, and thus enabling him to keep on foot a considerable body of troops, proved utterly destructive of the unity of the state; these commanders ultimately became provincial lords supported by the troops under their command.

The independence thus acquired was also favoured by internal dissensions within

A Divided State

the nominally ruling family and by political discord with Haidarabad, Delhi, Oudh, and Bengal. Under the third Peshwa, Balaji (1740-1761), this process of disruption had made rapid strides, and the landed nobility, which had hitherto been purposely kept in the background, now reasserted itself to the detriment of the body politic. The king's power had decreased so much under the influence of the Peshwa, that his influence was gradually confined to the provinces of Satara and Kholapur; so also the actual power of the Peshwa ultimately coincided with the province of Puna. For the first time under Baji Rao appear various Mahratta princes whose ancestors had previously held for the most part wholly subordinate positions: they now formed a confederacy, at the head of which the Peshwa was barely tolerated. About 1738 Raghuji Bhonsla, who had led the invasions of Bengal and Orissa, was recognised as the rival of the Peshwa, and attained almost complete independence in the province of Nagpur, which nearly corresponds to the modern Central Provinces, until his death in 1755. The general Sindhia, who, though of good family, had once filled a menial position under Baji Rao, and Rao Holkar, who was originally a shepherd, became lords of the two principalities of Indur and Gwalior, formed from the newly won province of Malwa. On the north-west the Gaekwar became chief of the province of Baroda. Thus, the once powerful Mahratta kingdom had been broken into five great

Splitting of a Kingdom

and several smaller principalities under the purely nominal supremacy of the Peshwa. On the other hand, the former Mogul province of the Deccan, to gain which Aurangzib had sacrificed the welfare of his kingdom, gradually rose to an independent state of considerable importance. In the year 1713, Chin Kilikh Khan, better known by his earlier title of Asaf Jah, the son of a Turcoman general in the Mogul army, in which he had himself been

an officer, was sent to the Deccan as governor (Nizam ul mulk), but was speedily recalled by the jealous Seids. He then turned to his former province, and defeated two armies which were sent out against him, and this success was speedily followed by the deaths of Hussein and Abdullah. Recalled to Delhi as grand wazir by Farokhsir, he found the imperial court and the whole body politic in a hopeless condition of degeneracy, and he immediately resigned. Asaf Jah was dismissed by Farokhsir, with every mark of consideration and respect; but he was preceded by mounted messengers to Mobariz, who had taken his place as governor in the Deccan, with orders to depose the viceroy upon his return. This intrigue failed utterly. Mobariz was defeated in 1724, and Asaf Jah sent his head to Delhi with congratulations on the rapid suppression of the "revolt."

To preserve some show of dependence, the Nizam repeatedly sent presents to the capital, but in reality his independence was complete. He was able to maintain his position against the Mahrattas; the

Kingdom of the Nizam

chaut could not be refused, but he lightened the burden of this tribute by despatching his own officials to collect it, and transmit it personally to the Mahrattas. While the Mogul kingdom was hurrying ever more rapidly to its fall, this province rose to considerable importance and prosperity under Asaf Jah. When the Mahrattas made their advance, Mohammed Shah appointed the capable Nizam as dictator in 1737: the weakness of the empire, however, was so great that even Asaf Jah was unable to bring help either against the Mahrattas or against Nadir Shah. In 1741 he returned to his own country. On his death in 1748, he left behind to his dynasty a flourishing kingdom of the size of Spain.

In the east, the Carnatic—that is to say, the lowland beneath the precipices of the Ghats—formed one of the states under the supremacy of the Nizam, and was governed by the Nawab of Arcot. The smaller principality of Tanjore to the south of Arcot was governed by a descendant of Sivaji, and to the north-west of this district Mysore began to develop as an independent state. To these must be added a number of petty principalities, for the most part feudal holdings or independent creations of adventurous Naiks or generals.

PRINCES & PEOPLE
OF
MODERN INDIA



A RAJAH ON HIS STATE ELEPHANT



A PRINCE OF THE PUNJAB



A YOUNG HILL RAJA



THE RAJA HINDU RAO, A MAHRATTA PRINCE OF DELHI



DANCING WOMAN OF KASHMIR



MOHAMMEDAN WOMAN OF DELHI



A NAUTCH DANCE IN THE PALACE OF A NATIVE PRINCE



ZEMINDAR, OR FARMER, AND A PATHAN



JEMADAR, OR HEAD SERVANT



SERVANTS WITH DOGS AND HAWKS, BELONGING TO THE KING OF OUDH



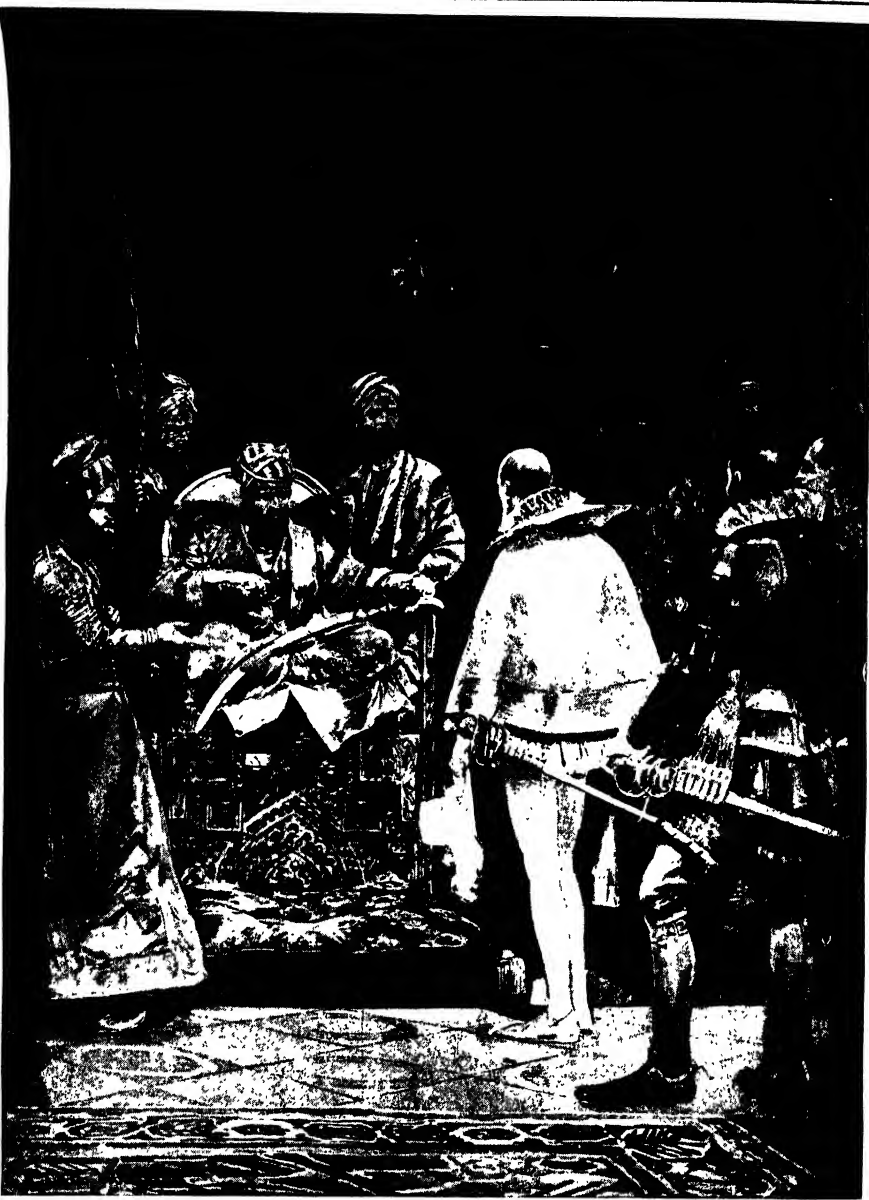
HINDU FAKIR, OR HOLY MAN



MOHAMMEDAN AT HIS PRAYERS



A GROUP OF THE EDUCATED BRAHMAN CLASS



THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN INDIA

In 1599 Queen Elizabeth sent Sir John Mildenhall to the Great Mogul, the renowned Akbar, with an application for trading privileges for an English company to which she wished to grant a charter; the commissioner was successful, and in 1600 a company was incorporated under the style of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."



MODERN INDIA

THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

BY ARTHUR D. INNES

THE Persian smote Delhi; the Afghan shattered the Mahratta hosts on the field where, two hundred years before, young Akbar's generals had won Hindustan for the Moguls. But the dominion of India was destined neither for Persian nor for Afghan. Not through the mountain passes, as of old, but by the new highway of the ocean the new invader came—by the waters that linked together the East and West, which the land-barriers held asunder. Between the invasion of Nadir Shah and the last great raid of the Durani a new conquering Power had suddenly revealed itself on the east: a power mightier than Mogul or Mahratta, Afghan or Turcoman.

In spite of the early invasion of India by Alexander the Great, continuous intercourse between India and Europe was never established until Vasco da Gama, in 1497-8, showed the Westerns a new road to reach the semi-mythical lands of the East, by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese led the way, and maintained their lead for a century. In the Indian seas they contested the supremacy of the Arabs. Under the great Albuquerque they secured a footing--bases of naval operations--at Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, and at Goa, on the west coast of the Indian peninsula. Between

The First Europeans in India

1515--the year of Albuquerque's death--and 1580--the year in which Philip II. of Spain annexed the Portuguese crown--Portuguese fleets were supreme in the Indian seas, and though Portugal had not taken possession of territories, she had established numerous trading and naval stations. She absorbed the European trade of the East. Then she was herself absorbed by Spain for a time. But Spain was already engaged in the early stages

of her maritime struggle with England; the united Netherlands, in revolt against her dominion, were emerging to take their own place as a sea-going, trading, and colonising power of the first rank. If the English, like the Spaniards, gave their main attention to the New World, still, English and Dutch alike resolved to take their share in exploiting the re-opened East. On the last day of the last year of the sixteenth century the British East

Spanish Supremacy Challenged

India Company received its charter from Elizabeth. Within two years the Dutch East India Company was incorporated. When Albuquerque died, the Mogul dynasty had not yet come into existence; Akbar was still reigning when the merchant adventurers of England and Holland began to take the lion's share in the trade which had been a Portuguese monopoly.

For Portugal and Spain, the oceanic commerce was, so to speak, in the pocket of the Crown. It was regulated and governed with a single eye to the filling of the royal treasury. For Dutch and English it was a speculation of private adventurers, from whom the Government was satisfied to receive payment in return for privileges granted. The Spanish system throttled personal enterprise: the English system fostered it. But personal enterprise could not have thought of coping with the power of the Mogul Empire in its most magnificent period. By a tacit accommodation the Dutch company turned mainly to the Spice Islands, and the English increasingly towards India; but the English sought settlements on the Indian littoral frankly as traders with no ulterior political designs.

In 1613 the English were allowed to set up their first trading station or factory,

under the protection of the native Government, at Surat, in what is now the Bombay Presidency. Seven years later they were permitted to establish themselves, in very

English Trading Stations tentative sort, in Bengal. In 1532 the Portuguese, between whom and the natives there was no love lost, had a collision with the Empire and were wiped out. The English, partly owing to the successful services rendered by an English surgeon at the Imperial court and also at the viceregal court in Bengal, were granted a settlement at Hugli, on the mouth of the Ganges, and extensive trade privileges. In 1639 a southern potentate, not yet a subject of the Moguls, granted them similar rights on the Coromandel coast, where their factory of Fort St. George developed into Madras. The nucleus of each of the three future presidencies was thus established. A few years later Bombay superseded Surat. It had remained hitherto in the hands of the Portuguese. In the middle of the seventeenth century Portugal broke free from Spain; Charles II., immediately after the restoration, married a Portuguese

princess. Bombay was ceded as part of her dower, and was transferred by the Crown to the East India Company. The whole transaction was aimed against Spain and Holland, English commercial rivalry with Holland being at its height, while both the dead Lord Protector and the living Charles Stuart favoured alliance with France.

In Eastern waters, however, neither Spain nor Portugal counted materially any longer, and the conflict of interests tended more and more to restrict England and Holland to separate spheres. On the other hand, the relations between Charles II. and Louis XIV. were favourable to the development of French enterprise within the British area; and the French Minister Colbert grasped the idea of French colonial and maritime expansion. His

English and French Interests policy gave France a navy which, until the battle of La Hogue, in 1692, showed promise of challenging English and Dutch supremacy on the seas; and it created a French East India Company which, during the same period, established itself as firmly as the English at



THE FIRST SMALL BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

In 1613 the English were allowed to set up their first trading station or factory at Surat in what is now the Bombay Presidency. In the picture of the station reproduced above, the figures 1 indicate the church, 2, the residence and 3, the warehouse. The illustration is taken from the "Voyages" of Mandelslo, published in 1727.



FORT ST. GEORGE, WHICH DEVELOPED INTO THE CITY OF MADRAS

In 1639 a southern potentate, not yet a subject of the Moguls, granted the English trading rights on the Coromandel coast, where their factory of Fort St. George was built in 1641, and afterwards developed into Madras.

points not far distant from the chief English stations. It was in 1690 that Hugli was superseded by the new factory and fort called Fort William, which became a portion of Calcutta.

In spite of the wars between France and England—which was merged in Great Britain in 1707—during the reigns of William III. and Anne the French and English companies confined themselves to commercial rivalries; and during the half-century between 1690 and 1740 it became increasingly probable that there would some day be a struggle *à outrance* to decide whether French or British should hold the field and expel the competitor. What did not present itself to the minds either of directors or politicians in England or France was that the commercial struggle would develop into a contest for political ascendancy on Indian territory.

In fact, so long as the power of the Mogul was or seemed to be a reality, political ascendancy was an unattainable dream. A shrewd observer here and there might perceive that the colossus was brittle, and that what Babar had done with an army of 12,000 men might be done again by a European general. After the death of Aurangzib, it required less acuteness to perceive that the fabric of the empire was breaking up into a congeries of states, having no homogeneity, which could be dealt with piecemeal—to which the maxim *divide et*

impera might be applied. But, again, the condition of such a programme for ambitious Europeans was that there should be no European rival, and, as between European rivals, the determining

A French Empire Builder

factor would be maritime superiority. The man who did perceive these things, and deliberately constructed a policy of which they were the foundation, was not an Englishman, but a Frenchman. Unfortunately for him, the fundamental facts were not realised in France. The ends he had in view were disapproved; the means to obtain them were ignored. The eyes of the French Government were turned to the European continent. It never realised that trans-oceanic ascendancy depends on maritime supremacy; it never realised that political ascendancy in India was a rational aim for practical politicians.

Dupleix toiled and planned; the British did not toil and plan. But all that Dupleix could do was of no avail when British squadrons controlled Indian waters and his victories in India were cancelled by British successes in North America. His rivals appreciated and adopted the methods which his ingenuity devised; he taught them to forge the weapons which were to give them the prize he had sought to win himself. But in 1740 the most audacious prophet would hardly have predicted the change in the situation which was to develop during the succeeding twenty years.

European Political Ascendancy

For in 1740 nearly the whole of India still professed allegiance to the Mogul. Nadir Shah had indeed smitten, but after smiting had retired. The Mogul's dominions were in the hands of satraps, but these had huge armies at their command. A

The Eve of India's Conquest

British and a French company of traders had some half-dozen moderately fortified stations apiece at remote points of the vast peninsula, with a few hundred white soldiers scattered among them. Neither Britain nor France had any idea of turning her energies to conquests in India. In 1760 the British were masters of Bengal and Bihar, masters of the Carnatic, dominant at Haidarabad; the French were on the verge of losing their last foothold at Pondichery; the great Mahratta Power was on the verge of its huge disaster at Panipat.

How that change came about we shall presently trace. Why it was possible we can point out at once. French and British strove in the first instance for mastery over each other, not over natives; their strife in India was merged in a strife all over the world, in which victory was determined primarily by naval preponderance. The British, dominating the French, acquired territorial power, not by challenging and overthrowing native states, but by supporting the successful claimants to native thrones in the south, and by helping to overthrow in Bengal a dynasty which was the object of a great native conspiracy. It was not even needful to divide and then conquer; the division was there, ready made. If the British found a leader with the requisite initiative, audacity, and foresight, conquest was almost inevitable.

In 1740 Great Britain, technically at peace with France, had entered upon a war with the second Bourbon Power, Spain. Sooner or later, it was tolerably certain

that she would be at war with the sister country of France also.

The French governor in India, François Dupleix, promoted in 1741 from Chandernagore to Pondichery, hoped, with the expected declaration of war, to find his opportunity, in spite of pacific instructions from home. With the help of a capable naval commander stationed at the Mauritius, and the goodwill of the Indian potentate most nearly concerned—the Nawab of Arcot, or the Carnatic—he would wipe out the English from Southern India. Once freed from European rivalry, diplomacy and tact should procure for the representatives of France an in-

valuable influence at the native courts. Tact and diplomacy would be supplemented, not, indeed, by huge armies, but by small forces so disciplined, organised, and led that they would be more than a match for ten times their number of the undisciplined levies at the disposal of the native princes. The white soldiery would no doubt be a mere handful; but Dupleix relied on training Indian soldiers under European discipline with European commanders to a European standard of efficiency.

The British at Madras also had it in their minds that a war between Great Britain and France might be turned to account on Indian

soil; but Dupleix, the diplomatist, was beforehand with them. When war was actually declared in 1744, Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, warned them that no hostilities would be permitted. Two years had almost elapsed when La Bourdonnais arrived with a squadron to help Dupleix. Anwar-ud-din declined to interfere; the French attacked and captured Madras. Dupleix repudiated the terms of ransom, arranged with La Bourdonnais, under which Madras had surrendered. La Bourdonnais, insulted



DUPLEIX, THE FRENCH GOVERNOR

François Dupleix, the French Governor in India, was a soldier statesman whose policy would have changed the whole course of Indian history if his home government had supported him in his designs.

Dupleix Develops his Plans

INDIA—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

and mortified withdrew and was almost immediately recalled. Until 1782 French ships ceased to be a factor in the situation.

Dupleix kept his grip on Madras. This did not accord with the views of Anwaruddin who intended to take possession himself. Dupleix defied the Nawab's summons to surrender the town; the Nawab sent 10,000 men to enforce his demand. Dupleix's experiment was put to the test. The garrison some 500 men sallied forth and scattered the 10,000 in a unanimous rout. Reinforcements numbering under 1,000 of whom three-fourths were sepoys (*sipahis*) natives bribed and officered by Europeans, re-

doubtless have had an exceedingly different result but it was not renewed. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had ended the war between France and England. The peace did not deprive Dupleix of his

prestige a valuable asset but it robbed him of the tangible prize he had won. Madras under the treaty was restored to the British in exchange for Louisbourg on the St. Lawrence which had been taken from the French during the war.

France and England might be at peace but French and British in India were minded to carry their conflict to a decisive conclusion. They found their opportunity in the chaos of the native governments.



PONDICHERY THE HEADQUARTERS OF FRENCH POWER IN INDIA

This view of the Governor's Palace at Pondicherry is taken from Laplace's *Voyage Autour du Monde* published in 1815.

peated the success. Dupleix's military theory was converted into a demonstrated truth. Dupleix himself at once became a recognised power.

A hundred miles southward however at Fort St. David the British under Stringer Lawrence maintained a stubborn resistance. In 1748 a British squadron appeared and besieged Pondicherry for seven weeks at the end of which it was compelled to retire, baffled by the approach of the monsoons, the gales which made it impossible for a fleet to keep the sea. The siege only served to raise French prestige. Its renewal next year would

A double dynastic contest was on the tapis. Anwaruddin had been made Nawab or Lieutenant Governor of the Carnatic by the superior Nizam or Viceroy of the Deccan only so lately as 1740. Chandra Sahib representative of the popular family which had held the Nawabship before Anwaruddin was ransomed from captivity with Mahrattas by Dupleix. Being free Chandra Sahib claimed the Nawabship with the support of Dupleix. But the old Nizam himself also died in 1748. A son Nudn Jang seized the throne; a grandson Muzaffar Jang, claimed it. The two claimants supported by Dupleix made common cause against

**Hostilities
of French
and British**

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the two *de facto* rulers. The latter naturally appealed for British support; so that French and British carried on their struggle in the character of auxiliaries or allies of the native dynastic competitors.

Dupleix was prompt; the British were slow. In 1749, it seemed as if the French were assured of victory all along the line. Anwar-ud-din was killed; his son, Mohammed Ali, who claimed to succeed him, was shut up in Trichinopoli by Chanda Sahib. Nadir Jang, the victim of a conspiracy, was assassinated, and Muzaffar Jang was acclaimed Nizam. The two French candidates appeared practically to have won. The fall of Muzaffar Jang in a skirmish made no difference, since another French nominee, Salabat Jang, took his place. Virtually the French general, Bussy, was Nizam.

Now, however, the tide turned. A vigorous governor, Saunders, arrived at Madras, who promptly sent all the apparently available assistance to Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoli, and then accepted the immense risk of denuding Madras of practically every fighting man in order to effect a diversion. The scheme

detach a large portion of the force at Trichinopoli, to prevent the organisation of hostile forces in the northern district.

The plan proved a triumphant success. Clive's force consisted of 200 British and 300 sepoys, with eight officers, of whom only two had been in action. The little force appeared suddenly before Arcot. The garrison, seized with panic, fled. Clive took possession, and laboured strenuously to make the fortifications defensible. Also, in a night attack, he inflicted heavy losses on the ex-garrison, which had reassembled and encamped in the neighbourhood. The news alarmed Chanda Sahib; in a short time 10,000 of his troops were investing Arcot. For seven weeks the little garrison maintained a desperate resistance; then the besiegers resolved on a grand assault in force. By desperate fighting, the assault was repulsed. The besiegers began to retire. Clive sallied from Arcot, fell upon them

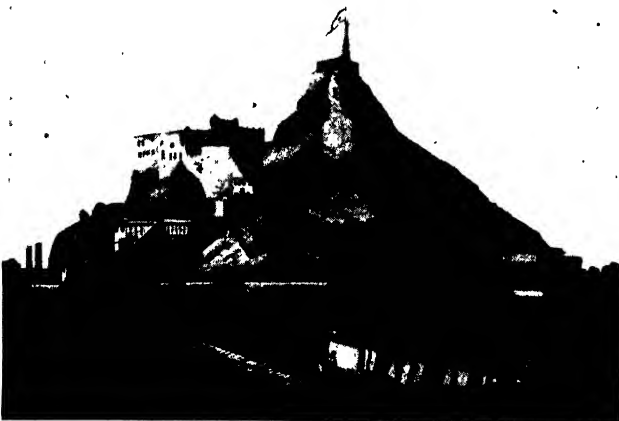
Clive's First Great Success

and shattered them. The amazing exploit fired the imagination of the natives. Bands of Mahratta and other soldiery, which had hitherto held aloof, rallied to the standard of so brilliant a leader. Before the midsummer of 1752,

Mohammed Ali was relieved, and Chanda Sahib's force was in its turn besieged and finally compelled to surrender.

So long as Dupleix remained in India, it could not be said that there was no hope of a French recovery. But his proceedings, which had involved enormous outlay, found no favour with the French government. In 1754 he was recalled, and replaced by a governor whose outlook was exclusively commercial. His ablest coadjutor, Bussy, remained, indeed, at Haidarabad; but the prestige had passed

from the French to the British, the natives looked upon the latter as the successful Power, and it was certain that if a fresh conflict should arise the French would be beaten unless the Home Government gave them a real and energetic support—which was not promised by its treatment of the recalled governor, Dupleix.



THE ROCK AND FORTRESS OF TRICHINOPOLI
Here Mohammed Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din, was held by Chanda Sahib in 1749.

was Robert Clive's, and to him its execution was entrusted. Saunders staked all on his confidence in the genius of a young man of five and twenty who had shown distinguished courage as a volunteer, but had held no sort of command. Clive's plan was to seize the Nawab's capital at Arcot, and so compel Chanda Sahib to

INDIA—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

The conflict was renewed. In 1756 Great Britain and France again went to war. In a very short time British ships were again controlling the Indian waters; no strong reinforcement had a chance of reaching the French. Bussy was occupied in maintaining his position at Haidarabad. Circumstances to which we shall presently

Failure

of Dupleix's Successor

advert took Clive to Bengal. The struggle was carried on in the Carnatic by the French under the leadership of Lally, who arrived to conduct operations. But his instructions expressly forbade him to play Dupleix's game of intriguing with the country Powers. An able soldier, he did not understand the natives, whom he enraged by ignoring religious and social ideas which were sacrosanct in their eyes; his own officers were frequently on the verge of mutiny. He had no resources to fall back on; the district known as the Northern Sarkars was ceded to the French by the Nizam, but was seized by a British force despatched by Clive from Bengal. His military operations were twice disconcerted, and a victory was snatched from him by the appearance of a British squadron. He summoned Bussy from Haidarabad to his aid; the Nizam transferred his alliance to the British. On January 21st, 1760, the decisive battle was fought at Wandewash, Eyre Coote commanding the British. The

engagement was between European troops almost equally matched in numbers; large native contingents which were present confined themselves to the rôle of admiring spectators. Coote's victory was complete. For another twelve months the French struggled on, till their only foothold was in Pondichery itself. Then, a year after Wandewash, Pondichery, too, was obliged to surrender. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, nothing was left to

Release of French Hold Upon India

France in India but trading stations dismantled of fortifications, and held upon terms which precluded the maintenance of any effective drilled forces. The British were established in the peninsula without possibility of a European competitor so long as they could maintain control of the seas—at least, until such time as a European Power should be able to extend its borders across Central Asia.

During the last phase of the Anglo-French rivalry in the Carnatic—which we date from the recall of Dupleix in 1754—Robert Clive was laying the foundations of actual territorial dominion in Bengal, where hitherto the French and British traders had abstained from hostilities.



LORD CLIVE, FOUNDER OF BRITISH INDIA.
Clive was a clerk in the service of the East India Company, and opportunity enabled him to display his genius for arms and administration. He is the father of British dominion in India.

Under the dominion of an able Nawab, Ali Vardi Khan, Bengal and Bihar, in 1740, formed another of the great practically independent satrapies of the empire. In 1756 Ali Vardi Khan died. His successor was a vicious, bloodthirsty, and half-crazy youth named Suraj ud Daulah. In mere self-defence, the incompetent British Governor at Fort William (Calcutta) was just engaged in strengthening his very inefficient fortifications. Suraj ud Daulah took offence and ordered the British to desist. When they protested, he marched an army on Calcutta. The Governor and most of the British fled. Those who remained at their post were seized, men and women, and packed for the night into a cellar with no ventilation but a small grating. When the door was opened in the morning, of the 147 captives, only 23 were still living. Such was the tragedy of the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta.

News of the declaration of war between France and England had not arrived at Madras when the authorities learned the ghastly story of Calcutta. This was the intelligence which greeted Clive on his return to India after an absence in England. British warships were at Madras under Admiral Watson. It was resolved

**Events
that led
to Plassey**

forthwith to send an expedition to Bengal to bring the Nawab to book, under the joint command of Clive, as general, and Watson as admiral. In December the force entered the Hugli; in January it was in possession of Fort William. The Nawab's garrison collapsed before it. Suraj ud Daulah gathered an army; Clive sallied from Fort William and scattered it. The Nawab toppled from the heights of arrogance to the depths of fright. But while his tone to the English changed, he tried surreptitiously to invoke the aid of the French. Then came the news from Europe that Great Britain and France were at war again; Clive swooped on Chandarnagur; French intervention was paralysed.

Still the British had a serious problem to face. The Nawab of Bengal had been humiliated; but if the expeditionary force withdrew from Bengal at this stage in order to concentrate in the Carnatic, where a renewal of the struggle with the French was certain, there would be no security for Calcutta. The problem was simplified when it was notified to Clive that certain of the Nawab's Ministers were anxious to dethrone him, and set up in his place the commander-in-chief, Mir Jaffar. The conspirators invited the co-operation of the British. The British were willing. Terms were settled between the contracting parties; the principal go-between was tricked by an Oriental device to which Watson refused to be a party—a difficulty which Clive got over by forging the admiral's signature. Watson accepted the situation, and Clive always maintained that his own action in the circumstances was absolutely justified, though this was the sole occasion in his career in which he stooped to fraud. The treaty with the conspirators being

duly signed, Clive announced to Suraj ud Daulah that he was coming to the capital, Murshidabad, with his army, to demand reparation and security in respect of British grievances. He followed up his despatch by advancing with his whole force—some 3,000 men, of whom two-thirds were sepoys. The Nawab marched against him, with 50,000 men, including fifty French. But Mir Jaffar was pledged to desert with half of them, though no one knew whether he would keep his promise when the time came. Nevertheless, Clive risked the engagement at Plassey. The Nawab's army was scattered like chaff: Suraj ud Daulah fled to Murshidabad, and, while attempting to escape in disguise, was caught and murdered by Mir Jaffar's son. The victor of Plassey made Mir Jaffar Nawab; but no one, least of all the new

Nawab himself, dreamed of supposing that he was anything but a puppet in the hands of Clive, whose arms were thenceforth regarded by the natives as irresistible.

The appointment of Mir Jaffar was formally confirmed by the Mogul. The Company, Clive himself, and sundry other officers received immense rewards from the new Nawab, rewards which might have been enormously increased if Clive had spoken the word. They were made *zemindars*, or landlords of vast districts, of which they practically enjoyed the revenue.

Mir Jaffar would now have adopted the normal course of oppressive and capricious Oriental despots; but Clive was his master, and Clive acted as the protector of the people. His success in this capacity ranks among his most remarkable achievements.

While Clive was in Bengal controlling the new administration, the French were making their last effort in the Carnatic.

**Success of
a Bold
Movement** Despite the obviously critical position on the Ganges, the Englishman dared, in 1758, to despatch to the south the troops

which, under Colonel Forde, stormed Masulipatam, and secured the Northern Sarkars for the British instead of the French. In 1759 the Wazir of Oudh, along with the heir of the Mogul, thought to make conquest of Bengal, and besieged



From 'Climates of Bengal' by permission
SURAJ UD DAULAH
The Nawab whose name lives as
the perpetrator of the awful tragedy
of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

INDIA—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

Patna. Clive made an extraordinary forced march to its relief, and the invading army melted before the mere terror of his name. For reward, he was given his *jaghir*—the quit rents of the district where Mir Jaffar had appointed the Company as zemindar.

In the same year, 1759, the Dutch appeared—and disappeared—as interveners in Indian affairs. Called in by Mir Jaffar, restive under the restraint imposed by the British, Dutch ships entered the Hugh. Their proceedings were suspicious, but there was no warrant for locating them as hostile till they seized some English vessels. That was enough for Clive; he had three ships, which promptly engaged and overcame the seven Dutchmen, and he occupied the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, and dictated terms. The Dutch admitted their own aggression, and virtually undertook to maintain no troops in Bengal.

In 1760, Clive sailed for England, a few days after Coote's victory at Wandewash. In 1761 the Mahatta Power, which was threatening to dominate the peninsula, met with its disastrous check at Panipat, at the hands of Ahmed Shah. A year later, a new Power arose in the south, where a Mohammedan soldier, known to history as Haidar Ali, seized the throne of Mysore, and rapidly organised an aggressive military state.

Thus it befell that a company of London merchants suddenly found themselves effective lords of the whole of the Carnatic and of the whole of Bengal—seeing that in each of these provinces there reigned a Nawab who had won his throne by

Merchant Lords of an Empire

British arms and retained it in virtue of their support—while the natives accounted them virtually masters of the Nizam of Haidarabad also. The meagrely paid servants of a trading concern cannot, in the nature of things, be expected suddenly to develop the statesmanlike qualities necessary for organising government on a huge scale under unprecedented conditions, especially where unlimited opportunity makes the temptation to exploit the new

dominions for their own private personal advantage all but irresistible. When the strong restraining hand of Clive was withdrawn, there followed in Bengal an evil era of extortion and misrule. The prestige of British arms, however, suffered no eclipse under the officers whom Clive had trained. Mir Jaffar was deposed for

Abuses in Clive's Absence

failing to meet the financial demands made on him; a new Nawab, Mir Casim, was set up. Mir Casim prepared to organise resistance, came into armed conflict with the British, and had to flee to Shujah Daulah, the Nawab or Wazir of Oudh. Mir Jaffar was reinstated, and was presently succeeded at his death by his son. The Wazir again proposed to eject the new Power from Bengal in 1764; but Clive himself could not have routed him more decisively than Hector Munro,

at the battle of Baksar or Buxar, in October. A few months later, Clive himself reappeared in India, with full powers to deal with the maladministration which had arisen in his absence.

Manifestly it was impossible that the British should continue to evade actual responsibility for the government in Bengal; yet they had, in the first place, no official status, and in the second, the organisation which was adapted for the mercantile management of a "factory" was not

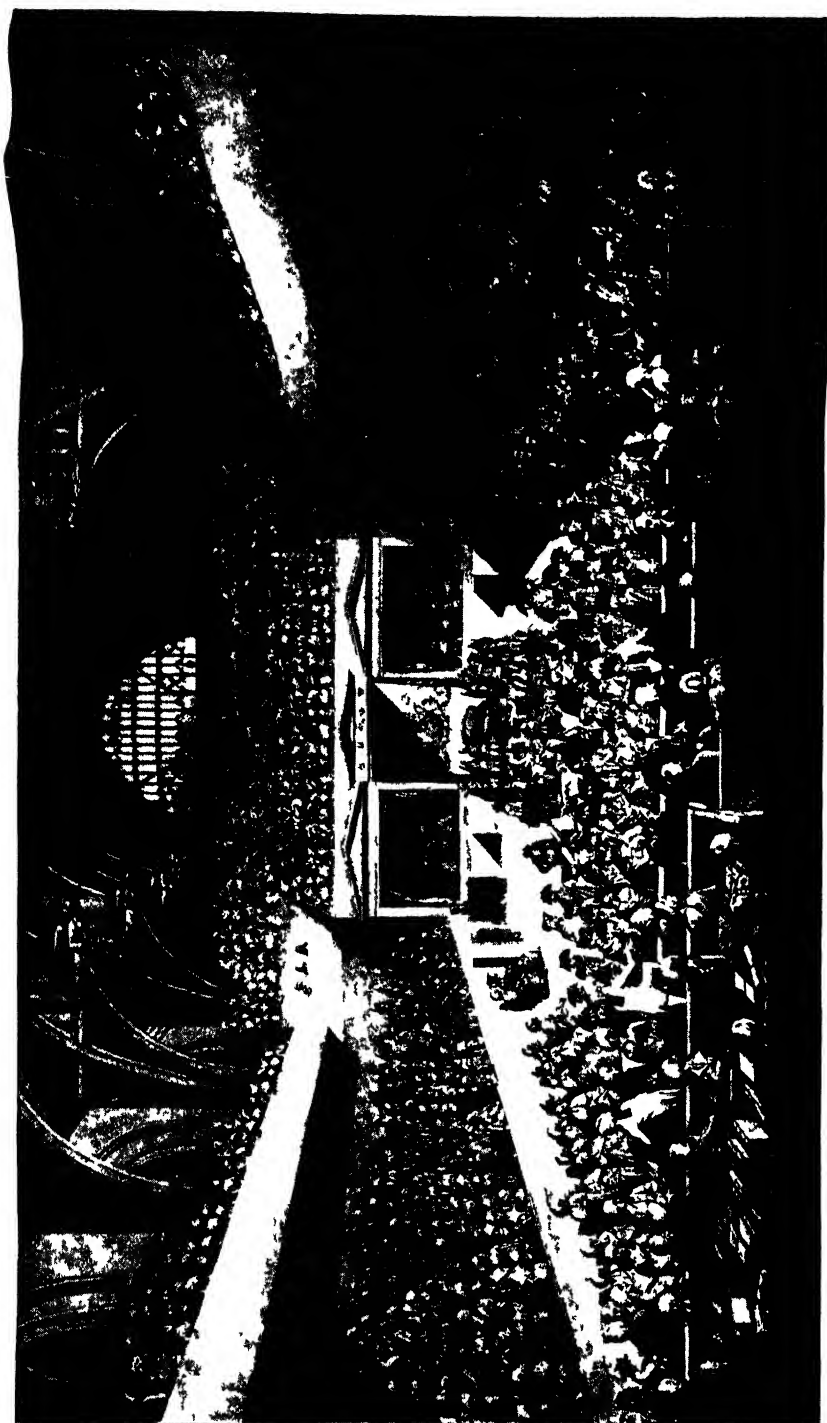
adapted for the political administration of a province as large as France. Official status Clive obtained by a treaty with the titular Mogul, Shah Alamghir, whose technical authority was still recognised over most of India. The *Diwani* of Bengal and Bihar was conferred on the Company, the *Diwani* meaning in effect the entire business of administration. Under the same treaty the Sarkars were bestowed on the British as from the Mogul, instead of merely as from the Nizam, his titular viceroy in the south; and the Carnatic was separated from the titular over-lordship of the Nizam.

Meanwhile, Clive reorganised the Company's system. The authorised practice by which the Company's servants were permitted to carry on private trading was abolished, but the impossibly meagre



SHAH ALAMGHIR

Who during the period from 1753 to 1760 was the titular "Mogul."



OPENING OF THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS IN WESTMINSTER HALL, FEBRUARY 12, 1783

The seven years trial of Warren Hastings was one of the most memorable in British history the leaders of the impeachment being Burke Fox Sheridan Windham and Grey The trial resulted in acquittal, but it cost Hastings £ 0 000 Before his death in 1818 the immense value of his services had begun to be recognised and is now universally acknowledged.

INDIA—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

salaries which had made private trading a necessity were increased. Hitherto no one had hesitated to accept the most substantial presents in return for services, actual or potential; the custom had been developed into an engine of corruption and extortion; it was now peremptorily forbidden. The army officers were annoyed by finding their extra pay—known as “double batta”—cut off. They resigned *en bloc*. Clive accepted the resignations and arrested the ringleaders.

Finally, he laid down the lines of foreign policy. There was to be no endeavour to

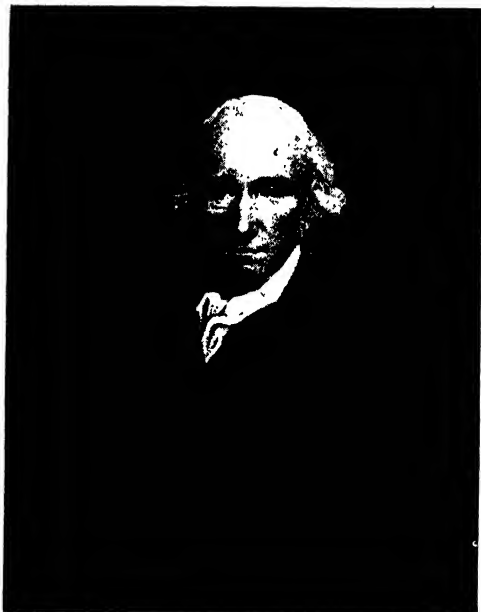
extend dominion—the Company had as much on its hands as it could manage. Friendly relations were to be maintained with the great Mahratta rulers; but Oudh on the north, and Haidarabad in the south, were themselves to be maintained as a check on the Mahrattas—although, according to all Indian precedent, the conquerors at Buxar were quite entitled to take possession of Oudh. At the beginning of 1767, Clive left India finally. In England he became the object of fierce obloquy. But the House of Commons, invited to

condemn him, recorded instead its sense of the great services he had rendered to his country. Later, the man who had won an empire for Great Britain, and had ruled in India with a justice and a restraint unprecedented for a hundred years, died by his own hand.

Clive's reforms were only partially sustained by the Company's directors in London. Neither private trading nor the receiving of presents ceased; the old evils were diminished, but not destroyed; the men at the head of affairs were not competent to carry out properly a task

which would have taxed the highest administrative ability to the uttermost. The governing bodies at Madras and Bombay muddled their conduct of foreign affairs, were weak when they meant to be firm, and irritating when they meant to be conciliatory. Consequently they failed to secure the confidence of the Mahrattas or of the Nizam, or of Haidar Ali, either in their good faith or in their vigour. In Bengal, matters improved when Warren Hastings became Governor in 1770. But the British Parliament was awaking to a sense of its responsibilities. Amid the excite-

ment of Middlesex elections and of recalcitrant colonists in America, Lord North found time to devise a Regulating Act for the better government of India. As an experiment in constitution-making, it was sufficiently inadequate; but it was a clumsy move in the right direction. It meant that Great Britain was becoming aware that in the long run the nation, not a company, would be accountable for the welfare of the newly acquired territories. The experiment lasted for eleven years—years during which the British Empire was being



From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

WARREN HASTINGS

This great English administrator laid India and the Empire under his debt. In spite of the opposition of his council, his policy in directing Indian affairs was brilliantly successful.

rent in twain, and for a short time Britain's place among the nations was at stake. But for one man, who triumphed in spite of the experiment, her position in India must have been lost. But the Regulating Act had one fortunate feature—it nominated Warren Hastings as Governor-General of the Company's Indian territories, though it hampered him desperately by nominating at the same time a council with the will and the power to thwart him at every turn, and an independent judiciary, whose legal theories were quite unintelligible to the native population of the country.

To understand the course of events during the rule of Warren Hastings, we must begin by marking out the years in which he held real control, and noting the bearing on Indian affairs of occurrences elsewhere. In 1772, Hastings became Governor of Bengal. In 1774, North's Regulating Act came into force. Hastings

Difficult Task of Hastings

became Governor General, and the new Members of Council and the new judges came to India. From the end of 1774 till 1777, Hastings was overruled by an antagonistic majority in the Council. From 1777 to 1782 Hastings was dominant. After 1782 he was again seriously hampered by opponents effectively countenanced by the directors at home. From 1775 to 1782, Great Britain was engaged in the war with the American colonies. In 1778, France; in 1779, Spain; and in 1780, Holland were added to her enemies; and until 1782, when Rodney crushed the French fleet in the West Indies, she was by no means supreme on the seas. Therefore, Hastings had to secure the British in India in a position newly won, under unprecedented conditions, against the rivalry of great native Powers, entirely out of his own resources without support from England, under perpetual pressure from the directors for money when he was in need of every available penny. And all this for some years, in the face of a cabal in his Council which had both the will and the power habitually at once to thwart his policy and to attack him personally.

Experience has taught us that when a higher and a lower civilisation are in contact, the more advanced race will act wisely in persistently maintaining its own ethical standards. When the great Indian experiment began, it was believed that expediency might on occasion justify a policy not openly admissible as between European peoples, but in perfect accordance with the Oriental rules of the game. An example occurred while Hastings

Duplicity Versus Honesty

was still only Governor of Bengal. On the north-west of Oudh lay Rohilkhand, a district occupied mainly by a peaceful Hindu population, over whom, within the last half century, an Afghan tribe of Mohammedan hill-men, known as the Rohillas, had established their domination. The Oudh wazir coveted Rohilkhand, and he had reason to believe that the Rohillas were intriguing with

the Mahrattas. He appealed to the British to aid him in bringing them into subjection, to forestall a combined attack of Rohillas and Mahrattas upon Oudh. He backed the appeal by promise of a very substantial reward for assistance. The maintenance of Oudh as a buffer between Bengal and the Mahrattas was a principle of policy laid down by Clive. Hastings gave the assistance; the Company received the reward. Hastings had omitted to make conditions as to the conduct of the campaign; and the Wazir's troops behaved in the usual Oriental fashion, in spite of the protests of British officers. The action of Hastings in the matter did not interfere with his being appointed Governor-General.

Already complications were arising in a new quarter. The recognised head of the Mahratta confederacy was the Peshwa, a hereditary Minister, or "Mayor of the palace," at Puna. The Gaekwar at Baroda, Holkar at Indur, Sindhia at Gwahor, and the Bhonsla at Nagpur, were the other princes of importance. The death of the Peshwa led to a disputed succession; the Bombay

A Much Disputed Succession

Government gave its active support to one of the candidates, Ragoba or Ragonath Rao. In 1775 it made a treaty with him, though the power to do so was vested in the Governor-General, not in the Governor of Bombay. Policy, however, demanded that Bombay should be supported from Calcutta; whereas the antagonistic cabal in the Council negotiated with the Regency which had established itself as the *de facto* government at Puna. Sindhia, Holkar, and the rest, took or changed sides as suited them. When at last Hastings got the upper hand at Calcutta, he renewed the treaty with Ragoba, and prepared to send an expedition across India to support him. Bombay, in a hurry to show its own vigour, tried to strike without waiting, and met with disaster. The effect was fortunately minimised by the brilliant operations and rapid movements of the Bengal expeditionary force. Meanwhile, at Madras, successive governors had been giving umbrage both to the Nizam and to Haidar Ali. The Nizam was meditating an anti-British confederacy. When France declared war against Great Britain in 1778, Haidar found fresh cause of offence in the British seizure of the French port of Mahé, which

INDIA—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

was in Mysore territory. In 1780, the Nizam, Haidar, and the leading Mahrattas came to terms among themselves; the British seemed to have their hands full with the Mahratta business in the Bombay quarter. Haidar Ali suddenly fell on the Carnatic, sweeping it with fire and sword. The blunderers at Madras were quite un-

prepared, and their forces were either cut up or driven behind fortifications. British prestige was recovered, however, by a brilliant diversion in the North Mahratta territory, where the fortress of Gwalior, supposed to be impregnable, was captured by a daring surprise. The Mahrattas became divided in mind, and the next year found them holding back from the contest. Before the end of 1781, Eyre Coote, the victor of Wand-

wash, was in command in the Carnatic, and had thrice routed the armies of Haidar Ali. In 1782, the position of the British was again made extremely perilous by the appearance in Indian seas of the French Admiral Suffren who proved himself, on the whole, rather more than a match for the English Admiral Hughes. But, most opportunely, the very

able Haidar Ali died; and though his son Tippu Sahib carried on the war, the other native Powers fell away from him. The French fleet was neutralised by the peace of Versailles, and would probably in any case have been paralysed very shortly, as Rodney's victory in the West Indies had restored British Naval

supremacy; and Tippu would by himself have been unable to maintain a successful struggle. Now, however, Hastings was again fettered by opposition at home; and the Madras Government made peace with Mysore on their own account, on terms which almost appeared to have been dictated by a victorious foe. For the

successful phases of the whole struggle, the credit belongs to Warren Hastings; for its unsuccessful phases the discredit rests with the Calcutta cabal, and the Bombay and Madras Governments. As a total result, while Great Britain had been waging a war all over the world, in which she acquired nothing and lost half a continent, Warren Hastings had succeeded in maintaining her position in India, not only unimpaired, but, on the whole, strengthened, even in the south and west, as well as in Bengal and Oudh.

It is in connection with his administration in Bengal and Oudh that Hastings has been so frequently held up to obloquy—with what degree of justice in the Rohilla affair, the reader will have judged already. On his assuming the Governorship of Bengal, it became the first business of Hastings to organise

the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. It was not possible to adopt measures which were more than tentative. The establishment of English district magistrates laid the basis of future organisation in the one field; in the other, a definite working system was set up, pending a



HAIDAR ALI, AN ENEMY OF THE BRITISH
This commander of the Mysore army had initial success against the British, but was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote.



THE MAHRATTA FORTRESS OF GWALIOR
This Mahratta stronghold, supposed to be impregnable, was, in 1780, captured by the British, under General Popham, by a daring surprise.

fresh assessment of the land from which the revenue was drawn.

This material improvement was followed by the arrival of the three new members of the Council from England, who, forming a majority, proceeded so far as possible to reverse all the Governor-General's arrangements. Of this period, the most striking

Trial on a Charge of Forgery

event was the affair of Nanda Kumar, or Nuncomar, a Brahman who, having a grudge against Hastings, brought sundry charges against him on evidence which was probably forged. The Council took Nuncomar's part; but a native who, in his turn, had a grudge against Nuncomar, brought a perfectly independent charge of forgery against him. The case was fairly tried before the newly constituted High Court. Nuncomar was proved guilty, and was executed. It is practically certain that Hastings had nothing to do with the matter, but the removal of his accuser was so exceedingly opportune for him that the world has generally attributed the whole business to a conspiracy between Hastings, the Chief Justice, and a useful native.

When the successive deaths of two of the opposition cabal gave Hastings control, he established that board for the examination of land tenures and for re-assessment which formed a part of his scheme of reorganisation which had recently been reversed. Also he initiated the system of "subsidiary alliances" which was to be a leading feature of the rule of Lord Wellesley; arranging by treaty to maintain the army in Oudh under British control for the support of the Wazir out of revenues to be drawn from districts ceded by the Wazir to the Company for that purpose. Further, he got rid of the most unworkable feature of the Regulating Act. The judges were independent of the Administration, recognised no superior authority but the Crown in England, and claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the Council and the Governor-General. The Executive found itself paralysed. In

The Judges and the Executive

order to bring the Executive and Judiciary into harmonious relations, Hastings proposed to establish at Calcutta a court of appeal from the district courts, and to appoint the Chief Justice head of this court, as a servant of the Company, with extensive supervisory powers over the system. Nothing but a compromise could

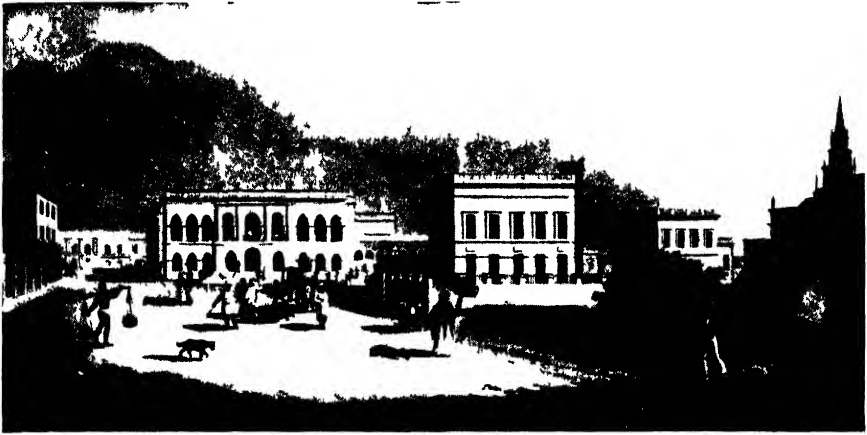
possibly have removed the deadlock, and the compromise arrived at proved effective. This affair, like that of Nuncomar, has been treated as if it attached some extraordinary discredit to the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey; with singularly little reason.

It remains to note the two matters which, along with the Rohilla war and the execution of Nuncomar, have been used—and with little more justification—for the vilification of the great Governor-General. First was that of the Oudh Begums. When Shujah Daulah, or Wazir of Oudh, died, the Begums, or Royal ladies, claimed that he had left most of his treasure to them personally. The Calcutta Council, in opposition to Hastings, maintained their claim as against the succeeding Wazir, Asaf ud Daulah. The latter, with his treasury thus depleted, naturally found himself unable to meet his obligations to the British. When Hastings got the upper hand, the Wazir declared his sincere desire to keep the promises made, but pointed out that the British, instead of helping him, were deliberately making it impossible. The Begums would not surrender

Affair of the Oudh Begums

the treasure, nor could he recover it from them without British assistance. The Wazir had the better claim, but the British were pledged to the Begums. On the other hand, these ladies had certainly been fostering antagonism to the British, who, it was argued, were thereby released from any obligations to them. Hastings, in dire need of money, was not difficult to satisfy as to the proofs, and gave Asaf ud Daulah active aid in recovering the property—a process carried out, as in the case of the Rohilla war, in accordance with Oriental rather than Western ideas of permissible severity.

There remains the affair of Cheyt Singh, Raja of Benares. In the course of various transactions with Oudh, this province was handed over to the British—that is, the Company, instead of the Oudh Wazir, became the over-lord of the Raja, who was under normal circumstances liable for a normal tribute or rent, and for further contribution in time of war. It was a matter of course that such vassal princes submitted to their over-lords precisely so long as they thought resistance or evasion would be dangerous. In 1778 and the following years, under pressure of the wars with the Mahrattas and with Haidar Ali, Hastings made heavy demands for extra



THE OLD COURT HOUSE AT CALCUTTA IN THE TIME OF WARREN HASTINGS

contributions. Chait Singh began to evade payment, probably under the impression that the power of the British was tottering, and that he would be able to get free. Hastings declined him recalcitrant in which he was probably quite correct, imposed every heavy fine by way of penalty, and came with a small escort to Benares to enforce his demand. Benares rose in support of the Raja, but put up the sepoys. The district, however, was brought into subjection promptly enough. Chait Singh was deposed, and a new Raja reigned at Benares. In 1784 No. 13. Regulating Act was

superseded by Pitt's India Act, which introduced a new system. Warren Hastings returned to England in 1785. Personal immosities, party exigencies, and an honest misapprehension both of what he had done, and the conditions under which he had done it, led to his impeachment, and although seven years later he was fully acquitted on every count, it is only in recent years that his character has begun to be reinstated in the eyes of the public. But when he left India in 1785, it left the Province of Bengal recognised him as the best ruler it had known.



MEMORIAL OF THE TRAGEDY OF THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

The view illustrates the Writers' Building in Calcutta at the end of the eighteenth century and the monument surmounted by an obelisk which was erected to commemorate the victims of Suraj ud Daulah



MAP SHOWING THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA TO THE YEAR 1801
1266



THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

THE retirement of Warren Hastings was immediately followed by the inauguration of the new British governmental system, which lasted, with slight modification, till 1858, a period during which the whole of India came under British supremacy, though large portions were not, and still are not, under direct British rule. It will be convenient, therefore, to take a survey of the position of the various Indian Powers in 1785.

At Delhi abode the Mogul, the phantom of an emperor. Westward of Delhi lie Sirhind and Rajputana, peopled chiefly by high-caste Rajputs or by Sikhs; westward again is the great Indus basin, comprising Sindh and the Punjab. Throughout these districts there existed no powerful state until the rise of Ranjit Singh at Lahore, when the nineteenth century began. Eastward, the Ganges basin was in effect divided between Oudh and Bengal, the latter under direct British rule, the former under practical British control. The whole of the eastern coastal territory, with slight exception, from Ganges mouth to the extreme south of the peninsula—Orissa, the Sarkars, the Carnatic—was British, though a nominal sovereignty was still exercised by the Nawab of Arcot. West of the British line comes first the great group of Mahratta states, dominating the rest of the peninsula, with the exception of Tippu Sahib's sultanate of Mysore, the Nizam's dominions, and the small British district of Bombay. Of the Mahratta groups, there were five chiefs: on the south—west of the Nizam—the Peshwa at Puna, the nominal head of the whole; in the north at Gwalior, dominating Delhi, the Sindhia dynasty; between Sindhia and the Peshwa, from west to east, the Gackwar at Baroda,

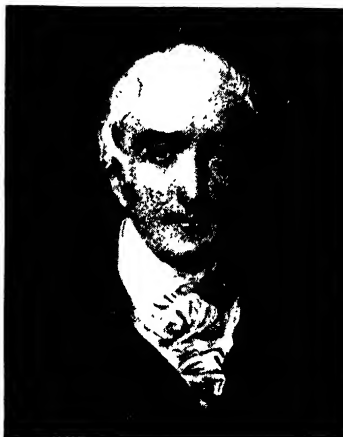
Holkar at Indur, and the Bhonsla at Nagpur, enclosing the Nizam on the north. South of the Nizam and west of the British was Mysore.

Thus the militant Powers were Mysore, the Nizam, and the Mahratta confederacy. Of these, the Nizam was not strong enough to cope single-handed with either Mysore or a Mahratta combination. The Mahrattas, overwhelmingly strong in combination, could not rely on each other for mutual support. Mysore had been organised as a military state by a military adventurer, the father of the reigning sultan, and the hostility of its ruler to the British was ingrained. The fourth militant Power was the British. Not one of the ruling dynasties had been in possession for more than three-quarters of a century. The boundaries of every state or province expanded or contracted from decade to decade. From the time when Clive left India to the time when Mornington landed

it was the intention of the British Government to work on European principles, to avoid extension of territory, and to preserve the balance between the native states. But such a conception was foreign to the native mind. Consequently, Cornwallis found himself, with great reluctance, forced to act in a manner very little less aggressive than Mornington, who had no reluctance whatever about it.

To meet such conditions, a strong central government was required within the British territories. In times when twelve months might

easily elapse between the sending of a despatch from Calcutta and the receipt of the reply it was manifestly necessary for Calcutta to be free to act on its own responsibility, subject only to very general instructions from home. It was



MARQUESS WELLESLEY
Who, as Lord Mornington, rendered distinguished service when Governor-General, 1798-1805, and checked the efforts of Tippu Sahib.

manifest also that the governing body must not be one with divided powers which could be paralysed by internal disagreements. Further, the dominion had been acquired by the East India Company, consistently with its charter,

Difficulty of Long-distance Government

so that the claims and responsibilities of three parties had to be adjusted—the Government on the spot, the Sovereign at Westminster, and the Company. The adjustment was effected by Pitt's India Act in 1784. Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were each to have its own Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Council, of two additional members, but Bengal was supreme over the others. Its Governor was Governor-General; if one member of his Council supported him he could take his own way; on emergency he could act independently of his Council. The general rule was adopted—to be set aside only in one instance before the end of the East India Company—that the Governor-General himself should be a man of European experience, while his Council should be Indian experts. The responsibility accepted by the Directors and by the Home Government consisted in their selection of a Governor-General, in their laying down the general lines of policy, with the consequent necessity for the Indian Government to justify itself if it deserted the lines laid down, and in their exercise of patronage. As between Company and Parliament, a Parliamentary Board of Control was established—changing with changes of Ministry—which had a general power of supervising, if it thought fit, and overruling the appointments made, the despatches sent, and the policy laid down by the Company. The new system was inaugurated by the selection of a Governor-General whose sound sense and military capacity had been thoroughly tested, whose integrity was unimpeachable, and whose fearless independence was absolutely secure. Lord Cornwallis reached India in 1786, the functions of his

office having been discharged in the interval by Sir John Macpherson, an experienced Indian official.

We shall find it convenient to defer our account of the British Administration and its development, and to proceed here with the story of the relations between the British *Raj* and the native Powers, down to the Victorian period.

At the moment when Cornwallis reached India, the aggressive Moslem fanaticism, and the generally arrogant attitude of Tippu Sahib—elated by the peace recently accepted by Madras—caused the Puna Mahrattas and the Nizam to dread his activities more than those of the British. The astute Madhoji Sindhia of Gwalior had already come to the conclusion that unless very exceptional circumstances arose it would be wise to maintain friendly relations with the British. His main object was to secure a personal ascendancy within the Mahratta confederacy and

the north and west. Sindhia's attitude, on the whole, decided that of Nagpur and Indur, while Baroda was not aggressive. Cornwallis, in thorough accord, *a priori*, with the policy of non-intervention favoured at home, found it unnecessary to do more in the south than reorganise military arrangements so as to ensure that, if necessary, he could intervene with effect. Tippu, not being anxious to unite the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the British against himself, composed his quarrels with the two former; and for some time Cornwallis was free

to occupy himself with administrative reforms. Cornwallis was well aware that Tippu was only waiting his opportunity to attempt the overthrow of the British; but the circumstances which forced on the collision were curious. When the Nizam had made his peace with Tippu, the Governor-General—in accordance with instructions from home—invited him, in 1788, to carry out the terms of a treaty made twenty years before, and to complete the cession of a district known as the



MARQUESS CORNWALLIS

He subdued Tippu Sahib and did good work as commander in India. Appointed to India again in 1805, he died soon after his arrival.



CORNWALLIS RECEIVING THE SONS OF TIPPU SAHIB AS HOSTAGES OF PEACE

The result of the victories of Lord Cornwallis against Tippu Sahib was a peace by which much territory was ceded, and Tippu's sons were handed over to the British as hostages for the peaceful behaviour of their father, the Sultan of Mysore.

Gantur Sarkars. The Nizam replied by inviting the British to give effect to another clause in that treaty and aid him in the recovery of certain other districts which had been appropriated by Haidar Ali. Cornwallis, while declining to commit himself, was unable in his answer wholly to repudiate the obligation. Tippu concluded that a combined attack was imminent, and forestalled it by himself attacking a British protectorate, Travancore; and thus war began.

Causes of a War

The Nizam and Puna professedly supported the British, to whom, however, both intended to leave the hard work. The campaign of 1790 was ineffective, partly owing to the culpable neglect of the Madras Governor. In 1791, Cornwallis himself took the field. He captured Bangalur, whereupon the Nizam's troops joined him. Supplies ran short, and Cornwallis had to fall back. Then the Mahrattas appeared—not to assist in the campaign, but to ask for funds. The final effect was to stultify the scheme of the year's operations. Before the following spring, however, the Governor-General was

able to perfect his arrangements, to bring Tippu to bay almost at the gates of his capital, Seringapatam, and to force him to submission, which involved, as a necessity of Oriental warfare, the cession of nearly half Mysore. Of the ceded districts, Cornwallis retained only about one-third, transferring the rest to his nominal allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas. But those he retained were of strategical importance. There was no other way of materially curtailing Tippu's power of aggression in the future; to have left his territories intact would have been a direct incitement for him to seek a fresh opportunity for attack, and for the Nizam and the Mahrattas to transfer their alliance to him. There is no manner of doubt that Cornwallis would have avoided extending the British territories if it had been possible, or that both the Company and the Government in London were anxious not to expand, but to concentrate. But Cornwallis saw that there was no choice, and London ratified his judgment.

Partition of Tippu's Territory

We defer the discussion of the large administrative measures which marked his

rule. In 1793 he retired, at the moment when the French Republic had just declared war upon England—a war which was to last, with two intervals of a few months, till 1815, affecting in no small degree the policy of the successors of

Effect of European Wars

Cornwallis and of the native Powers. This, however, does not become conspicuous, as concerns the British, during the rule of the next Governor-General, Sir John Shore, who, later, became Lord Teignmouth. Between Warren Hastings and John Lawrence—for a period, that is, of nearly eighty years—Shore was the only Governor-General appointed with an exclusively Indian record. He was an official of great capacity, an excellent counsellor, as Cornwallis knew by experience; but usually lacking in the vigour and decision of character which the circumstances demanded in the ruler of British India.

Hence, Shore's anxiety to maintain an attitude of non-interference threatened to bring about a serious crisis in Southern India. With Cornwallis, the great principle had been to keep the peace between

the southern Powers; with Shore, it was to avoid entanglement in their quarrels. The Mahrattas took immediate advantage of the situation to attack the Nizam and to wrest territory from him.

The Nizam was aggrieved, because a firm attitude on Shore's part would have protected him; he felt himself deserted, and began to organise his troops under the command of French officers, while both the Mahrattas and Tippu formed the hasty conclusion that the British power was on the verge of collapsing. It was fortunate for the British that the Mahratta states and dynasties were plunged, by a series of deaths, into a state of factions and rivalries which effectively prevented concerted aggression. The great Madhoji Sindhia died; it was some years before the new Sindhia, Daulat Rao, secured ascendancy; and the same thing happened with the new Peshwa, Baji Rao, at Puna. The same lack of firmness shook the prestige of the Governor-General in Bengal itself, where there was for a moment a real danger that the arm-

British Power in Peril



CAPTURE OF BANGALUR AND DEATH OF COLONEL MOORHOUSE

When Cornwallis reached India he found a state of unrest that demanded strong action; and he took the field against Tippu Sahib, soon capturing Bangalur, the Mysore capital. One of the chief incidents in the assault is depicted above



THE EMBASSY OF A NATIVE RULER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The painting by Zoffany, from which our illustration is taken, represents the progress of a great embassy from the Wazir of Oudh to Calcutta, proceeding by way of Patna, to meet Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, in 1788.

would seize control of the Government. The British Raj was upheld partly by white troops of the King's Army, partly by sepoy regiments forming the Company's army. There was intense jealousy between the officers of these two branches, and also between the Company's military officers and their civil officers. The two military

Attempted Military Dominion

branches united to formulate common demands, which would have resulted in a military domination. It was evident that a much stronger man than Shore, who in effect surrendered to the mutineers, was required to cope with the situation, and Lord Mornington was appointed to replace him. Nevertheless, in one field Shore had displayed a firmness and a personal courage which went far to counterbalance his failures. In the dependent State of Oudh misgovernment was rampant. On the death of the Nawab, a reputed son, Wazir Ali, succeeded him, with every intention of following in his predecessor's footsteps. But when it was ascertained that Wazir Ali's title was bad, the British Government refused to recognise him, and gave its support to the late Nawab's brother—on terms recognising the British right of control. A British force was to be maintained by a subsidy, secured by

the Allahabad territory. Shore arranged matters himself, remaining unprotected at Lucknow, the Oudh capital, in the midst of a population which seemed on the verge of a violent outbreak; refusing, though in hourly risk of his life, to call up British troops, since to do so might have precipitated a sanguinary struggle. His coolness and courage won the day. Saadat Ali was established on the throne of Oudh without bloodshed. Critics of British methods in India are apt to forget that it in such a case Shore had abstained from insisting on British control, the British would in a few years' time inevitably have been compelled to annex Oudh altogether.

Lord Mornington, elder brother of Arthur Wellesley afterwards Duke of Wellington, initiated a new era in Indian policy. Hitherto the British aim had been to maintain a balance of power among the native potentates, after the European model. But the theory of balanced powers was altogether foreign to native conceptions. From time immemorial India has been a field in which rival thrones strove for supremacy, until the Moguls had achieved a general sovereignty, which exercised some check over the aggressive tendencies of individual principalities.

For the preservation of any modicum of general security and order, it was necessary that some power should be recognised as paramount; and the Mogul sovereignty had now for a long time been the merest fiction. The balancing scheme would not serve as a substitute. If, then, the re-establishment of a paramount Power

Need for the British Paramountcy was a necessity, it was clear enough that, in the interest of the Indian population in general, as well as in that of the British, the ascendancy must be secured not to a native Power, but to the British. For the British themselves it was essential that no Power other than their own should be paramount. The necessity was accentuated by the state of affairs in Europe, where Bonaparte was now the leading figure. No one yet knew what his precise designs might be. But he had proved himself unmistakably the first of living generals; and though Britain

had proved herself the strongest of the naval powers, her actual supremacy on the seas was by no means secured in 1797.

Only fifteen years before a French admiral in Indian waters had almost enabled Mysore to overthrow the British in the Carnatic. Half the native Powers now had armies organised by French officers, and were hoping for French aid to free them from the British incubus; and, in fact, Bonaparte meant the recovery of French ascendancy in India to play its part in his scheme of an Asiatic dominion as a means to the subjugation of Europe. To the French menace was added at the moment an alarm lest the Mohammedan ruler at Kabul, Zeman Shah, who was supposed to be extremely powerful, should make alliance with the zealot Tippu in Mysore and aim at re-establishing a great Mohammedan dominion in India.

Mornington then, who was thoroughly conversant with Indian affairs, arrived at

Calcutta, with the intention of making the British paramount. He had hardly landed when proof came that Tippu Sahib was intriguing with the French at Mauritius. Mornington made immediate preparation for a duel with Tippu, in case it should prove necessary. For the moment, the Mahrattas were too much taken up with their internal feuds to be dangerous. The Governor-General turned at once on the Nizam, and pressed upon him the immediate dismissal of the French corps organised in Shore's time, and the substitution of a British contingent—since the Nizam knew that he could hardly stand alone with the Mahrattas on one side of him and Tippu on the other. The Nizam accepted the situation.

Meanwhile, negotiations were on foot with Mysore. But as the British demands involved terms which would deprive



SIR DAVID BAIRD DISCOVERING THE BODY OF TIPPUS SAHIB
Tippu Sahib, the "Tiger of Mysore," tried by intrigue and arms to crush British power in India, but was killed in the assault upon Seringapatam on May 4, 1799.



ASSAULT UPON SERINGAPATAM, WHERE TIPPU MADE HIS LAST STAND
The storming and capture of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, in 1799, ended the hostilities and machinations of its Sultan, Tippu Sahib, a dangerous enemy of British supremacy in India. He was killed in the final assault.

Tippu of French assistance in any shape, and would make him as dependent as the Nizam on the British, Tippu would make no agreement. He continued his intrigues, in spite of reports of French reverses in Egypt, where Nelson annihilated the Mediterranean fleet at the Battle of the Nile. In the early spring of 1799, the British advance on Mysore began. In April, Tippu was at bay in Seringapatam; in May the defences were stormed, and the Sultan was killed in the fight. Mornington restored the old Hindu dynasty which had been dethroned forty years before by Haidar Ali—under British protection, and with greatly reduced territories. Of the lands of which Mysore was shorn, a portion was offered to the Mahrattas on terms which they rejected. Another portion was bestowed on the Nizam, and promptly ceded back to the British as security for the maintenance of the British contingent at Haidarabad. The practical result was that more than half of Tippu's dominion was brought under direct British government, and the rest under British protection.

Disputed successions in minor districts, but notably in the Carnatic, enabled the Governor-General to carry on the business

of establishing British supremacy by refusing recognition to claimants who would not accept his terms—which in effect transferred entire political and administrative control to the British: an arrangement displeasing to the dynasties, but indubitably of immense advantage to the population. Oudh was treated in even more high-handed fashion, the Nawab being required to dismiss most of his own army, and greatly increase the British contingent, ceding for their maintenance a belt of provinces—known from this time as the North-West Provinces—which enclosed the entire frontier of Oudh. Wellesley—the conquest of Mysore had brought the Governor-General his marquisate—now found himself face to face with the Mahrattas, the only Power

**British
Supremacy
Extended**

which really had in it the possibilities of challenging the British for supremacy in India. The three chiefs who had recently succeeded—Daulat Rao Sindhia, Jeswant Rao Holkar, and Baji Rao Peshwa—occupied in a struggle between themselves for ascendancy, had made no attack on the British. But they had been equally resolute in refusing overtures for subsidiary alliances which would have brought them under Wellesley's control.

In 1802, however, the Peshwa suffered a grave defeat from Holkar. Seeing his chance of supremacy vanish, he thought it better to seek British protection, like the *Nizam, than to be wiped out by Holkar; and he accepted Wellesley's terms. Now, it was admitted in theory that the Peshwa was the head of the Mahrattas.* If, then,

Mahrattas Accept British Suzerainty

the great confederacy acknowledged Baji Rao's treaty with Wellesley, they would be formally admitting British paramountcy. Baji Rao had hardly been re-established at Puna under the agis of the British when he began to repent. Hence, in August, 1803, the disappointed Holkar standing aside, the attitude of Sindhia and the fourth chief, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, forced the British to a virtual declaration of war. Sindhia and the Bhonsla acted in conjunction in the north of the Deccan. North, in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, Sindhia's own main army was set in motion, under command of the French officers, whose dismissal Wellesley had failed to procure. The campaigns were not prolonged. In the Deccan, Arthur Wellesley routed Sindhia and the Bhonsla at the bloody battle of Assaye, in September, losing one-third of his men. Two months later he repeated his success at Argaon; and between these two victories Lake shattered Sindhia's northern army at Laswari. By the end of the year both the chiefs submitted, accepted the British suzerainty, dismissed their French officers, and ceded extensive districts to the British, portions of which were transferred to the Nizam.

Holkar, however, now bethought himself of offering an independent resistance. The remarkable success of his tactics at the outset created a panic, and almost set the whole body of the Mahrattas in motion again; but despite opening disasters, the tide turned in a few months, and British superiority was asserted with sufficient effect to prevent any general rising. Nevertheless, enough had been done to alarm the home authorities, to

whom it appeared that Wellesley was plunging into a reckless and very dangerous course of aggression in open defiance of instructions; and in 1805 the great Governor-General found himself superseded, while Holkar was still in arms.

Since the time of Clive there have been two Governors-General, and only two, whose policy was controlled by the firm conviction that Britain ought not to let slip any legitimate opportunity for bringing fresh territories in India under her direct control. Yet scarcely one escaped the necessity of adding something to the Company's dominion. Failure to extend active protection to an ally, failure to answer defiance by chastisement, omission to demand cession of territory as the re-

ward of victory—each and all of these were invariably and universally regarded by native Powers as marks not of moderation or magnanimity, but of weakness, inviting fresh defiance, which, in its turn, involved a heavier penalty than would have sufficed in the first instance. The most pacific declarations have only led the way to annexations; hence, neither the Indian potentates on the borders of the British dominion, nor European critics, have ever been able to divest themselves of the conviction that denials of aggressive intention have been

merely expressions of systematic hypocrisy.

In the cases of Wellesley and Dalhousie, there is no room for the charge of hypocrisy—unless the argument that British domination is best for the native population be regarded as hypocritical. For

neither of those two expanders of empire ever made the slightest pretence that their annexations were made with reluctance; they hailed opportunities. Lord Hastings also accepted them without regret. But there was probably no other Governor-General who would not have preferred to be able to say at the end of his tenure of office that he had added no fresh territories to the British dominion in India.



"THE TIGER OF MYSORE"

Tippu Sahib, the son of Haidar Ali, carried on hostilities against the British, and, at one time, threatened to kill the East India Company.

Reluctant Makers of the Empire

MODERN INDIA—THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

Yet the impossibility of standing still was immediately exemplified on Wellesley's departure. His place was taken by the veteran Cornwallis, who would soon have found, as he had found before, that facts were too strong for theories, and would doubtless have displayed the same common-sense as before in dealing with them. But the old chief died

A Few Years of Leniency

before he had realised the situation; Sir George Barlow held the reins of office *ad interim* till the new Governor-General should be appointed. The theory of non-intervention was given full play. The terms of Wellesley's treaty with Sindhuia were modified in favour of the latter; Holkar was forced to sue for peace, and got it on terms of which he had never dreamed. The British declined to intervene for the

the treaty of Tilsit. Nelson had broken the French naval power at the Nile in 1798, and shattered it at Trafalgar in 1805. All that it was now capable of was to raid British commerce from its station at Mauritius. But a union of France and Russia threatened an overland advance against India. Hence negotiations with the intervening Power of Persia, which Wellesley had inaugurated, were renewed, and an attempt was made to establish friendly relations with the ruler of Afghanistan at Kabul, with little effective result in either case. The matter ceased to be urgent, as friendship cooled between Napoleon and the Tsar.

Within India, Minto found occupation in reducing to tolerable order the district of Bandelkhand, on the south of the Jumna, which the Peshwa had transferred



EARL OF MINTO



MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE



MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

The first Earl of Minto was Governor-General of India during 1807-13; he made many frontier treaties, and success crowned his administration. The tenth Earl and first Marquess of Dalhousie was Governor-General during 1847-56, and added Lower Burma to British dominions. The first Marquess of Hastings was made Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of India in 1813; his victories and diplomacy extended British dominions, and he founded Singapore.

protection of the States of Rajputana against Mahratta aggression; bands of Mohanmedans and Hindu mercenaries were allowed to accumulate in Holkar's territories under the names of Pathans or Pindaris—freebooting hordes, who ravaged and robbed unchecked; Rajputana was filled with anarchy. Before a decade was passed, the Mahrattas were preparing to make another bid for ascendancy as against the British.

In 1807, Barlow's acting appointment was closed by the arrival of Lord Minto, whose rule was signalised by the capture of Mauritius from the French and of Java from the Dutch, nominally the allies and actually the subjects of Napoleon. The moment of Minto's appearance in India was also that of the rapprochement between Napoleon and the Tsar which issued in

to the British in exchange for some territory in the Deccan. But beyond this it was becoming clear that the theory of non-intervention was breaking down. Hitherto the whole of the north-west—roughly, everything west of the Jumna and the Chambal above their junction—had stood outside British interference.

Recently one of the Sikh chiefs, Ranjit Singh, had established his own supremacy at Lahore, and constructed a very powerful military monarchy in the Punjab. He now sought to extend his rule eastwards over the Sikh principalities of Sirhind between the Satlej and the Jumna. These Cis-Satlej Sikhs appealed to British protection. Diplomatic relations were consequently opened with the Punjab, whose very astute monarch was quick to realise

Rise of Punjab Power

that British friendship was much more desirable than British hostility. He resigned his Cis-Satlej claims under protest, and on a promise that within the Punjab there should be no interference. The loyalty of the Punjab ally, as well as that of the Sirhind protectorate, remained unbroken till 1845. Finally, Lord Minto's Policy

Lord Minto's Policy

Khan, became so exceedingly aggressive that Minto was obliged to threaten intervention on behalf of Nagpur, which Amir Khan was endeavouring to master. The threat drove the Pathan adventurer back to Indur, and the struggle with the Pathans and Pindaris was deferred for Minto's successor to carry through.

Minto's policy created a somewhat inexplicable uneasiness at home, and in 1813 he was replaced by Lord Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, a politician and soldier of considerable experience, who was already nearly sixty. He went to India looking upon Wellesley's policy as pernicious and dangerous. Very soon he became his great predecessor's disciple. In plain terms, he found a vigorous anti-British aggression afoot on every side; and he recognised that the British must either be paramount or cease to count. His choice

between the alternatives was not in doubt.

The first move came from a new quarter. North of the Ganges, in Oudh, lie the rich lands known as the Terai. Beyond the Terai are the mountains of Nepal, occupied by the Gurka highlanders, soldiers unsurpassed, hardy, daring, staunch, though small of stature and few in number. The Gurkas were dissatisfied with their mountains, and began to lay claim to the Terai. Hastings required them to retire, and sent troops to occupy the districts. The Gurkas replied by themselves occupying them. There was no alternative to war.

The opening campaign was more disastrous than usual. Neither officers nor men had any experience of hill-fighting, which the stout little Gurkas understood to

perfection. Only one British column, commanded by Ochterlony, on the west of the extended frontier, met with any success. The rest met with repulses of varying severity, despite the very small forces of the Nepalese. Every antagonistic or potentially antagonistic force in India was on the alert at once, and preparing either to strike at the British or to strike into the turmoil which would be occasioned by their overthrow. But Moira was prompt and energetic; the hostile Powers, lacking organisation, did not declare themselves at once. Time was given for Ochterlony to turn the tide in Nepal. Skillfully led, the British overwhelmed the valiant foe. Territory, of course, was ceded, but the terms were honourable to both parties,

and, on the one hand, established a lasting amity between the British and the independent Nepal State, while, on the other, the new territories supplied the British with some of the finest regiments in their service. Moreover, the immediate effect was to damp completely the ardour of the disaffected princes.

Moira, thenceforth to be known as Marquess of Hastings, had by this time thoroughly adopted for himself Wellesley's fundamental idea of establishing ascendancy by means of subsidiary alliances—that is, of

maintaining under treaty in the native states, in return for a subsidy which might or might not be secured by a cession of territory, a force which should at once protect the prince and the state from native aggression, or from revolt, and practically ensure British control. At

A Strong Policy Resumed an auspicious moment for him, the vigorous George Canning became President of the Board of Control in London, so that

his measures were not hampered. Further, the outrages of which the hordes of Pathans and Pindaris were guilty—with the undoubted connivance of Indur and Gwalior—made British activity not merely plausible but absolutely imperative. The death of the Nagpur Bhonsla in



RANJIT SINGH

This was the Sikh who rose to power in Lahore. He was ignorant but able; in 1809 he made an alliance with the Earl of Minto, and the British afterwards supported him.

MODERN INDIA—THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

1816 induced his successor to accept that subsidiary alliance which the dead prince had resolutely declined. But mischief was obviously brewing among the three greater Mahratta principalities of the west. In 1817, the British movement, primarily for the suppression of the Pindaris, began. Hastings had avoided the common mistake; he had a huge force organised, to take the field at several points simultaneously. By these dispositions, Sindhia was paralysed for hostile action, as was Indur. The Peshwa and the Bhonsla each attempted to capture the British "Residents" and destroy the escorts at Puna and Nagpur; each was brilliantly foiled. Thereafter, the converging British forces were far too strong to meet with any serious resistance. All the Mahratta chiefs, except the Peshwa, came to terms, as did Amir Khan himself, by the beginning of 1818; the Peshwa, too, was forced to surrender before long; nothing was left but the capture of some isolated garrisons, the last of which fell in 1819. At Kirki (Puna), Sitabaldi (Nagpur), and near Sirur, there were characteristic engagements in which small British bodies repulsed an apparently overwhelming enemy. But for the most part, this war

**Vigour
Brings
Peace**

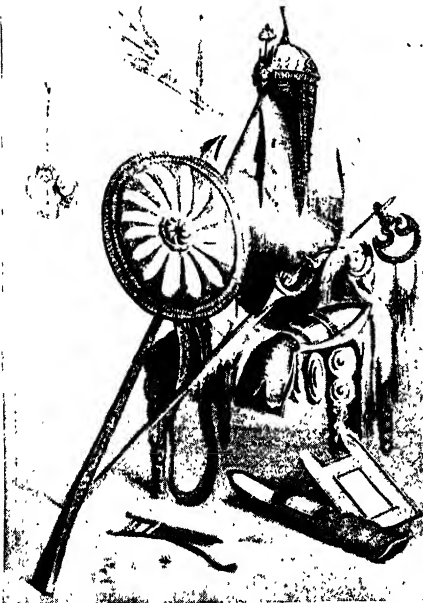


SIKH WARRIOR TRIBESMEN

was one in which the British forces were palpably too powerful to be faced in the field. Beginning as a war in the simple interest of public order, for the suppression of brigandage on a huge scale, it developed into the overthrow of the Mahratta Confederacy, every one of whose chiefs, except Sindhia and the Gaekwar had attacked the British; while conclusive proof was forthcoming that Sindhia was hand-in-glove with the enemy, and was restrained only by the paralysing British column which held him under surveillance. It could not, then, be said that the terms imposed were harsh. As concerned Sindhia, the British did little more than assert the right from which Barlow had debarred them, of extending protection to Rajputana. The Bhonsla was deposed and replaced by a minor, till whose majority the British took over the administration. Holkar accepted a subsidiary alliance. The Peshwa's territories, on the other hand, were annexed, and his office abolished, while he himself was allowed to retire to British territory on a handsome pension; and the small state of Sattara was cut out of his dominion, and bestowed on the heir of the house of Sivaji.

**Overthrow of
Mahratta
Confederacy**

Hastings was never allowed to follow out his policy; when the work was done, the Directors were, as usual, pained by the great outlay it had involved, and



SIKH ARMOUR AND WEAPONS

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

alarmed at the responsibilities imposed on the Company by the accession of territory in India sundry ruling houses had been discomposd in a raiding swarm of brigands dispersed some thousands of soldiers deprived of opportunities for loot, protection extended to a number of minor chiefs, and an unprecedented security

The Work of Lord Hastings

bestowed on vast populations. The man who had done these things was in effect censured and superseded though not in form. Nevertheless his successor Lord Amherst (1823) was as little able as his predecessors to abstain from expansion. Hastings had brought the whole Indian peninsula into the compass of British ascendancy except for the Indus basin which remained independent. While Rumpit Singh ruled at Lahore there was no danger of troubles in that quarter. But Amherst was assailed on a new side. Across the great Bay of Bengal the ruler of Burma thought fit to throw down the gauntlet to the British.

In the course of the last thirty years Burma had suffered from an illusory belief in its own overwhelming power and the feebleness of the British chiefly because the latter while giving an asylum to Burmese subjects had not resented the menaces of the monarch at Ava by force of arms. The latter had in the time of

Lord Hastings gone so far as to demand the restoration of Lower Bengal as though it had been a Burmese province. Now the Burmese took possession of an island off Chittagong, which the British claimed as their own. Amherst turned out the Burmese force and warned Burma that the limit of British forbearance had been reached. Burma replied by in effect announcing an invasion. Whereupon Amherst declared war.

The weary campaigns of the first Burmese War demand brief relation. In 1824 an army was sent over sea which occupied Rangoon. There it remained inactive owing to deficient supplies. In December the Burmese were driven from their entrenchments before Rangoon. As the next spring advanced the British advanced up the Irrawaddy as far as Prome. Then they were stopped by rains. A second expedition through Arakan was also checked by rains and by disease. It was not till the beginning of 1826 that the Burmese king was forced to come to terms paying a substantial indemnity and ceding the districts of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants who had no love for their Burmese rulers.

The prolongation of the Burma War—which ought to have been ended through



THE BRITISH EXPEDITION GOING UP THE IRAWADDI TO RANGOON IN JULY, 1824

MODERN INDIA—THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

in six months, whereas it occupied two years—again gave occasion for a small native state in the heart of India to make an experiment in ignoring British authority. This was Bhartpur, whose main fortress had successfully defied the assault of Lord Lake in 1805, and was supposed to be impregnable. Blunders and misunderstandings between Ochterlony, the commandant in the north-west, and the Governor-General, encouraged the reviving impression of British weakness. But when Metcalfe was sent to



LORD METCALFE AND LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK
The first Baron Metcalfe was provisional Governor-General of India in 1835-6; his abilities lay in civil administration. Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, and is noted as having suppressed suttee, infanticide and dacoity.

replace Ochterlony, he recognised the necessity for asserting British strength. Amherst yielded to Metcalfe's opinion, and placed troops at his disposal. The defiance of Bhartpur was met by an Engineers' attack on the "impregnable" fort which proved completely successful. The brief excitement which had begun to stir the native mind was promptly allayed. The fall of Bhartpur seemed conclusive proof of irresistible power.

It was not till after 1840 that the British again had to resort to arms to quell an Indian foe, or to emphasise the reality of their ascendancy by requiring further cessions of territory. The period of expansion was closed by the Burmese War, which lay altogether outside of India itself. The next period of expansion was inaugurated by intervention in another state beyond the borders of India. The period from 1826 to 1839 was occupied

A Few Years of Peace

almost entirely with organisation and reconstruction in the dominions directly subject to the British, and in those wherein the minority of a prince placed administration temporarily in the hands of the British. For what was done during those years, and notably under the rule of Lord William Bentinck, much credit is due to the Government. It is open to question, however, whether Government was equally wise in its inaction. The pressure from

home was strong to prevent intervention in the internal affairs of native states. It was the time of the Reform movement in England, and reformers in all countries are slow to believe that the principles applicable under the conditions with



which they are familiar are not equally valid under conditions with which they are unfamiliar. Non-intervention was carried to extremes, with the result that in the Gwalior State the army acquired a dangerous predominance, and in Oudh mis-government was allowed to reach

such a pitch that even the authorities in London began to fear that annexation might be forced upon them.

Bentinck succeeded Amherst in 1828, and retired himself in 1835. Even his rule was not wholly devoid of additions to the British dominion, since the two minor states of Kurg in the south, and

Kachar on the north-east, were annexed—but by their own expressed desire. After a year, during which the very able Governor of the North-west Provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe, held the Governor-Generalship *ad interim*, Lord Auckland was sent out. Before we proceed to the record of his tenure of office we shall turn to examine the other aspect of the great British experiment in India—the conduct of administration by Westerns among Orientals.

The constitution of the Government laid down for the British dominions in India by the India Act of 1784 remained in force, with some modifications, until 1858. The ruler of British India was the Governor-General in council. The only limitation to his power lay in the two facts, that he was removable at the will of a supreme body in England, and that he might be severely called to account if he transgressed their instructions: he need not obey, but if he did not he must be prepared to justify his disobedience. He disobeyed

at his own peril. His council could help him, and might hamper him, but could never actually thwart him. The supreme powers in London were responsible for appointing to the post a capable man, and one whose views, at the outset at least, were in harmony with their own. That responsibility was shared between the nation, as represented by the Ministerial Board of Control, and the directors of the East India Company—the Company being the subordinate of the two. The instructions issued to the Governor-General, which he could disobey only at his peril, were laid down on the initiative or with the sanction of the Board of Control.

Responsibility for Indian Government

The Governor-General was usually, but not always, a person whose actual knowledge of the East was at secondhand: who was, however, versed in the business of administration, diplomacy, or war—possibly of all three; while his advisers on the Council were Indian experts. At home, the tendency of directors to subordinate political to commercial considerations was increasingly counteracted by the trained politicians on the Board of Control. The most noteworthy changes in the system took place on the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833, when certain powers which had been left to the Governors-in-Council of the minor presidencies were transferred to the central or supreme Government in Bengal.

On the acquisition of fresh territories, those which lay in Northern or Central India were normally joined to the Bengal Presidency; those on the west of the Nizam's dominions, to Bombay; those on the south and east, to Madras. With the extension of dominion, those territories which had been in touch with the British were usually brought under the same system of government as the first presidencies to which they were attached; those which lay further afield were usually

Treatment of New Territory

known as non-regulation provinces, and were controlled on somewhat different lines, their governors being allowed a larger latitude. As the ascendancy was established, a British Resident or Agent was appointed to the court of each state, whose functions were partly ambassadorial, partly advisory, while his advice might on occasion be of a peremptory character. The ascendancy, as we have seen, was usually supported by the maintenance of

a considerable "contingent" or sepoy force, under British officers, who further protected the native Government against either disturbance from within or aggression from without, while restraining it from becoming aggressive itself.

The British power, then, was maintained by the three Company's armies in the three presidencies, composed not quite exclusively of native regiments under British officers, natives holding only non-commissioned appointments. In the Bengal army, these natives, it is to be noted, were mainly high-caste Hindus, either Brahmans or Rajputs, with a strong admixture of Mussulmans, who adhered to the Mogul traditions, while the Hindus were specially sensitive about all matters which touched their caste. The Bombay and Madras armies, recruited from districts where few of the population belonged to the higher castes, were much less sensitive—facts which bore fruit in the time of the Mutiny. Besides the Company's armies, there were a certain number of King's troops or white regiments of the Regular

The Fighting Force

Army serving in India in rotation. The officers of the Company's armies were the servants of the Company; the two main branches of the ordinary administration—magisterial and revenue work—were in the hands of the Company's civil service. But in the non-regulation provinces the highest posts were often in the hands of soldiers, who were also extensively employed in what is known in India as "political" work, a term applied generally to the business of foreign, diplomatic, and quasi-diplomatic affairs.

In general, the aim of government was not to impose upon the natives European customs or laws, except where Europeans were concerned, but to systematise the existing indigenous laws and customs, so far as they were ascertainable, and to apply them in accordance with native sentiment, except where they were palpably productive of serious evils.

Now, the great bulk of the revenue was derived from land, and the history of the land settlements illustrates the honest, if not always perfectly successful, efforts of the British Government to regulate matters with justice. The beginning was made in Bengal, as being the first territory under direct British government. Here the issue of the attempt was the "Permanent Settlement" of Cornwallis. The

INDIA—THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

measures taken by Warren Hastings had been avowedly of a temporary character, pending a full investigation of the system of land tenure. Lack of experience, coupled with Western preconceptions, which British commissioners naturally read into the conditions they found, led Cornwallis somewhat astray.

The Moguls and their Nawabs had farmed out the districts to revenue officers, whose business it was to collect the amount of revenue at which the district was assessed. Primarily, these zemindars became landlords, in so far as the money they collected might be termed rent. They were the receivers of rent from the cultivator, and they might collect a great

improvements in cultivation. On this theory, the great object was to encourage the zemindar to improve cultivation by giving him security of tenure. The districts were assessed, the amounts the zemindars were to pay were fixed in permanence, and their full proprietary rights were confirmed to them and to their heirs. By degrees, however, the true relation of the zemindars to the soil became apparent. In the South of India they had never acquired the same outward likeness of landed proprietors as in Bengal. The investigations conducted there in connection with the territories annexed after the Mysore wars led to the conclusion that the actual peasantry were the



DURBAR OF THE RULER OF THE MAHRATTA STATES AT PUNA

The Peshwa at Puna was the nominal head of the five Mahratta chiefs. His support of the British action against Tippu Sahib was secured by treaty in 1793, and the ceremonial attending the ratification of the treaty is depicted above.

deal more than ever reached the Treasury. They had no legal security of tenure or of succession to a zemindari, but if they paid what was expected, and behaved themselves, they were not likely to be dispossessed, and their sons were normally appointed to succeed them. It may be remarked that they were usually Hindus, the Mohammedans seeking rather military employment. Sundry of the great zemindars had received the title of raja. With western analogies in their minds, the British regarded the zemindars as landlords, proprietors of the soil, like the landed gentry in England, with the peasantry as their tenants, as the persons who would reap most benefit from im-

true proprietors, or else the "village communities," of which they were members. Hence, the land settlement in the south was for the most part made on the basis of the direct payment of the rent or land tax by the *ryot* or peasant cultivator to the Government, without intervention of any zemindar. The peasant got his fair rent, fixity of tenure, and right of transfer, subject to his payment of the Government claim. Here, however, the Bengal error of making the assessment permanent was avoided. The valuation, subject to certain modifications, was extended over a term of years long enough to give the cultivator security that he would get full benefit for all improvements ;

but after the term of years, the valuation was to be revised.

A third form of land settlement was necessary in the provinces of the Upper Ganges. Here a large proportion of the inhabitants belonged to Rajput clans. In the old days, the chief of the clan had often been looked upon as the proprietor

The Land Question of the soil, and under the Mogul Government these chiefs, or *talukdars*, had frequently been appointed to collect the revenue for their districts, like the *zemindars* of Lower Bengal, as far as government was concerned, but with a much closer approximation to the position of English or Scottish landowners. But besides the *talukdars* with traditional rights, there was much of the land which had undoubtedly been held by peasant cultivators and village communities. In these regions the "Thomsonian" settlement was a very careful attempt to adjust the several claims of *talukdars*, *ryots*, and village communities, to be regarded as the true proprietors under Government. Some authorities are of opinion that the ideas then current in England led in this case to the claims of *talukdars* being unduly overridden in favour of peasant proprietary to the economic advantage of the peasant, but to the irritation not only of the chiefs, but of the clan sentiment of the population.

With wars perpetually on hand, it was not till the period of expansion was closed by the Burmese War that the Government was able to undertake very much beyond the ordinary business of administering the law, collecting the revenue, and carrying through the land settlements in Bengal and the Deccan. The Thomsonian settlement in the North-West Provinces came later. But the period which followed—in England, the era of the great Reform Bill and of reaction against the old Toryism—was filled with earnest efforts to improve

Efforts for Reform the condition of the peoples of India. These efforts, largely, though by no means exclusively, connected with the rule of Lord William Bentinck, were of two kinds—those directed to the introduction of positive improvements, and those aiming at the suppression of evil but traditional customs and institutions. Among the former the two most noteworthy were, perhaps, the development of education among the natives by the aid

of the State, and the gradual creation of a system of irrigation by canals, to cope with the recurrence of droughts and famines which periodically devastated the whole peninsula.

Participating in the character of both classes of reform was the control established over the primitive pre-Aryan races of certain hill-districts. Hall among the Mers of Merwara, and Outram among the Bhils of Kandesh, won among these peoples—who had never been brought into real subjection either by Mohammedan or Mahratta conquerors—a personal ascendancy, which gave them an extraordinary influence, where hitherto both coercion and conciliation had failed. In both cases the wild folk learned to look upon the Englishmen with an overmastering admiration and trust which led them to an unprecedented docility: so that they were taught for the first time in their history to desire peace and order among themselves, to give up savageries which had held sway from time immemorial, and to develop themselves into a well-conducted, if decidedly primitive, agricultural folk.

Personal Influence with Natives

Of very much the same character were the proceedings of Charles Macpherson among the Khonds in Orissa. In this district, the ghastly practice of offering human sacrifices still prevailed among a people who believed that wise men propitiate the Evil Spirit who is too strong for the Good Spirit. Hence the Khonds argued that if you want a good harvest you must sacrifice human victims to the powers of evil. Macpherson acquired sufficient ascendancy over them to induce them to try the experiment of omitting the propitiatory sacrifice, and telling the goddess to hold the British responsible for their neglect of her interests. The harvest was particularly good, and the British were manifestly none the worse. From this the Khonds inferred that the British were more powerful than the goddess, and the practice of human sacrifices ceased.

Human sacrifices were peculiar to the primitive Dravidian districts. But among the Hindus the practice of "suttee" (*sati*, dedicated), the self-immolation of widows on the husband's funeral pyre, was almost universal. It had, in the course of centuries, acquired a powerful religious sanction, although it was not authorised by the Hindu scriptures; so much so that

INDIA—THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

Government long hesitated before venturing on a measure so antagonistic to popular sentiment as its suppression, contenting themselves with the Mohammedan rule that the act of the widow must be voluntary in fact, as it always was in theory. Proof of compulsion, however, was hard to obtain, though there could be no doubt that compulsion was habitually applied. Bentinck, on his arrival, made up his mind that total suppression must be risked, and, to the general surprise, the edict was accepted without any signs of popular excitement. The native potentates took example from the British, and suttee disappeared.

Brigandage on a gigantic scale was crushed with the suppression of the Pindaris. It remained on a smaller but still sufficiently serious scale in the form of dacoity. India was infested with bands

by strangulation. The natives believed them to be under divine, or rather diabolic, protection; and it was only the curious counter-superstition that the *ikbal* (the luck) of the Company was stronger than the Thug demon that gradually brought the populace to venture on giving evidence. Every conviction of a Thug weakened the popular superstition in their favour. Presently some of the Thugs themselves began to reveal the secrets of their organisation, and Bentinck's administration has the credit of the suppression of the whole gruesome system, its success therein being mainly due to the abilities and energy of Major Sleeman.

The repression of one more evil practice remains to be noted. The mortality among girl-infants was enormous. No one doubted that it was due to infanticide, but to prove



SUTTEE, OR SACRIFICE OF A WIDOW UPON HER HUSBAND'S FUNERAL PYRE

The British Governors long hesitated to attempt the suppression of this practice, but Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, issued an edict making the practice criminal, and obedience followed without resistance.

of Dakaits or Dacoits, who wrought pillage and slaughter and vanished. It was gradually ascertained that there was a regular hereditary caste of Dacoits, members of which formed the nucleus of most of these bands, often in league or association with eminently respectable members of society. Such was the popular fear of these brigands that immense difficulty was experienced in collecting evidence against them. They flourished most in the districts where Western doctrines of evidence prevented summary methods of punishment, and it was only by very slow degrees that the evil was reduced materially, and finally practically stamped out.

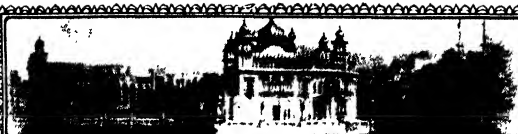
Quite distinct from the bands of Dacoits were the Thugs—another hereditary caste which carried out its murderous operations against individuals, without bloodshed,

that a baby had not died a natural death was next to impossible. The cause was clear. The Hindu was bound by his religion to see that his daughters got married. Conventions had made the cost of marrying a daughter into a crushing expense for a poor man; therefore a poor man could not afford to bring up daughters—and his daughters did not grow up. Merely to penalise a crime which could hardly ever be proved was a hopelessly inadequate remedy. Government set a limit to the expenditure on weddings, and penalised the "religious" beggars whose attendance in swarms—demanding in the name of religion a hospitality which the Hindu dared not refuse—had created a very substantial portion of the cost. The result was that in a very few years the balance of the sexes was restored.



EXPEDITION TO KANDAHAR GOING THROUGH THE BOLAN PASS IN 1838

The main route to Afghanistan by Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass could not be taken owing to the refusal of permission by Ranjit Singh, and the route by Quetta through the Bolan Pass had to be followed. The expedition was successful in its immediate object, and placed Shah Shuja on the throne of Afghanistan in place of Dost Mohammed, but the final result was the tragedy of the march from Kabul, a disaster unparalleled in the history of British arms in India.



THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

THE chapter in the history of the British expansion in India which opens with the governor-generalship of Lord Auckland is very largely concerned with regions and peoples that had hitherto lain beyond the area wherein British activities had mainly been exercised.

Of these countries, two—the Punjab and Sindh—lie within the borders of India proper. Beyond the Punjab is Afghanistan; beyond Afghanistan, Persia; and beyond Persia, Russia. And we must now examine the history of all these during the half-century following the retirement of Warren Hastings, with more or less detail, according as it belongs to or bears upon the history of India herself.

Russia was destined to take the place, formerly held by France, of the one European Power which might attempt to challenge British supremacy in India. That place was lost by France from the day when British naval supremacy was finally established. For Russia alone the overland route might conceivably become some day practicable. In any

Russia as a Rival for India

case, the expansion of Russia must be Asiatic. Geographical conditions made it sure that her boundaries would gradually shift nearer and nearer to the Indian frontier.

But Russia was remote. In effect, Persia and Afghanistan lay between her and the mountain-barriers of India. It was not till Palmerston ruled in the Foreign Office that English statesmen began seriously to feel in her more than in France the Power against whose aggression Great Britain must be on guard. Persia, however, began to feel the Russian pressure at an early date. She felt that she must be overwhelmed by Russia unless she had British support. In the eyes of the British, she stood as a buffer against France rather than Russia. When the Tsar was in alliance with Napoleon, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Britain was ready to support Persia. Hence, Persian treaties were inaugurated in the time of Lord Minto. When France

had ceased to be dangerous, diplomatic arrangements with Persia were in the hands of the home authorities, and they ceased to interest themselves in Persia. Hence, when trouble arose between Russia and Persia in 1826, Britain did not intervene. Thereupon Persia, unprotected, placed herself virtually at Russia's disposal.

Persia at the Feet of Russia

Beyond that was the fact that half the Mohammedans in India regarded the Shah as the head of Islam. Persia began to dream of an Indian empire, to be acquired with Russian support. What Russia dreamed of is a matter for conjecture.

Persia could not approach India without first absorbing Afghanistan. At times Persia and Afghanistan had been under one ruler; but since the days of Ahmed Shah Durani who had triumphed over the Mahrattas at Panipat in 1761—Afghanistan had been independent under the rule of his offspring. When Wellesley reached India in 1798, the Kabul state was credited with great strength and aggressive intentions. It was rent, however, by dissensions and rivalries for the rulership. A powerful family, the Barakzai brothers, became dominant, and set up and deposed the nominal kings of the Durani dynasty. In 1810 the then king, Shah Shuja, was driven from the country, and took up his abode under British protection. After various vicissitudes, Afghanistan was in effect parcelled out among the Barakzai brothers, except Herat, which remained in the hands of one of the Durani family—to whom the Barakzais still professed allegiance. From 1826, one of the brotherhood, at Kabul, Dost Mohammed, was the real monarch, at first with the title of Wazir, and later with that, familiar to British ears, of Amir.

The Buffer State

More than once during these years there had been menaces of Persian aggression in the direction of Herat; but the Barakzais had been largely occupied by alternate feuds and alliances with their

Indian neighbour, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Maharajah Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

The reader may be reminded that the Sikhs had come into being as a reformed Hindu sect early in the sixteenth century. Primarily a heterodox religious body, their disregard of caste separated them from the orthodox Hindus, while they were in even worse odour with the Mussulmans. Hence, forming a close community, they were not long in acquiring the characteristics of a distinct race, while the circumstance compelled them to adopt a military organisation, under a series of leaders or prophets called Gurus, of whom the last, Govind Singh, was killed in 1708. The Sikhs—"disciples"—all bore the name of Singh (lion); in their military capacity they were known as the *Khalsa*, the "army of the free."

Occupying mainly the Punjab and Sirhind, between the upper Jumna and the Sutlej rivers, the Sikhs were perpetually exposed to persecution from the Moguls at Delhi, and to the attack of Afghan invaders. Yet they were not crushed. They formed a sort of confederacy of territorial groups known as *Misls*, whose power was quite out of proportion to their numbers, since they were in a considerable minority among Hindus and Mohammedans. But they did not achieve dominion until the chief of one of the *Misls*, young Ranjit Singh, just when the eighteenth century was passing into the nineteenth, began to get himself recognised as the head of the whole Sikh body in the Punjab.

Rise of Sikh Power

Among the native princes with whom the British came into contact, Ranjit Singh—with two others, Haidar Ali and Madhoji Sindhia—stands out as of altogether exceptional ability. Under his guidance, the Sikhs gradually dominated the entire Punjab, in course of time mastering Multan on the south-west; wresting Peshawar and Kashmir from the Barakzais. With the help of European officers, he so organised the *Khalsa* that it became—in proportion to its numbers—by far the most powerful and best disciplined army that any Indian monarch had controlled. In nothing, however, did his shrewdness

approve itself more thoroughly than in his relations with the British. With keen eyes he watched the progress of affairs in India: he was under no illusions when Holkar seemed for a moment to have bidden successful defiance to the victors of Assaye and Laswari. The initial failures of the Ghurka War set him on the alert for possibilities; but after that he was fully convinced that Fate would one day bring all India under British dominion, and

he was steadily resolved to do nothing which should draw the Punjab into collision with the British during his lifetime.

The territory of the Sindh Amirs was formed by the districts of the Indus basin below the Punjab. The population was chiefly Mohammedan; the state or states were not highly organised, or aggressive; and they paid tribute to the Durani monarchy.

About the year 1808, the British opened diplomatic relations, as we saw before, with Persia, with Kabul, with Lahore, and also with Sindh; in the last case, mainly for the

purpose of opening up the Indus for commerce. When fear of French aggression ceased, the Government of India in turn ceased to interest itself much in Persia or Afghanistan. A friendly Punjab was a secure barrier against the invasion of Afghans or Persians which hardly amounted to a serious menace; and Sindh was in no way a source of anxiety. In that quarter, the only difficulties likely to arise would spring from Ranjit Singh's desire to extend his dominions, that astute ruler being determined to acquire everything which the British did not peremptorily forbid, as they had vetoed his proposal to claim sovereignty in Sirhind; and further, to make a great favour of acceding to their wishes, in return

The Astute Policy of Ranjit Singh

for which concessions in other directions might fairly be claimed. Sindh itself did not come within the range of his aggressive ambitions until after 1818, when he had made himself master of Multan, which had hitherto been subject to Kabul.

By 1836, commercial treaties had been arranged with the Sindh Amirs; Ranjit Singh was still living, and at the height of his power, in the Punjab; Shah Shuja



EARL OF AUCKLAND
The first Earl of Auckland originated the policy that led to the tragedy of the disastrous march from Kabul in January, 1842.

MODERN INDIA—THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

was dwelling at Ludhiana in Sirhind, a futile pretender to the Afghan throne; Dost Mohammed was the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan; and Mohammed Shah, who had recently succeeded to the Persian throne, was meditating vast schemes—to be carried out with Russia at his back—of which the first stage was to be the reconquest of Afghanistan, and the first step the capture of Herat.

Lord Auckland had hardly arrived in India when it became obvious that the affairs of Afghanistan and Persia required serious attention, a necessity due to the fact that everyone was perfectly satisfied that Russia was at the back of Persia in

Fears of Russian Designs

her aggressive designs, and that the Shah was merely the cat-spaw of the Tsar. Dost Mohammed was anxious. He did not like Russia; but he did not like the Sikhs. The new Governor-General was politely indisposed to intervene in favour of Kabul against Lahore, and the Amir hoped to change his attitude by a show of friendliness to Russia. Diplomacy should have been able to reconcile Ranjit Singh and Dost Mohammed, whereby the designs of Persia would have been frustrated. But Auckland's advisers were too successfully

beguiled by the Dost's assumption of friendliness to Russia, and were superfluously anxious to propitiate Ranjit. When they found that the shrewd Sikh had no desire to be presented with Kabul, they be-thought themselves of ejecting Dost Mohammed in favour of Shah Shuja, a measure

which could be carried out only by the employment of a large British force.

Now, in 1837 the scheme, though exceedingly wrong-headed, had the excuse that Persian armies were actually moving on Herat, and had begun the siege before the end of the year. But Herat held out stoutly, under the leadership of a young English officer, Eldred Pottinger, who had made his way thither. The months

passed, the besiegers made no impression, Persia realised that Russia was satisfied to egg her on without taking risks herself, and by the autumn of 1838 the siege broke up, and the whole movement of aggression collapsed. The only possible pretext for direct intervention in Afghanistan had vanished.

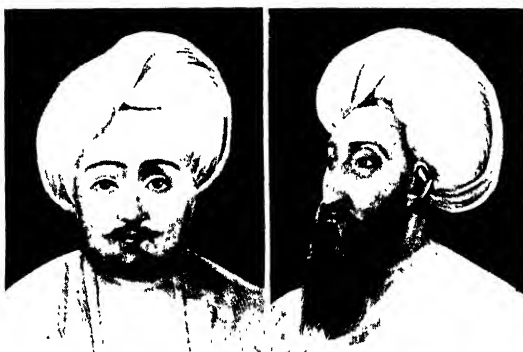
Nevertheless, Auckland and his advisers, in defiance of all competent opinion, pressed on with their design.

Movement Against the Afghans

Ranjit Singh did not refuse assistance, but declined to allow British troops to march through his territory. Hence, the main route by Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass was barred. The second route, across Sindh and Baluchistan, and by Quetta through the Bolan Pass, was adopted, the Khaibar being left to the Sikhs. Thus, not Kabul but Kandahar in the south of Afghanistan became the primary objective of the British expedition.

The Amirs, or chiefs of the Sindh confederacy, and the Baluchi chiefs of Kelat, though theoretically friendly, raised as many obstacles as they dared, openly or secretly, but did not venture on a display of palpable hostility. By the end of March, 1839, the British had gained

possession of Kandahar, without meeting active resistance, and Shah Shuja was duly proclaimed. Some three months later, the army proceeded against Ghazni, a very strong fort, *en route* for Kabul. One of the gates which had not been properly secured, was blown up, enabling the



HYDER KHAN AND DOST MOHAMMED

Hyder was Governor of Ghazni in the troubles of 1838-41, and Dost Mohammed was the real ruler of Afghanistan from 1826 to 1863.

place to be successfully stormed—an operation which caused great elation. Dost Mohammed's followers at Kabul were not prepared to face an engagement, and the Dost himself had no alternative but to flee precipitately across the border. A year later, having redeemed his honour as a soldier by valiant conduct in a skirmish, and feeling his cause to be helpless, he showed his appreciation of

British honour by voluntarily surrendering himself, and retiring to honourable custody in British territory.

It Shah Shuja had been restored at the cost of comparatively little bloodshed, it was still obvious that the acquiescence of his subjects was only skin-deep, and that his throne could be secured only by the

**Surrender
of Dost
Mohammed**

presence of the British bayonets which had won it for him—at least during the months between the flight and the surrender of Dost Mohammed. Five thousand men were left at Kabul, and smaller garrisons at Kandahar and other points. Macnaghten remained at the capital with Shah Shuja, to control the government.

When the Dost surrendered, the quiescence of the Afghans did not lead Auckland to remove his troops, but to withdraw another hardly less important factor in the quiescence—the subsidies to native chiefs and tribes, which had tranquillised them. This form of economy was not appreciated by the Afghans, who were very soon seething with hostility, embittered by the misconduct of some of the troops in the Kabul garrison, which, to make matters more dangerous, had been placed in very inadequately fortified cantonments outside the city, while the general who commanded them was painfully incompetent.

The event might easily have been prophesied. Shah Shuja had entered Kabul in August, 1839. In November, 1841, a riot broke out, and one of the British political officers, Sir Alexander Burnes, was murdered. The troops lay passive in the cantonments while the riot expanded into a general rising. Messages for reinforcements were despatched to Kandahar and Gandamak; but the troops at Gandamak themselves had to fall back on Jellalabad to cover the Khaibars, and the winter weather soon made any advance from Kandahar impossible.

A son of Dost Mohammed, Akbar Khan, was recognised as the leader of the rebel-

lion. Macnaghten, absolutely paralysed by the utter incompetence of the military management, very soon found that annihilation would be the only alternative to acceptance of the most ignominious terms of surrender. The conditions were, that the British should retire, bag and baggage, from Afghanistan, leaving hostages; the Afghans were to facilitate their departure. But Akbar Khan, instead of providing the promised facilities, began to seize stores and to demand more hostages. Macnaghten made a last desperate attempt at a personal negotiation with Akbar, who seized and shot him dead—probably an unpremeditated *dénouement*.

Even now, the military authorities, on whom the control devolved, could see nothing better than to ratify the conven-

tion. The garrisons, however, at Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jellalabad, refused to obey the orders for evacuation. On January 6, all the British subjects at Kabul—some 15,000 souls, soldiers, civilians, and camp-followers, men, women, and children—began their disastrous march, through tempests and snow-storms, towards Jellalabad—all except the hostages. On the 14th, a single survivor reached the goal. None other, save a few who had been added to the hostages, were left alive.

All had fallen victims to the merciless weather or the more merciless Afghans.

The disaster was without parallel in the history of the British in India. It originated in an inexcusable attempt to carry out a policy of interference which was in

**A Great
British
Disaster**

itself a reversal of the principles on which even the most aggressive of Governors-General had acted hitherto. The policy had been carried out with a blind disregard for the most ordinary military precautions, and for the sentiments of the population. When the crisis, thus rendered inevitable, arrived, it was faced with paralytic despair. There were native chiefs—Dost Mohammed was one such, and Ranjit Singh, who died in 1839, had been another—who knew



SHAH SHUJA

The Amir of Afghanistan who was restored to his throne by the help of British arms in 1838.



THE BRITISH FORCES IN POSSESSION OF KANDAHAR IN MARCH, 1848

that these things did not arise from essential decay in the might of the British ; but such men were the exception. In the native mind, British prestige had received a blow from which it would not easily recover.

Auckland was replaced by Ellenborough, whose erratic self-confidence was hardly less dangerous than the feeble dependence of his predecessor. The redemption of British honour lay not with the chiefs of the Government, but with the subordinates. At Jellalabad, the small British garrison maintained a brilliant defence.

At Ghazni, on the other hand, the commandant failed to hold his own ; but at Kandahar, General Nott soon proved himself master of the district. A relief force from India, under Pollock, made its way to Jellalabad. Nevertheless, the orders from headquarters were that both Kandahar and Jellalabad should be evacuated, though the British hostages were still in the hands of the Afghans. Both Nott and Pollock, however, succeeded in finding excuses for evading the order. It was very soon realised that the recovery of the hostages and a decisive demonstra-



GUNS ABANDONED BY DOST MOHAMMED AT URGHUNDEE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1838

tion of British military superiority were imperative conditions precedent of retirement; and Lord Ellenborough saved the face of the Government by suggesting that the withdrawal of both garrisons should be effected via Kabul.

Summer was now well advanced. Neither Nott nor Pollock had any hesitation about accepting the Governor-General's suggestion. Nott marched on Ghazni, and recaptured it. Pollock advanced on Kabul direct, routed Akbar Khan, and entered the capital on September 15. Next day he was joined by Nott. Within a week, the hostages, alive and well, were once more free. Resistance to the British, under competent commanders, was palpably hopeless. British prestige, though weakened, was still saved; yet it was

to threatened, if not to actual, attacks by the several native Powers on the British. The annexation of Sindh was, on the contrary, deliberately engineered by Sir Charles Napier, who himself described it beforehand as a piece of rascality which would be beneficent to Sindh and advantageous to the British. It is extremely unlikely that it would have taken place if the recent blow to British prestige had not called for a conspicuous demonstration of British vigour, still more striking than the retrieval of the disaster in Afghanistan.

The Sindh Amirs were not dangerous, or aggressive. The British were entitled to some gratitude for preserving them from the attack of Ranjit Singh; but that debt had been repaid by their acquiescence, however reluctant, in the high-landed demands made upon them when the Afghan expedition first set out. Then, however, the course of events in Afghanistan produced a natural tendency to kick against the practical domination which was being exercised over them. It was just at the time when Nott and Pollock were reasserting British power in Afghanistan that Napier was sent to control the restive princes in Sindh. Sir



BALUCHI AMBUSH IN THE SIRI KAJOUR PASS

manifest that the whole policy of a military occupation of Afghanistan was a false one, and that annexation was out of the question. In the course of the troubles, the puppet Shah Shuja had been assassinated. The British Government, resolved on evacuation, had the courage to restore Dost Mohammed himself to the throne; and it is to the credit of that shrewd and capable chief that he proved himself fully deserving of the confidence thus late displayed in his loyalty.

The grim blunder of the Afghan episode supplied the motive for the one act of inexcusable aggression in the story of the British expansion in India. The overthrow of the French, of Suraj ud Daulah, of Tippu Sahib, of the Mahrattas, had in every case been clearly attributable

Charles, then, was ready enough to seize any plausible excuse for a campaign.

The opportunity was given by the ambitions and intrigues of Ali Murad, a chief who desired for himself a supreme position instead of a subordinate one. In effect, this man frightened his brother Rustam, one of the actual heads of the confederacy, into evading a meeting with Napier. This "contumacy" was punished by a demand for a treaty which would have meant in effect a surrender of independence. The natives became excited, and attacked the British Residency at Haidarabad on the Indus. Napier thereupon marched on Haidarabad. At Miani he met, and completely routed, with less than 3,000 men, a Baluchi army of 20,000. A week later, resistance was ended by



SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN AT THE HEAD OF THE EXPEDITION TO KABUL IN 1838

another fight at Daba. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities, there would have been no serious difficulty in securing as much control of Sindh as was at all demanded by public policy. After war broke out, it could at least be plausibly maintained that anything short of annexation would be attributed by every native in India to the consciousness of weakness on the part of the British Government. To question the fact that Sindh itself

was all the better for the change of rule would be absurd; but the change itself was effected, on this one occasion, very much on the principles on which the thirsty lamb in the fable was annexed by the hungry wolf. The moralist may note that it bore fruit, incidentally, in the mutiny of several regiments of sepoys, who had hitherto received pay for service in Sindh as on a foreign station. Sindh could in no case have either



SURRENDER OF DOST MOHAMMED TO SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN BEFORE KABUL

offered a prolonged resistance to the British, it aggressively inclined, or have rendered effective aid in a hostile combination. But the Kabul affair had exerted both the *Sikhs of the Punjab* and the most powerful native army outside the Punjab. In the Mahratta War, in the time of Lord Hastings, the Sindhia dynasty at Gwalior had suffered the least. The will to attack the British had not been wanting, but it had so befallen that the disposition of the British troops, when the Pindari War began, had paralysed the Sindhia of the day for hostile action. Hence, when the war was ended,

he alone of the Mahratta chiefs had been allowed to retain practical independence. In 1843 the succession devolved upon an heir by adoption, who was eight years old; and the effective government passed to Tara Bai, the youthful widow of his predecessor. In accordance with precedent, the British Government intervened to impose its own nominee as regent during the minority. Tara Bai threw herself on the support of the army, which dominated the situation.

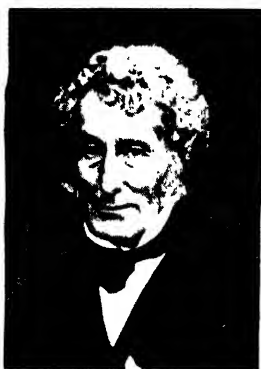
Now at this moment the Khalsa, the Sikh army in the Punjab, also dominated the government in that great district. The army of Gwalior and that of the Punjab were both Hindu. Concerted action between the two might lead to a general movement for the establishment of a Hindu supremacy in India. As yet affairs in the Punjab were too unsettled for such a plan to be put into immediate

execution. As things stood, it was impossible to place the powerful Gwalior army hors de combat before concerted action should become possible. That Tara Bai intended to bid defiance to the British was obvious when the regent nominated by them was driven from the Gwalior territory. Troops were collected at Agra to emphasise a demand for the reduction of the Gwalior army and the increase of the British subsidiary contingent. Tara Bai resolved to defy the British, and her army proceeded to occupy an entrenched position at Maharajpur, while a second force

covered Gwalior on the south-west.

The campaign was short and sharp. On the next day Sir Hugh Gough advanced from Agra, and shattered the force at Maharajpur, after sharp hand to hand fighting. At Punia, a second column, advancing from Jhansi, defeated the other army. Native troops could never rally after a rout, and Sindhia's dom-

inion lay at the mercy of the British. Tara Bai's army was reduced to 9,000 men, and a somewhat larger force of sepoys under British officers was subsidised. The State was placed under the effective control of the British Resident, but only until the young Sindhia should be of age. The point of immediate importance was secured that Gwalior as a hostile military power ceased to be dangerous; whereof the value was very soon to become apparent. For another fierce struggle was at hand, under another Governor-General—



LORD ELLENBOROUGH
Governor-General from 1811 to 1844, during the Afghan troubles.



AKBAR KHAN

A son of Dost Mohammed and the leader of the Afghan rebels in 1841, he shot Sir William Macnaghten, on December 23, 1841.



GENERAL POLLOCK
He persuaded Ellenborough to permit an advance upon Kabul, and successfully carried it out, entering the city on September 13, 1842.

MODERN INDIA—THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

Ellenborough's erratic and bombastic methods created so much uneasiness that, shortly after Maharajpur, he was replaced by the experienced soldier and administrator, Sir Henry Hardinge.

We have remarked that the Sikh portion of the Punjab population had long been organised as an army of co-religionists, known as the Khalsa. The genius of Ranjit Singh, during his forty years' ascendancy, had made the Sikhs masters of the whole Punjab, and had developed the Khalsa into a very powerful and highly organised army. While Ranjit lived, the Khalsa was as loyal to him as the English Army of the Commonwealth was to Oliver Cromwell. On his death, at the beginning of the

troops to the north-west, to meet the emergency when it should come; but his necessary measures of precaution were inevitably suspected of having an aggressive intent.

By the autumn of 1845 it was patent that the Punjab Government was in the hands of the Khalsa, and that the Court was powerless to control it. In December the news came that the Sikhs were advancing in force upon the Sutlej—that they had crossed the river, and invaded British territory, at a point some way above the British advanced post on its southern bank at Ferozpur.

There the force of 7,000 men would be able to hold its own, but it was isolated. If



BATTLE OF MIANI ON FEB. 17, 1843, BETWEEN NAPIER'S FORCE AND THE BALUCHIS

Afghan troubles, that army began to realise its own potentialities of political power, the more keenly as it found intriguers for the succession bidding for its support. But it was still like Cromwell's army when Cromwell was gone; it lacked a head and hand to control and direct; it was at first inert. Its record of victories, however, disposed it instinctively to foreign aggression; the disasters in Afghanistan imbued it with a belief that it was a match for the British. The Gwahar campaign checked its arrogance, but only for a time. It was increasingly obvious that, unless a new Ranjit Singh should arise, it would presently force a struggle. Hardinge gradually brought up

this force were "contained" by a sufficient body, the main Sikh army would advance through Sirhind. If it did so successfully the British might find themselves face to face with a general Hindu rising. But, although it had been impossible to bring up to the north-west anything like an overwhelming force, Hardinge and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, were prepared for the emergency. A week after the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej converging British columns to the number of 10,000 men had advanced and formed a junction at Mudki. There, on December 18, was fought the first battle, with the advance column of the Sikhs, numbering

probably from 20,000 to 30,000. The Sikhs were defeated and fell back, leaving seventeen guns; the victors lost nearly 1,000 men.

The object now was to effect a junction with a force from Firozpur, but the Sikhs occupied a very strong entrenched position at Firozshah, on the line of march between Mudki and Firozpur. Here they were found by Gough and Hardinge on the morning of December 21. The former wished to attack at once. He was overruled by Hardinge, who felt that failure would mean annihilation, and elected to await the arrival of the contingent from Firozpur. Hence the attack was not opened

till four o'clock in the afternoon of the shortest day in the year. When darkness fell, the Sikhs still held their entrenchments, and there was great risk that in the morning they would be reinforced. But when, in the morning, the assault was renewed, it was found that the Sikhs were already in full retreat. Their expected reinforcements appeared, but followed the example of the main body; which was well for the exhausted British troops. Firozshah was by no means the most signal victory, but was probably the most critical of British battles in India since Plassey and Buxar. After it, the overthrow of the Khalsa

was a certainty. The Sikhs, however, who believed that their leaders had betrayed them at Firozshah, were not yet beaten, though forced back to the line of the Sutlej. Even their power of acting on

the offensive was not broken till they met with a severe defeat at the hands of Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal, a month after Firozshah. The decisive blow was not struck till February 10th, when, in a furious conflict at Sobraon,

where they held the passage of the river, the Khalsa was completely routed, beyond all hope of rallying. The struggle from first to last had been desperately contested. On the night of Firozshah, its issue had even been extremely doubtful. But for the Maharajpur campaign, two years earlier, a great hostile force would have been lying at Gwalior on the British flank. Had it been there to strike when the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej!

After a conflict so provoked and so terminated on Indian soil, annexation would have followed as a matter of course had the victors been any one except the British Government. But the Sindh affair was unique in British annals. Hardinge, like nearly all his predecessors, very much preferred maintaining native governments to absorbing territories, and he made it his aim now to restore a native government in the Punjab. Yet merely to retire and leave anarchy behind was out of the question. The self-seeking court, and the patriotic sirdars or chiefs, had alike found themselves unable

to control the Khalsa. It was a condition of government on which the sirdars themselves insisted that British troops should remain to preserve order. The result was that here again a provisional



VISCOUNT GOUGH AND VISCOUNT HARDINGE

Viscount Gough was commander-in-Chief in India, 1843-9, and won the battles of Mudki, Firozshah, Sobraon and Chillianwalla. Viscount Hardinge was Governor-General, 1844-7, and himself took the field as second in command to Sir Hugh, afterwards Viscount Gough.



SHER SINGH

The leader of the Sikhs whom Gough defeated in the hard-fought battle of Chillianwalla.

MODERN INDIA THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

government was set up until the boy Maharaja, Dhulip Singh, should be of age. A Council of Regency was appointed. Henry Lawrence was made British Resident and virtually Dictator; the Khalsa was reduced to 30,000 men, the rest being disbanded; no fewer than 250 guns were surrendered, including those captured in the campaign; there was the inevitable indemnity, and cession of some territory. British troops were to remain in the Punjab for a year. At the end of the year the sirdars once more declared that, if they were withdrawn, the country would again be plunged into anarchy; and they stayed.

The indigenous notion of the meaning of a central government is aptly summed up in the remark of a Sikh sirdar—that

General perhaps the most remarkable of the whole series, but as yet untried and new to his post. The double change precipitated a new crisis.

The resignation of Mulraj, the native governor of Multan, led to two British officers being sent thither to take temporary charge. On their arrival, Mulraj's troops rose, and the officers were murdered. Multan was in revolt against the constituted government, but proclaimed its defiance of the British domination—which the British themselves were exercising only temporarily and with reluctance, as admittedly the only alternative to anarchy. But the domination was displeasing to the Khalsa—which was convinced that its previous overthrow had



BATTLE OF FIROZSHAH, ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL IN BRITISH INDIAN HISTORY

a certain district "has not paid its tribute for three years; it is time to send an army." Under the vigorous but sympathetic rule of Lawrence and the officers whom he posted to the frontier districts, a different order of ideas began to be instilled into the native mind. Had that wise and energetic rule been continued, it is possible that Hardinge's aim might have been achieved, and a strong and public-spirited native administration have been established. But all too soon Lawrence's health broke down, and he was replaced in January, 1848, by a Resident who, though an able man, lacked the unique genius which gave Lawrence an influence so extraordinary; and at the same moment Hardinge himself was replaced by Lord Dalhousie, a Governor-

been due not to its own military inferiority, but to the treachery of its commanders—and to many of the sirdars who found anarchy profitable. The British adopted the technically correct course of requiring the Punjab Government and troops to restore order and avenge the murder of the British officers who had been acting in its service. In the opinion of Lord Gough the commander-in-chief, either the Punjab Government was loyal and could and would suppress the revolt, or it was disloyal, and the revolt would inevitably develop into a conflagration which could be dealt with only by an army of conquest. The despatch of small columns would only precipitate the conflagration, and bring about immediate disaster. The Punjab Government professed



DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS AT THE BATTLE OF ALIWAL BY SIR HARRY SMITH, JANUARY 28, 1846

loyalty, but did not hasten to strike. A young frontier officer, Herbert Edwardes, at the head of a few loyal Pathans and by no means loyal Sikhs, on his own responsibility made a dash for Multan, and drove Mulraj's troops within the walls in June. He was joined by the Government forces under Sher Singh, and soon after

**Operations
Against the
Punjab**

by a British column from Lahore; but it was matter of doubt whether Sher Singh and his Sikhs would remain loyal. In fact, in September, they declared in favour of the rebels, and withdrew from the siege; and Sher Singh set about calling the Khal a to arms to recover the independence of the Punjab. The British force remained before Multan, but there was now no prospect of its early capture. By this time Lord Gough's preparations for a great invasion—should it prove necessary—were almost completed. The rising of the Khalsa put the necessity beyond doubt. The nearer districts of the Punjab were under control; Sher Singh concentrated his forces beyond the River Chenab. On its banks at Ramnagar there was a sharp skirmish, but the Sikh position was too strong for the passage to be forced. A few days later, however, a column effected the passage higher up the river, and engaged the enemy at Sadulapur; the result of which was that Sher Singh fell

back on a strong position at Rassul, and Gough carried his whole force over the Chenab.

Gough wished to await the fall of Multan and the arrival of the British column which would then be released; but, under pressure from headquarters, he presently resolved to advance on Sher Singh. The two armies met at Chillianwalla on January 13, 1849. Here was fought another of those desperate and sanguinary battles which distinguish the campaigns against the Sikhs—a battle which was so far a victory that the British remained masters of the field, and the Sikhs fell back on their entrenched position at Rassul, which could neither be turned nor stormed.

Meanwhile, the force before Multan had been reinforced by a column from Bombay, and Multan was captured. Sher Singh resolved to march on Lahore, and evacuated Rassul, evading Gough, who fell back, to intercept his advance, on the Chenab near Gujerat. There the British were joined by the column from Multan, and the decisive battle of the campaign was fought, the Sikh army being completely and decisively shattered.

Except Henry Lawrence, there was probably no competent authority in India who doubted that annexation had now

MODERN INDIA—THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

become a sheer necessity; since, except Henry Lawrence, there was no one capable of asserting the personal ascendancy which might ultimately have reconciled the conflicting factors in the Punjab, and have welded them into a stable governing force. The young Maharaja was pensioned off. The Khalsa, conscious at last that it had been squarely beaten in a square fight, acquiesced in the fate it had brought upon itself; the sirdars sombrely bowed to the inevitable. The Punjab became a British province, and very soon a recruiting ground for the staunchest native regiments, and a training field for the best British officers, military and civil, in the service of the Company, and ultimately of the Crown. Last, and hardest to vanquish of the native Powers which have challenged British supremacy, the Sikh state was transformed into the strongest buttress of the supremacy which it had challenged. To effect

British Annexation of Punjab

the transformation, the best brains and the best troops were concentrated in the new province; which was well for the province, but not so well for the security of the great dependency in general, though the injurious results did not become evident till after the withdrawal of Dalhousie's master-hand.

Thus Dalhousie's governorship opened with a fierce war, conducted to a triumphant issue and closed by the absorption

of the Punjab under British rule, even as Wellesley had begun by overthrowing the Sultan of Mysore.

One other military conquest marks Dalhousie's era—a conquest for which, as of the Punjab, it cannot be said that any aggressiveness of the Governor-General was responsible. It has been observed in

Trouble with the Burmese a previous chapter that the infantile ignorance and inflated insolence of the Burmese monarchy forced the British into war and annexation beyond the Bay of Bengal in the time of Lord Amherst. For the second, but not the last time, the same thing happened now. The Burmese authorities habitually ignored the treaty they had entered upon, and subjected the British mercantile community in Rangoon and on the coast to persecution which threatened to drive them from the country. Protests were disregarded; British envoys were deliberately insulted. An ultimatum was at last sent to Ava at the beginning of 1852, by no means unreasonable in its terms.

The ultimatum was ignored. An expedition was swiftly and thoroughly organised. A fortnight after the time limit named in the ultimatum, Rangoon was captured. Six months later, when the dangerous summer season was over, the army advanced to Prome, on the way to Ava, and took it, as well as the town of Pegu in the south. Dalhousie did not



BRITISH VICTORY OVER SHER SINGH AT CHILLIANWALLA ON JANUARY 13, 1849

wish to extend the borders of the Indian dominion beyond India proper. He stayed the advance; he made no treaty with a Power to which treaties were waste paper. But nine-tenths of the population hailed the prospect of the substitution of British rule for that of Ava—having before them as an object lesson the prosperity of the

**Extending
the Empire
in Burma**

previously ceded provinces—and policy, in the Governor-General's eyes, forbade the restoration to an Oriental potentate of districts in which the British flag was flying. Accordingly, he announced by proclamation, that the province of Pegu was annexed to the British Dominions, and proceeded, without further hindrance from Ava, to establish the British Government therein.

Dalhousie's conquests, important as they were, were unsought. The same thing cannot be said of his annexations by legal process, unless we except Oudh. He was the first Governor-General who deliberately laid it down that a native state could lawfully be brought under direct British rule, the presumption was in favour of annexation. The principle hitherto acted upon—apart from Sindh—had been, that so long as the maintenance of a decent and unaggressive native government in a state was practicable, the presumption was against annexation.

Now, since Wellesley's time, the British had claimed that status of general suzerainty which had previously been recognised as an attribute of the Moguls. According to Indian precedent, expressed in terms of Western law, the throne and the rule of a native state escheated to the suzerain on the lapse of legitimate heirs. By Hindu law, springing from the religious doctrine that for the welfare of a man's soul it was necessary that his offspring should perform certain religious functions when he was dead, a man who had no heirs of his body might adopt an heir, who thereby acquired all the rights

**Native Rules
Regarding
Succession**

which ordinarily passed to the natural heir. The Mohammedan over-lords, however, had declined to allow political status to be thus passed on without qualification, refusing to recognise an adoption to which their assent had not been obtained, sometimes granting the assent on terms, sometimes refusing it absolutely. Hitherto, the British had not, in practice, exercised the right of refusing assent altogether, but

it was impossible to question that they were legally entitled to do so if they thought fit.

Now, it was an obvious fact that order, justice, law, and material prosperity, prevailed much more under British than under the best native administration. Therefore, Dalhousie held that when the law warranted him in substituting a British for a native administration, the change ought to be carried out in the best interests of the people: provided always that no special considerations existed which, in a particular case, might outweigh the general principle. And as it befell, the years of his rule provided an exceptional series of important cases in which the lapse of natural heirs involved an escheat, if the suzerain should decline to recognise an heir by adoption. By the free exercise of a legal right, undisputed but hitherto rarely enforced, extensive territories might be given the benefits of direct British rule. In judging Dalhousie's principle, however, it should be remarked that the rule had been formally laid down, five-and-twenty years before, that adoptions were not to be recognised as a matter

**Dalhousie's
Pretext for
Annexation**

of right, but only as a matter of grace. Dalhousie did not refuse to sanction adoption as a matter of course. When the question arose in regard to Kerauli, a small but very ancient state in Rajputana, the adoption was recognised; mainly, indeed, on the plea that Kerauli was not a dependent principality, but a protected ally. But in two important instances considerable ill-feeling was engendered by the refusal of the privilege, in both of which Dalhousie had a very strong technical case. The first was that of Sattara. When Lord Hastings annexed the Peshwa's dominions, he had bestowed the principality of Sattara on the heir of the house of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Power. Twenty-one years later, it had been found necessary to remove the Raja, whose throne was transferred to his brother. Repeated applications on the part of this prince for permission to adopt an heir had been consistently refused. When he adopted an heir without permission, the Governor-General was quite obviously within his rights in refusing recognition.

Not quite so clear was the case of Jhansi, in Bandelkhand, ceded to the British by the Peshwa in an exchange of territory a few years earlier. Here, inheritance by

MODERN INDIA—THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

adoption had already been once refused; but a kinsman of the deceased Raja had been allowed to succeed. When the throne again fell vacant in 1853, adoption was refused, and Jhansi was absorbed—to the wrath of the Rani, the deceased ruler's widow.

Different from these was the case of the great Mahratta State of Nagpur. For many years it had been badly ruled. The Blonsla, who died in 1853, left no son, and had himself declined to adopt an heir. Dalhousie had the alternatives of selecting a successor or accepting the lapse; he chose the latter course. The importance of the Nagpur affair lay in the fact that this was one of the great semi-independent principalities, and its absorption by the British could hardly fail to be interpreted as a first step in the policy of extending the practice of annexation on a technical plea to the greater as well as to the minor states, a prospect peculiarly alarming to Gwalior, owing to the singular fact that no Sindhuia, since the first, had been the heir of his predecessor's body: every one had been an adoptive son. The justice of the annexation cannot be disputed, but it filled every native court in India with alarm. The series culminated with the annexation of Oudh, one of the two great Mohammedan principalities still in existence, the second being that of the Nizam. From the days of Warren Hastings, the Nawabs had been consistently loyal to the British, who had later rewarded them with the Royal title. But whether as Nawabs or kings, they had traded on their services and mis-governed persistently, in happy confidence that, however much the British might threaten, they would never take the final step of abolishing the dynasty—much as the Turk at Constantinople treats the European Powers.

Two More Native States Annexed

Matters, however, at length reached such a pass that a merely formal retention of status by the king became the only alternative to his deposition and the annexation of the province. Dalhousie personally favoured the former course, but was sufficiently doubtful to refer the case home. The home authorities decided in

favour of annexation. But the process had alarmed the native governing classes throughout India, since they saw their own ascendancy endangered, alike in the Hindu and the Mussulman districts. Dalhousie was conscious of the risks,

Rousing of Native Alarm

but the Home Government, absorbed in the Crimean War, was oblivious of the fact that an emergency was being created. The organisation of the Punjab, first under the rule of the brothers Henry and John Lawrence and later under John without Henry—whose theories were too independent for a chief so masterful as Dalhousie—bore splendid fruit when the

crisis arrived, in the loyalty both of the actual Sikh regiments and of the frontier levies of hill-men. The benefits of British rule came home more forcibly in that province to the mass of the population. The Governor-General's progressive energy was exercised with great advantage to the peaceful classes throughout the British dominion. Education was vigorously advanced: roads were built; irrigation by canals was pressed forward; railways were planned, though their active construction received sanction from home hardly



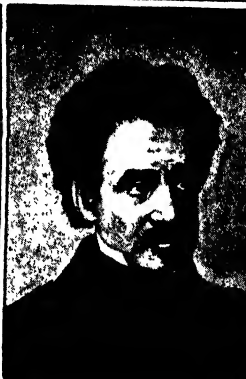
SIR JOHN LAWRENCE
Whose viceroyalty in India, 1863-9, was the culmination of a brilliantly successful administrative career.

in time for much to be done before Dalhousie's retirement: the same thing may be said of the telegraph. It is worth noting that in both these last cases, the immediate effect was damaging to the British Government; the superstitious terrors of the population being aroused, and the most grotesque suspicions prevailing as to the deep and dark designs of the Government.

But the brilliant achievements were patent to intelligent eyes; the alarm and irritation, unreasonable and reasonable, were hidden beneath the surface. When Dalhousie retired at the beginning of 1856, worn out by his own ceaseless and exhausting energy, he was under the firm conviction that a period of peace, progress, and prosperity was secured. History presents not a few instances of such hopes and convictions proving the precursors of a cataclysm; rarely, if ever, has the cataclysm been more sudden, more unexpected, more startling.



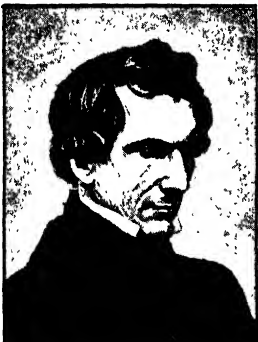
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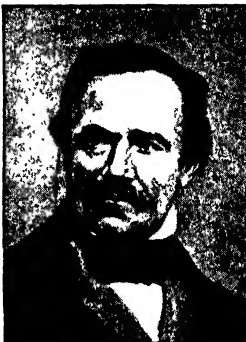
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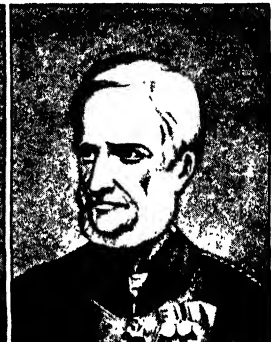
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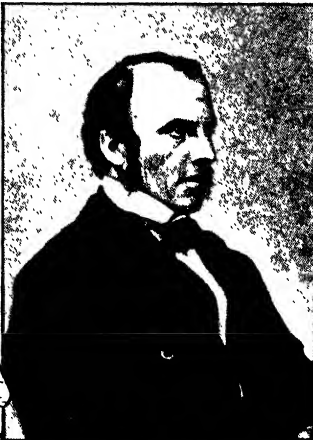
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SIR JAMES OUTRAM



SIR HENRY HAVELOCK



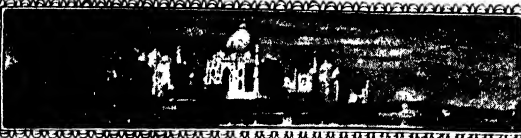
EARL CANNING



NANA SAHIB

Sir Colin Campbell, the son of a Glasgow carpenter, became Lord Clyde, and was Commander-in-chief in India and suppressed the Mutiny. Inglis succeeded Sir Henry Lawrence in command at Lucknow, which he defended during the siege. Neill defended Cawnpore, and was shot in the advance to relieve Lucknow, in the defence of which Lawrence met his death. Outram defended Lucknow during the second period of its siege, and Havelock was the hero of the first relief. During Canning's Governor-Generalship the Mutiny occurred, and Nana Sahib was its chief instigator.

NOTABLE FIGURES IN THE INDIAN MUTINY



THE STORY OF THE MUTINY

BEFORE we enter upon the account of the cataclysm itself, we shall do well to call to mind the very peculiar conditions under which the British Empire in India had been acquired. Here was a vast territory, the size of Europe without Russia and Turkey, where the great majority of the inhabitants had for many centuries been Hindus by religion, parcelled out into kingdoms which had never been touched by the European conception of political nationality. Over a great part of these kingdoms Mohammedan invaders, largely of Tartar origin, had established military supremacies. Finally, a Tartar Mohammedan dynasty had acquired a formal sovereignty over the whole peninsula. At the moment when disintegration had set in, and the Mogul Empire was again breaking up into a congeries of independent states—sometimes of Hindus free from the Mussulman yoke, sometimes under Mussulman domination—a European Power, utterly alien to Hindu and Mussulman alike, almost by accident and without premeditation made itself master of two great provinces, Bengal and the Carnatic where its dominion was maintained chiefly by means of sepoy armies—native soldiers commanded by the alien officers. The new Power came into collision with one after another of the native states; every collision resulted in a greater or less acquisition of territory, till half the peninsula was under its direct administration and the other half acknowledged it as legally paramount. The alternative to this alien domination was chaos. The Europeans treated all sections of the population with even-handed justice, sternly curbing the predatory classes, fostering material prosperity, and honestly striving to rule sympathetically, subject always to the necessity of maintaining its own paramountcy, but always with a consciousness that the mental and moral attitudes of the Oriental and the Occidental are mutually unintelligible. But on the native mind British policy did

The Eve of the Mutiny

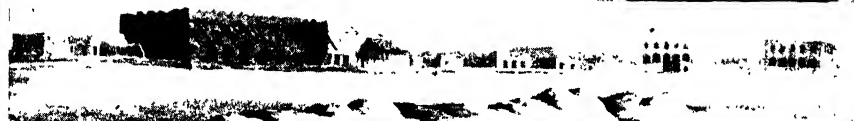
not produce the impression of that disinterestedness on which the dominant race prided itself. Of what use were professions that the British had no desire to extend their dominions, when almost every decade found fresh provinces absorbed into British territory? Mohammedans and Mahrattas saw in the new lords of India only their own lust of conquest carried to a more successful issue; saw only that their own dominion, or hope of dominion, was rent from them by the alien—that they were subjects where they might have been masters. The Brahman found himself shut out from the political career which even under Mohammedan princes had been open to him. The military classes had to be content with their pay as sepoys, unsupplemented by miscellaneous looting. The benefits of British rule applied mostly to the helpless masses who had no choice but to acquiesce in any rule, good or bad, which might be imposed upon them; and even to them the new rule was alien, unintelligible, suspect, because it did not square with their traditions.

Native Attitude to Britain

Beyond all this, the whole number of members of the ruling race formed but an infinitesimal fraction of the entire population. Even in the British provinces the sepoys outnumbered the white soldiers by five to one. The dependent provinces were protected, and controlled, partly by their own native levies, partly by more sepoy regiments, the British "contingents." The whole highly artificial fabric of the alien dominion rested primarily on the active loyalty, or, at least, on the quiescence, of these great masses of native soldiery which, trained to fight by the aliens themselves, had learnt to believe in their own efficiency.

The Basis of British Dominion

It is obvious, then, that there were a number of great separate interests to which British rule was, or seemed to be unfavourable. The strength of the position lay in the fact that the separate



SCENES OF THE MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE

The view at the top of the page is that of the house in which the women and children were massacred; the well into which many of the victims were thrown is now surmounted by the memorial seen on the right. The centre picture shows the entrenchments of Sir Hugh Wheeler, and the fourth represents the interior of the building after the massacre, the floor strewn with clothing, books, and other articles, while everything was soaked in blood

MODERN INDIA—THE STORY OF THE MUTINY

interests were mutually antagonistic. The condition of a movement, with any chance of success, against the British *Raj* was the provision of an apparently common aim which should unite those interests. No such unifying aim was producible, and hence the British power survived the attack.

But with so many elements of unrest in existence, it was possible for one interest or another to believe that it could take advantage of a general destructive movement, and of the general scramble which would follow, to come by what it considered its own—provided that the destructive movement could be made sufficiently general. The first thing to be done for bringing this about was to foster the spirit of animosity against the British, and, above all, to kindle the flame of revolt in the sepoy army.

Now, Dalhousie's annexations had raised the alarm of the governing classes in the dependent states to the highest pitch. Out of the dangerously small number of white troops a dangerously large proportion was absorbed by the most recently conquered province in the far north-west. Never had the country lain so much at the mercy of the sepoys. There was a new Governor-General, Lord Canning, in the saddle. British officialdom was sublimely unconscious of danger. Most of its chiefs had learnt to depend on orders from headquarters. Nine-tenths of the officers of the Army were pathetically confident in the loyalty of their own regiments. Canning's accession to office was almost immediately followed by a quarrel with Persia, and an expedition which withdrew some of the best officers, and still further reduced the number of white troops. It remained only to provide the sepoys with an adequate grievance which could be used by astute intriguers as a lever to set them in motion.

The lever was duly provided. The great bulk of the sepoys in Hindustan were high-caste Hindus, more sensitive on the subject of caste than any other. The obligations of caste were very inconvenient for purposes of military service—e.g., a man suffered heavy caste penalties if he crossed the sea. From time immemorial agitators had periodically taught the sepoys to believe that the British intended to Christianise them by forcing them to lose caste. Now, Canning's

advisers persuaded him to issue the General Service Enlistment Act, which required the sepoy to enlist for service overseas as well as in the Peninsula—a measure dictated by the demand for troops to serve in Pegu. At a stroke, the Hindustani sepoys, soldiers from generation to generation, saw their sons either

Beginning of the Ferment debarred from their hereditary career or doomed to loss of caste. Now, the event showed clearly that a revolutionary Mussulman organisation was at work which hoped by means of a general revolt to snatch a restoration of the Mogul supremacy. But this faction could not afford to let its own purposes be known, since the Hindus generally, and the Mahrattas in particular, would have had no inclination to overthrow the British Raj merely to replace it by a Mohammedan dominion. What is tolerably apparent is this—that the organisation existed, that it had a definite policy, and that it sought to precipitate a general revolution in order to give its policy an opportunity. It meant to make a catspaw of the Hindustani sepoy; whereas the disaffected Hindus had no policy at all, and no organisation.

When the explosion came, the premature announcement of the Mogul policy went far to check the dependent Hindu states from throwing in their lots with the revolution, giving the British time to recover from the first sudden shock, and limiting the actual area of the struggle mainly, though not quite exclusively, to Hindustan proper. But the Hindustani sepoy had already committed himself before the Mogul plot was exposed.

Still one more touch was required to bring the sepoys up to mutiny point. It was provided by an inexcusable departmental blunder, the incident of the greased cartridges. The troops were armed with a new rifle, which required greased cartridges, the ends of which had to be bitten off before use. A rumour spread that the grease employed was the fat of oxen and swine. Swine's flesh is unclean to the Mohammedans; the cow is sacred to the Hindu, who would lose caste by tasting its flesh. Whether true or not, there was enough evidence in support of the rumour to give it universal credence in the ranks. The mischief was done, though no more of

Alarm of the Native Potentates

Caste and Cartridges



ADVANCE OF THE SIEGE TRAIN FROM FIROZPUR

the offending consignment of cartridges were issued.

Still the outbreak was delayed, and still the authorities in general declined to believe that any special precautions were necessary. The story of the cartridges was spread abroad in January, 1857. In February, one regiment refused to handle the cartridges issued to it. In March another regiment mutined for the same reason, and was soon after disbanded. In

April, there was another mutiny, this time at Mirat, a great military station in the Delhi district, where the heir of the Moguls still held court. The mutineers were imprisoned.

Then the storm burst—probably earlier than the agitators had intended. On May 10, the sepoys at Mirat rose *en masse*, shot their officers, killed every European on whom they could lay hands, marched on Delhi, and proclaimed the restoration of



TROOPS OF THE NATIVE ALLIES ON THE MARCH DURING THE MUTINY



FIRST BENGAL FUSILIERS MARCHING DOWN FROM DAGSHAI IN THE PUNJAB

the Mogul Empire. From Delhi, down the Ganges basin, through Oudh to Benares, the flame spread. Bengal proper, from Patna to the coast, was tolerably secure. Bihar, the district from Benares to Patna, at first remained quiet. Outside the district where the Mogul and Mohammedan tradition was strongest, the troops of the dependant princes were ready to make common cause with the mutineers; the princes themselves, whether from loyalty

or from distrust of a Mogul programme, were not. In the Punjab, by the prompt and vigorous action of the officers, sometimes supported by white troops, the doubtful regiments were disarmed, while the irregular frontier levies were devoted to their British officers, and shared with the Sikhs themselves an intense aversion from the Hindustani sepoys.

But between Delhi and Patna there were only five white regiments and a few



MUTINEERS SURPRISED BY HER MAJESTY'S 9TH LANCERS

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

artillerymen, distributed at Mirat, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Dinapur, at each of which there were three or four times the number of sepoys; while at sundry other stations there were sepoys, but no European soldiers. During the month

Growth of the Mutiny

following the outbreak at Mirat, practically all those regiments, except at Dinapur, had declared against the British. The main points of the mutineer concentration were Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, the last being the capital of the recently annexed kingdom of Oudh. At Gwalior, Sindhia found himself unable to maintain control of the troops, which set off to

Delhi, in which there were some 30,000 sepoys. At the end of the same month the small Lucknow force of British and loyal sepoys was shut up in the Residency, which Henry Lawrence, with exceptional prescience, had carefully prepared for a defence. Lower down the Ganges, Benares and Allahabad were already secured by Neill and Brasyer.

At Cawnpore, as at Lucknow, the garrisons included a large number of women and children, and at the former post a desperate resistance was maintained for a while in an almost indefensible position. It had already fallen before the actual siege of the Lucknow Residency



THE RE-TAKING OF DELHI BY COLONEL HODSON ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1857

operate on their own account. Jhansi also revolted; and the siege of Cawnpore was mainly the work of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Mahratta Peshwa, Baji Rao, whom Lord Hastings had dethroned and pensioned very handsomely nearly forty years before. The Nana chose to entertain a bitter grudge against the British because, though he succeeded to Baji Rao's great estates, the cash pension was not also continued to him, although it had been very expressly granted to the ex-Peshwa for the term of his own life only.

By the middle of June a small British force, increased by the end of the month to over 6,000 men by troops from the Punjab, had planted itself on the Ridge before

began. The garrison, with no prospect of holding out long, or of early relief, accepted the terms under which Nana Sahib promised to convey them in safety down the river to Allahabad. They were no sooner embarked than they were massacred by volleys from the banks, followed up by

Tragedy of Cawnpore a general slaughter of the men, except the very few who managed to escape. The women and children were taken back prisoners to Cawnpore, and the bulk of the sepoys marched to join their comrades before Lucknow.

From this point, then, we have to observe first the siege of Delhi with its great native army by the small but



HODSON KILLING THE BLOODTHIRSTY SONS AND GRANDSON OF THE KING OF DELHI

increasing British force, the siege of the Lucknow Residency by a second great sepoy army, and the operations of Havelock who moving to take command at Allahabad was about to lead a force of 2000 men through the heart of the disturbed districts to the relief of Lucknow. With regard to the last it may be remarked that the mutiny very shortly spread to Dinapore, whereby for the time communica-

tions were interrupted between Allahabad and Bengal.

The relation between these three centres or spheres should be noted. The crucial point was Delhi. If the British on the Ridge should be overwhelmed the revolt would certainly become universal; if they succeeded in capturing Delhi the blow would prevent that catastrophe. Lucknow, less important in itself, detained a great



STORMING THE BATTERIES AT BADLI SERAI ON THE HEIGHTS ROUND DELHI



LOYAL SEPOYS AT RIFLE DRILL

mutineer army from marching on Delhi; and its fall would also be the signal for the Oudh clansmen, as distinct from the sepoy, to join the rising. If it fell before Delhi were captured, the British on the Ridge could hardly escape annihilation. How long Lucknow would be able to hold out would depend very largely on the success of Havlock's relief operations.

The loyalty of the Sikh princes of Sirhind kept open the communications between the Punjab and Delhi; but John Lawrence was for some while too anxious as to the condition of the new province to allow any quantity of troops to move from it. Before the middle of August, four attacks on the Ridge were made in force, and repulsed. The British were then strengthened by the arrival from the Punjab of Nicholson with a flying column; at the beginning of September, the long awaited and very much needed siege-train arrived



CHIEF OF THE SIKHS
Who remained staunch to the British

from Ferozpur, an attempt to intercept it having been brilliantly frustrated. By a series of skilful and daring engineering operations, the work of Baird Smith and Alexander Taylor, breaching batteries were brought to bear, on the 11th, and the cannonade went on for two days. On the morning of the 14th, by an act of desperate courage, Home and Salkeld succeeded in blowing up the Kashmir Gate. Three out of four assaulting columns stormed the ramparts, and made then footing good; then by degrees, on the ensuing days, the British forced their way into the city; on the 21st they were masters of the whole of it, and held the Mogul himself a prisoner. A portion of the mutineer army made good its retreat or flight towards Lucknow.

During these three months the garrison of the Residency in the Oudh capital had held out stubbornly. Nearly half the fighting force were loyal sepoy, many of them Sikhs; the non-combatants were nearly as numerous as the



MUTINOUS SEPOYS WITHIN THEIR DEFENCES

MODERN INDIA—THE STORY OF THE MUTINY

combatants. The skilful preparations made the ramparts secure against assault, provided that they could be adequately manned; while the great army of besiegers did not know how to use their artillery effectively for breaching. There was ample

Terrible Days of Lucknow

store of grain. The dangers from which the garrison suffered were: the immense strain on every member of the garrison, owing to the fact that the enemy were in immense force, under shelter, at many points only a few yards from the walls, while the defenders could take only brief spells of rest; and the almost overwhelming risk of breaches being effected by

reached such a point that some of the loyal sepoys actually gave warning that, unless relief arrived, or was certainly at hand at the end of September, they would not indeed surrender the place, but would march out and make terms for themselves.

While the British were grimly holding grip before Delhi, and exploding the enemy's mines at Lucknow, Havelock, with his 2,000 men—of these, too, nearly a fourth were Sikhs—was making desperate efforts first to rescue the captives at Cawnpore, and then to fight his way through Oudh to Lucknow. The insurgents—sepoys, or followers of Nana Sahib—



MEETING OF HAVELOCK, OUTRAM, AND COLIN CAMPBELL AT THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

mines. The vigilance of the engineers was such that no fewer than twenty-five mines were countered and destroyed in sixty-five days; others were mis-directed or exploded harmlessly. Only one accomplished its purpose, and created a breach; but the mutineers seem to have been so surprised at this success that the breach itself was once again made defensible before they attempted to rush it. Perhaps the greatest of all the dangers lay in the strain on the nerves of the defenders owing to the extreme difficulty of obtaining from outside any news on which reliance could be placed. Matters

faced him repeatedly, to be repeatedly routed. On one day he fought two separate engagements; on another, three. Nothing could stay the pauseless advance till he reached Cawnpore—to find a ghastly shambles. At the last moment, the Nana had ordered the women and children to be butchered in cold blood. That appalling crime aroused such a passion of vengeful rage as has, perhaps, no parallel in British history.

A few days later, Havelock crossed the river; but cholera was ravaging his now greatly reduced force. Wherever the

Brilliant Advance of Havelock

mutineers faced him. he smote them—only to find fresh forces barring the way. Report came that the Gwalior army was moving to threaten his rear. Dinapur had mutinied. He found himself with no choice but to fall back again across the Oudh border to Cawnpore. The Oudh *talukdars*, or chiefs, thought he had abandoned that province, and now allowed their retainers to join the mutineers, which they had not hitherto done. On the other hand, the rising between Allahabad and Dinapur was checked and suppressed. Presently Sir James Outram was advancing with fresh regiments to join Havelock. The junction was effected on September 15, at the moment when the Delhi force was storming the Mogul capital. The advance through Oudh was renewed, the force now numbering 3,000 men. On the 23rd it was four miles from the Residency, with the mutineer army between. On the 25th it fought its way in. There was no question now that, thus reinforced, the place could hold out till a technical "relief" should be effected, though the siege was not yet raised, nor any part of its garrison able to be removed.

The revolt had started with one chance, or two, of succeeding—that either the whole British community should have been overpowered, or the whole native community have risen in arms, before reinforcements arrived from England. Neither of these results had been achieved.

Turning of the Tide Within a large but restricted area almost every native regiment had mutinied; but detachments had remained loyal, and the landowners had sat still and, to a great extent, kept their clansmen sitting still. Outside that area, in places where there were no white regiments, sepoy battalions had declared in favour of the mutineers without moving to join them. Even the Gwalior army had only threatened. Four months after the proclamation

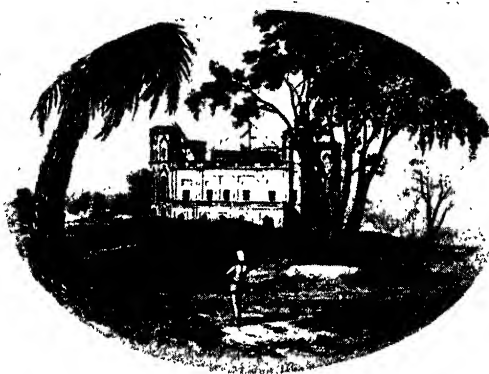
of the Mogul, his own city was being stormed. Before another fortnight the British in the Oudh capital had been reinforced. New troops and new commanders were reaching Calcutta. There were no more fears about the Punjab, where fresh native regiments were being levied in secure confidence of their loyalty.

Final Relief of Lucknow Six weeks after Outram and Havelock reached Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell was in Oudh leading the army which was not to check, but to crush the revolt. In November, Lucknow was effectively relieved, the non-combatants were withdrawn, and a strong force left under Outram to hold the Alam Bagh fort. At this moment the Gwalior army, under an able leader named Tantia Topi, joined in the fray, but was eventually driven back in rout across the Jumna.

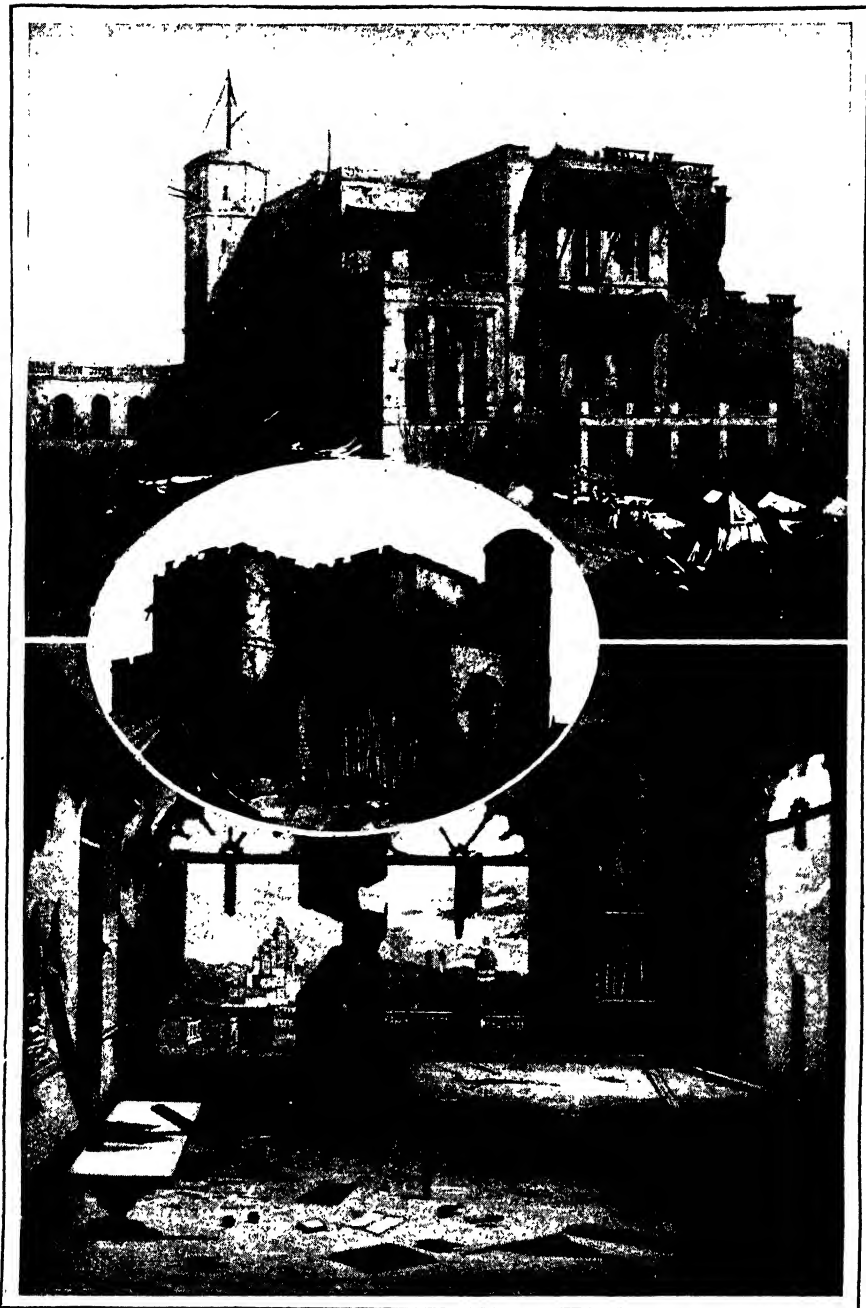
In the first three months of 1858, Sir Hugh Rose advanced from Bombay, crushed the insurgents in outlying districts, laid siege to Jhansi, fought a pitched battle with Tantia Topi, shattering his forces completely, and captured Jhansi itself on April 3,

though the Rani escaped. Meanwhile other columns converged on Oudh, including a contingent of Ghurkas from Nepal, and on March 17th drove the mutineers headlong from Lucknow.

Resistance was not over, for the Oudh talukdars, who had hitherto abstained from taking an active part, were alarmed by a proclamation of Lord Canning's, and, thinking that their fate was already sealed, resolved to take it fighting. Moreover, the Jhansi Rani, Tantia Topi, and Nana Sahib, were not disposed to submit; the first, from a spirit akin to that which tradition ascribes to Boadicea; the other two because they knew their share in the Cawnpore massacres had placed them beyond reach of pardon. But the crisis was passed when Campbell effected the final relief of the



HAVELOCK'S GRAVE AND ALAM BAGH PICKET-HOUSE



THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

The top picture shows the ruins of the Residency as drawn by a British officer after the siege; the telegraph apparatus was in the high tower to the left. The centre oval is a picture of the Residency from the Water Gate, the verandah having been shot away; the appearance of the billiard room gives an idea of the general destruction.



INTERIOR OF ALAM BAGH FORT AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

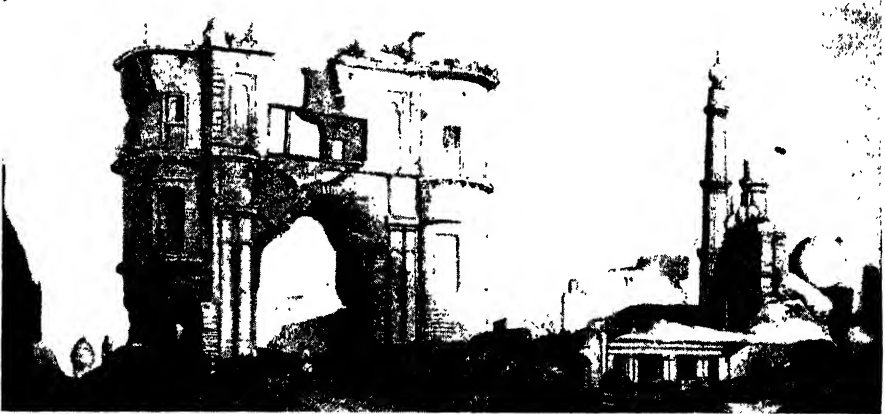
Lucknow Residency. The issue was placed beyond all doubt when he drove the mutineers from Lucknow itself, and Sir Hugh Rose captured Jhansi. The Rani was killed in action in June; the talukdars submitted in December; Nana Sahib vanished; a few months later, Tantia Topi was caught and hanged, since nothing could transform the hideous butchery of Cawnpore into a legitimate operation of war.

The Mutiny had brought home in England the conviction that the anomaly of governing a dependency so vast as India through the medium of a commercial company must be brought to an end. The prophecy, passed from mouth to mouth among the natives, as an incentive to rebellion, that the rule of the Company was to last a hundred years, and no more, was fulfilled almost to the year. It had begun with Clive's victory at Plassey; it

was ended by the proclamation which transferred the government to the British Crown, in accordance with the India Act passed by Lord Derby in August, 1858.

The spirit of compromise which pervades British institutions has produced a system which is theoretically crowded with contradictions. Nothing could well be more indefensible on paper than the old compromise between the Company and the Crown in India. But the illogicalities of the Constitution serve their turn; and the Honourable East India Company served its turn, too—better, probably very much better, than a system which would have better satisfied a political theorist. But a stage had been reached at which it had become cumbrous and unworkable. Thenceforth the responsibility for the Indian Empire was to rest undivided upon the British nation.

ARTHUR D. INNES



RUINS OF THE CLOCK TOWER GATEWAY AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

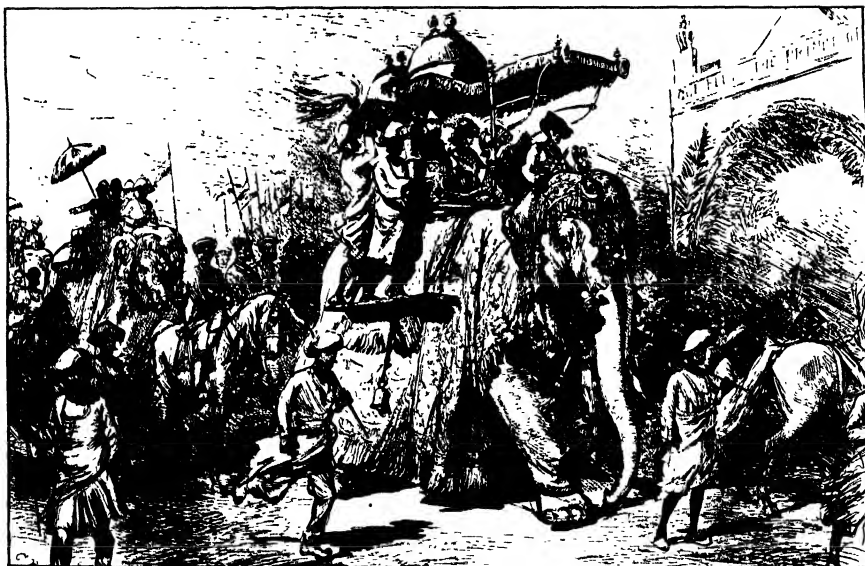


EDWARD VII. IN INDIA

SCENES FROM THE TOUR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, NOW
EDWARD VII., EMPEROR OF INDIA, IN THE WINTER OF 1875-76



ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BOMBAY ON NOVEMBER 8, 1875



ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO BARODA ON NOVEMBER 9, 1875



THE PRINCE PRESIDING AT A GRAND CHAPTER OF THE STAR OF INDIA AT CALCUTTA



RECEPTION OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW IN JANUARY, 1876



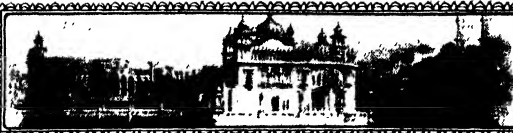
STATE ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO LAHORE IN FEBRUARY, 1876



ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT AGRA IN MARCH, 1876



THE GRAND STATE RECEPTION OF INDIAN POTENTATES BY THE PRINCE OF WALES AT CALCUTTA ON DECEMBER 23, 1875



AFTER THE MUTINY

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

BY the end of October, 1858, military operations had almost ceased; peace and order were fast taking the place of confusion and violence, and the transfer of government from the Company to the Crown, with Lord Canning as first Viceroy, had been completed. Anarchy was, of course, still rife in outlying districts; marauders were here and there prowling about at large; fugitive bodies of mutineers showed more or less cohesion. Public business throughout the North-west Provinces and Oudh, with some parts of Bengal and the Punjab, had been so completely disorganised that many months would have to pass before the civil power could assert itself to the full. But the great cities of Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, were held in force; the populace knew that rebellion had missed

The Peace that Followed the Mutiny

its mark; while the native chiefs, almost without exception, had been splendidly loyal. Lord Canning was, therefore, able to gather up the tangled threads of government and to ponder constructive measures that in no very long time were to tranquillise the country and give uniformity of rule throughout its vast area.

Among his earliest acts was the issue of a proclamation drawn up by the Ministry in England, and revised by Her Majesty, whereby an amnesty was granted "to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. . . . To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in the Revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed. . . . To all others in Arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against Our-

selves, Our Crown and Dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. . . ." Impartial protection of the law, freedom from interference with religious belief, admission to all offices for which qualification might be proved, protection of the rights of the native princes, and other boons to the people at large, were graciously authorised.

Pardon for the Rebels

Among those to whom leniency was to be extended were the turbulent landowners, or talukdars, of Oudh. On the final capture of Lucknow, the proclamation by the Viceroy, previously mentioned, had in its first draft confiscated their estates, though, upon Outram's remonstrance, a clause had been inserted which gave hopes that something less than the full pound of flesh would be exacted, if only complete submission were promptly rendered. On a visit to Lucknow, Lord Canning assembled the chief of these barons, as they have been styled, and, accepting their profession of repentance, restored to them the possession of their forfeited fiefs, with a permanent and hereditary proprietary title—an act of grace which has since that time borne fruit in their active loyalty and the orderly control of their vassals; while it at once gave rest to the most dangerously disaffected portion of the country, and was welcome evidence to the remainder that vindictive retribution does not always

Leniency that Bred Loyalty

fall upon the conquered. But while Lord Canning's worst anxieties were now at an end, and the calm courage with which he confronted all difficulties had its reward in the assurance of a security far greater than had prevailed before the rebellion, the task before him was one of vast magnitude. Among the demands made by the new order of things,

two stood out as primarily importunate. These were the re-establishment of financial equilibrium and the reorganisation of the Army, native and European.

Changes in the system of public accounts render comparisons between the expenditure of India at one period and another a task of no little difficulty. But the final

Need for Financial Economy

report of the Royal Commission on the administration of the expenditure of India, published in 1900, throws a clear light upon the financial position with which Canning had to deal. The year 1860-61 saw the ebb mark of the tide of Indian finance. A chronic deficit, continued almost without intermission for a period of twenty years, had already added £50,000,000 sterling to its national debt. The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 entailed a loss of revenue which averaged £12,000,000 for that and the succeeding two years. All the efforts of the Government, aided by the imposition of taxes which convulsed society, availed only to reduce the annual deficit by £6,000,000. There was no course open to Canning and his financial advisers—Wilson, who died in August, 1860, and Laing, who succeeded him—save to supplement additional taxation by a severe reduction of expenditure. The military, naval, and civil outlay of 1860-61 had been cut down to £29,500,000, and now, with a bold hand, it was reduced by nearly four millions.

The returning prosperity of the country gave buoyancy to the public receipts, and in 1861-62 the tide had turned. Equilibrium was practically restored, and the Government escaped the necessity of levying the unpopular licence tax. From that time forward, further relief was afforded in the gradual reduction of the income tax, and of the additional duty on cotton-twist and yarn, and the reform of the salt duties. The stamp duties and the excise on spirits and opium continued

Measures of Financial Reform

at their enhanced rates to sustain the burden of administration; and by the exercise of a prudent policy in all departments, Canning added to his success, in restoring peace and order, the further merit of placing the national finance upon a safe and enduring basis. The land revenue in 1862 yielded £2,500,000 more than before the Mutiny, and when in that year Lord Canning laid down office, all

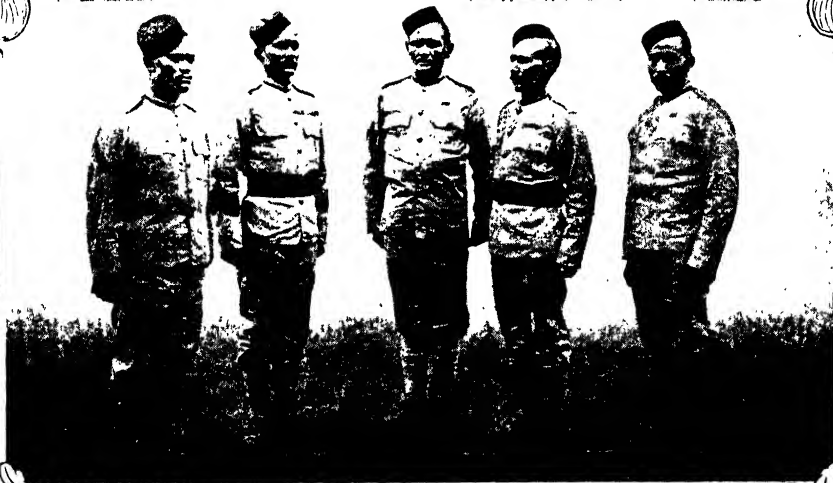
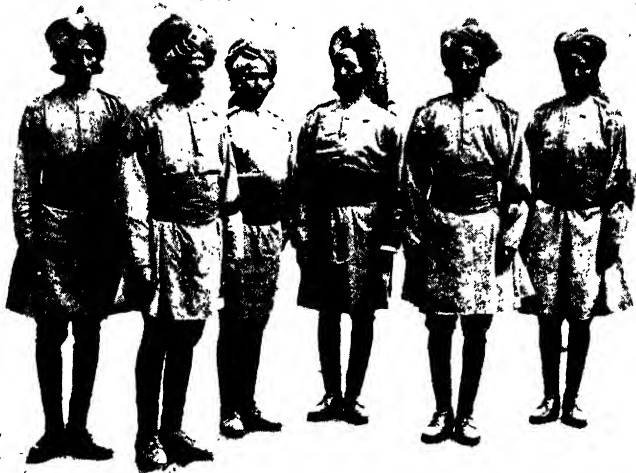
doubt as to ultimate financial prosperity had passed away.

While treating of the measures taken during this viceroy's time for the reorganisation of the army it will be convenient to extend the inquiry so as to carry the account of the more important changes in its constitution up to the present day.

When the Mutiny broke out the ratio of the British forces to the native armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, together with the local levies and contingents, was about one to eight, or 30,000 to 311,038. Independent of financial considerations such a disproportion was one that events so soon to follow showed to be dangerous to the last degree. But not only had it to be determined what a safe ratio would be: the very form of the British armament must first be settled. This had hitherto consisted partly of Europeans enlisted in England for the Company's service, and partly of royal regiments of cavalry and infantry sent out to India, but liable to be withdrawn for service elsewhere on the outbreak of war. It was now debated whether under the Crown

Remaking of the Indian Army

a local European army should be placed at the exclusive disposal of the Government of India, or whether the forces deemed necessary should be part and parcel of the Queen's army. After much discussion it was decided that the Company's European forces should be transferred to the Crown and be supplemented by royal regiments. Further, a Commission appointed to advise on these changes laid it down that the British forces should be 80,000 strong, and that the native troops should not exceed them by more than two to one in the Bengal army and three to one in those of Madras and Bombay. In Bengal the native army had to be re-formed almost *de novo*. Eighty-six entire regiments had mutinied, and only a few had remained loyal, or, at all events, inactive. These last were not disbanded; but in the main the new force consisted of Sikh, Gurkha, Pathan, and Rajput levies. The Madras and Bombay armies, the Haidarabad contingent, and the Punjab Frontier Force, had taken no part in the rebellion. These, therefore, were left intact, though to them also were applied the principles of reorganisation now found necessary. When, in 1864, that reorganisation was complete, the three armies in India had an aggregate



SOLDIERS OF NATIVE REGIMENTS IN INDIA

The first group is a number of the 18th Bengal Lancers; the middle picture shows a parade of Sikhs, that warlike tribe whose rise began as a religious sect and who soon developed into active militants and threatened British supremacy; the third group are Gurkhas, the northern hill tribesmen, who exhibit as much courage and steadiness as the best white regiments within the bounds of our empire.

Photos Gregory & Co., London

strength of 205,000 men, of whom 65,000 were British soldiers. The artillery, except a few mountain batteries, were wholly British.

Between 1860 and 1878 there were no field operations on a large scale. But the Afghan war of 1878-80 brought to light many important defects; and a

Defects in the Army System Commission was appointed by Lord Lytton not only to devise means for the reduction of

army expenditure, but to test how far the existing system had been found adapted to the requirements of troops on active service. The immediate outcome of the inquiry was the reduction of four regiments of native cavalry and eighteen of native infantry; though, as the strength of each regiment was raised from 400 to 550 of all ranks in the cavalry, and from 712 to 832 in the infantry, the total strength remained much what it was before. There was also a reduction of eleven batteries of British artillery.

In 1885 threatenings of war with Russia led to considerable additions throughout the army. In the British forces the increase amounted to 10,600 men; in the native armies to 20,000. The grand total then reached 226,604 men of all ranks, the British numbering 73,602. In 1886 the battalions of the native armies were linked together; in 1888 regimental centres were fixed upon for these groups, and at the same period a reserve was formed for the native army in general. During the next five years various changes and improvements took place. The Imperial Service troops, voluntarily supplied by some of the leading native states, came into being; military works, hitherto carried out by the Civil Department, were transferred to a Military Service Department; amalgamation of the Presidency Commissariats was taken in hand; the Punjab Frontier Force passed from the control of the Punjab Government to

Progress of Army Reform that of the Commander-in-Chief; in lieu of three staff corps one was organised for the whole of India; in the Bombay army a large infusion of better material replaced men of inferior physique; the native army was supplied with the Martini-Henry rifle; the sixteen Hindustani regiments of the Bengal army became "class" regiments, composed severally of Brahmans, Rajputs, Mohamedans, Jats, and Gurkhas; the Intelli-

gence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department was reorganised and strengthened.

With the year 1895 we come to a measure of importance affecting the whole of India, the abolition of the separate Presidency armies. By this arrangement India was now divided into four territorial commands, named after the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, each command being vested in a lieutenant-general. The whole army thus came under the direct control of the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief, whereas formerly the armies of Bombay and Madras were under local commanders-in-chief controlled by the Presidential Governments. Later on certain local corps, hitherto under the Foreign Department, were also brought under the Commander-in-Chief and allotted to the divisional commands according to their geographical situation.

Upon this general reconstitution of the army there followed, between 1895 and 1903, many changes in the composition of commands and regiments. The mountain

Series of Regimental Changes batteries were strengthened; the Hyderabad contingent disappeared; the Presidency medical services were amal-

gamated under a Director-General; military factories came under the administration of the Director-General of Ordnance. The years 1890-1901 witnessed special activity in remodelling and improving armament, mobilisation, equipment, and defences, while many measures then resolved upon were carried out in 1902 and 1903. Thus, in 1900, the reorganisation of the transport system was finally authorised; in 1900-1 the native army received the .303 magazine rifle, while the rearmament of the regular army was completed in 1902-3. Between the years 1900 and 1904 about 400 British officers were added to the native army; the field artillery and the commissariat service received special attention; transport organisation was more fully developed; and a thorough investigation dealt with sanitary arrangements, the system of clothing, opportunities for recreation, and numerous other details.

The total number of regular troops in the five commands, including Burma, was, in 1903, 232,111, of which 74,170 were British and 157,941 native soldiers. The reserve of the native army numbered about

INDIA AFTER THE MUTINY

25,000, and the auxiliary forces about an additional 76,000 men. A new scheme of military organisation is now, however, in course of development, and, in place of four territorial commands, there will be three complete army corps and ten divisional commands.

The present administration of the army may be described in a few words. While, subject to the control of the Crown, the supreme authority is vested in the Governor-General in Council. One of the members of Council, commonly called the "Military Member," formerly dealt with administration and finance. Since March, 1906, this arrangement has been recast, and military affairs are now in the hands of two departments—the Army Department and the Department of Military Supply. This latter department, which is in charge of an ordinary member of Council, has the management of all matters connected with important Army contracts, and the supply and registration of transport animals; it also controls the working of the departments of Ordnance, Remounts, Military Works, Army Clothing, and the Royal Marine, as well as the military work of the Indian Medical Service; while military accounts have become a branch of the Finance Department. The Army Department is under the immediate charge of the Commander-in-Chief, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council, and while his powers have been largely extended, he has been relieved from a good deal of petty business. Immediately subordinate to him are the Chief of the Staff, the Quartermaster-General, the Adjutant-General, the Principal Medical Officer of His Majesty's Forces, and the Military Secretary.

From this account of Army reorganisation inaugurated by Canning and completed by his successors, we may now return to the other acts of his administration. The loyalty during the Mutiny of nearly all the great native princes has already been noted. Conspicuous among these were the Cis-Sutlej chiefs, Patiala, Jhinda, Nabha, and Kapurthala; the Rajas of Jaipur, Udaipur, and Kerauli; Sindhia and the Nizam; the Begam of Bhopal, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Kashmir, and many smaller magnates. Gratitude dictated that none of these should go unrewarded, and Lord Canning determined that no stint should

be shown in the bestowal of such acknowledgments as would best be prized. Titles of honour, remission of debts, enlargement of territory, guarantees of succession, large money grants, *sanads* of adoption, reductions of annual tribute, an increase in the number of guns of salute, jewelled swords, and various privileges, were showered with lavish hand on all who had deserved well of the British Government; and nobly since that time has such munificence been repaid. The immediate anxieties of the Mutiny being now over, Canning was free to devise measures of internal improvement. Early among these was the passing, in 1859, of the Bengal Rent Act. By the Permanent Settlement of 1793, while the Government surrendered to the zemindars its right to take the produce of the soil, it had been endeavoured to secure the ryots in their ancestral holdings. This endeavour had met with but small measure of success. The promised leases at customary rates had been withheld, rents were constantly raised, illegal cesses were levied, and by 1859 the ryots could hardly keep body and soul together. Act X. of that year, though often evaded, and though it did nothing for tenants-at-will, proved a considerable boon to the agriculturist by recognising occupancy rights and fixity of tenure, and its deficiencies have to some extent been made good by later enactments.

In 1860, the Viceroy's Executive Council was strengthened by admission of its legal member to the full status of an ordinary member of Council, while the Legislative Council was remodelled, and certain native members added to it. Similar councils on a smaller scale were established in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. In the same year came the amalgamation of the supreme and Sadr courts, whereby each presidency had its high court; and before Canning left the country the penal code drafted by Macaulay and completed by Sir B. Peacocke, became law throughout India. Consolidation of British territory had been so prominent a part of Dalhousie's policy that little in this direction remained for his successor. But in 1860 the three provinces of British Burma were combined under a Chief Commissioner, and the Central Provinces formed by the union of Nagpur with the Sagar and Nerbada districts were raised to the same status.

**Loyalty
and its
Rewards**

**Present
Military
System**

**Legislative
and Legal
Reforms**

Between 1859 and 1862 much was accomplished in the way of material progress. Of 1,300 miles of railway open at the latter date, more than half had been laid out during the preceding two years, while 3,000 more miles were in course of making; the Grand Trunk Road extended from Calcutta to Peshawar, a distance of

Civil and Industrial Progress

1,500 miles; new branches of the Ganges Canal had been thrown out and the Eastern and Western Jumna Canals were already at work; the cultivation of tea, coffee, and cinchona received encouragement; the foundations were laid of a Forest Department; and partly as a consequence of all this enterprise trade was now reviving.

The creation, in 1857, of universities at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay stimulated education, the number of schools of all classes rose rapidly, a medical college was opened at Lahore, English newspapers conducted by natives appeared in considerable numbers, and a new literature in Hindi and Urdu was springing up.

In the midst of his beneficent projects Canning had, in 1861, to face a famine which, in spite of all efforts, carried off nearly half a million of the poorer classes in the northern provinces, and brought severe distress upon many millions more. This was followed by the scourge of cholera and by torrential rains, which flooded vast tracts of country, sweeping away roads, bridges, and crops.

Lord Canning had hardly completed his last tour in India when a terrible blow befell him in the death of his gifted wife. A few months later he laid down the office which for six years he had held with such serene courage amid unexampled difficulties, and returned to England. But the strain, mental and physical, had been enough to sap a more vigorous constitution, and on the 17th of the following January, he, like Dalhousie, passed away in the prime of life. His successor, Lord Elgin, landed in March, 1862, and the first year of his Viceroyalty was passed at Calcutta, where he made himself acquainted with the machinery and problems of Indian government. Closely following his predecessor's policy, he aimed at the peaceful development of industry, avoiding the introduction of novel and vexatious taxation, setting his face against interference with native

chiefs, doing his best to keep down military expenditure, and steering clear of frontier complications. Of these last there was some danger, arising from the proceedings of Dost Mohammed, who was bent on an expedition to curb the refractory governor of Herat, Sultan Jan. Though urged to counsel the Amir against this undertaking, lest Persia should side with the Governor and Russia should back up Persia, Elgin refused in any way to embroil himself in the quarrel, and even withdrew his Vakil from Kabul in order to avoid all appearance of countenancing the Amir's designs. The death of the Dost in the following summer eventually placed Sher Ali on the throne, but in the struggle for its possession which ensued between the two brothers, the Viceroy contented himself with congratulations to the successful claimant at whose court the British Vakil was to assume his place.

In February, 1863, Lord Elgin made a tour through Northern India, settling down at Simla for the hot season. At Benares he held his first durbar, and at the opening of a new section of the East

A Viceroy Who Died in Harness

Indian Railway looked forward to the day when private enterprise should supplement, if it did not take the place of, official activity in the extension of lines throughout the country. At Cawnpore, he was present at the consecration by the Bishop of Calcutta of the spot that marked the graves of those whom Nana Sahib's treachery had done to death. This was followed by a grand durbar at Agra to which there thronged the chiefs of Rajputana and Central India. Addressing them in a dignified speech the Viceroy declared the principles by which the Government of India was actuated, and the measures by which it was in their power to second its endeavours to secure peace and general prosperity. Passing on to Ambela, he received a large gathering of the Sikh princes, whose behaviour during the Mutiny he warmly eulogised, at the same time offering wise counsels for their future guidance. Till the end of September Lord Elgin remained at Simla further familiarising himself with the task that seemed to lie before him in the coming years. He then set out to visit the Kangra Valley and its neighbourhood. The journey across the hills west of Simla in the keen mountain air severely taxed his powers. At one point he had

to cross the Chandra on a frail bridge of twigs which swayed from side to side at every step, and this effort perilously tried his heart, already, apparently, in an unhealthy condition. When, after some days of further travel, he reached Dharmasala, it was only to find a grave there.

One military undertaking had alone disturbed the quiet of his two years' rule. To the north of Peshawar a colony of Wahabi fanatics had their abode at a place called Sitana. Here preparations had been made for a raid upon British territory, and in time these became of so threatening a character that the Viceroy was strongly urged by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to fit out a punitive expedition. To this he at last reluctantly assented, and in October, 1863, a force of 6,000 men moved out from Peshawar towards the Ambela Pass. Here, however, it was found that the Buner tribe had joined the Wahabis, and these, with the men of Swat, made further progress impossible for the time. From day to day further clans swelled the enemy's numbers, and Neville Chamberlain

Successful Punitive Expedition

was hard set to repulse their combined attacks. After Lord Elgin's death the Council at Calcutta had ordered the withdrawal of Chamberlain's force so soon as this could be prudently done. Sir W. Denison, however, who had come up from Madras to take up temporary charge of the duties of Governor-General, promptly cancelled this order and directed the despatch of reinforcements. Thus strengthened, Garvock, now in command in place of Chamberlain disabled by a wound, drove the enemy out of Ambela. The Buners came to terms and, acting as guides to a British detachment, assisted in destroying the headquarters of the fanatics at Malka. This brought the campaign to an end.

When the news of Lord Elgin's death reached England it was universally felt that no one could so fitly fill the post of Viceroy as Sir John Lawrence, then a member of the Secretary of State's Indian Council. With his usual readiness Sir John sailed by the next mail steamer and arrived in Calcutta on January 12, 1864. His biographer, Mr. Bosworth Smith, has said that "a succinct history of India during the viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence would require at least a volume to itself." Within our narrow limits it will

not be possible to give more than an outline of the various problems of government with which he was called upon to deal.

No one knew better than Lawrence what were the pressing needs of internal administration. Although his predecessors had restored the financial equilibrium, it was only by starving the spending

Lightening the Burden of the Poor

departments and by recourse to taxes which strained the loyalty of the people. Lawrence did all that was possible to relieve the tax-payer from these burdens. In 1862 the additional duty of 50 per cent. on cotton piece-goods was repealed, and in 1864 the remaining enhanced duties of customs were reduced from 10 to 7½ per cent., a further reduction being carried out in 1867. The unpopular income-tax, imposed in 1860, had been taken off incomes under £50 a year, and Lawrence proposed to replace it altogether by duties on exports, but public opinion would not permit this change. The salt duty and increased stamp dues he was constrained to leave alone; but much was done by wise administration to increase the revenues and provide funds for education and public works. In particular, a new policy of far-reaching consequence, first suggested by Dalhousie, was adopted in 1867-68. The public debt was divided into productive and unproductive, the expenditure upon irrigation and railways being charged to a capital account under its proper head. By stern adherence to a policy of non-intervention across the borders, military expenditure was kept low; and fortunately the fall in the gold value of the rupee, which, after 1875, dislocated the finances, had not yet occurred to increase the home charges.

Of public works involving enormous outlay, the more important may here be mentioned. Sanitation, especially in military cantonments, had hitherto been left almost to itself, with a consequently heavy

Attention to Sanitary Requirements

mortality. Lawrence saw that further neglect was unbearable. A Commission resulted in the establishment of a Sanitary Department in each Presidency, and later of sanitary committees in every cantonment. Secondary, if secondary, to sanitation was the building of suitable barracks and hospitals. Here the expenditure from first to last amounted to more than ten millions. A large extension of railway lines had become

imperative for both strategic and commercial purposes. Adequate schemes were framed to meet this demand, and no less than £26,000,000 were expended in this direction during Lawrence's time. Canals, whether as a means of watering the cultivator's fields or of carrying traffic, admitted of no delay. Agreeing with

Canal and Irrigation Schemes

Lawrence that their cost should be defrayed by loans, Lord Cranbourne sent out Colonel Strachey as Superintendent of Irrigation, authorising their construction wherever urgent need called for them.

If anything had been wanted to emphasise the importance of easy communication by land and water, the two famines with which Sir John had to grapple were more than sufficient. A shortage of the monsoon in 1865, followed in the next year by terrible inundations, plunged Orissa into the direst distress. Had not the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shut his eyes to what was going on around him, the disaster might have been greatly modified. When at length the real state of things came to the Viceroy's knowledge, vigorous measures of every kind were taken. Relief works did something to check the mortality, and large sums of money were advanced by the Government of India. But it was food, not money that was wanted, for money had no purchasing power where no crops existed.

Importation by steamships was then attempted. This expedient came too late. The monsoon had now burst on the coast, and it was with the greatest difficulty that even a small portion of the freights could be landed. When the famine ceased, it was calculated that the deaths amounted to nearly a million. Two years later, the failure of the rains in the North-western Provinces preluded a similar calamity. The lesson learnt in Orissa was not neglected. Relief works, distribution of

Period of Great Famines

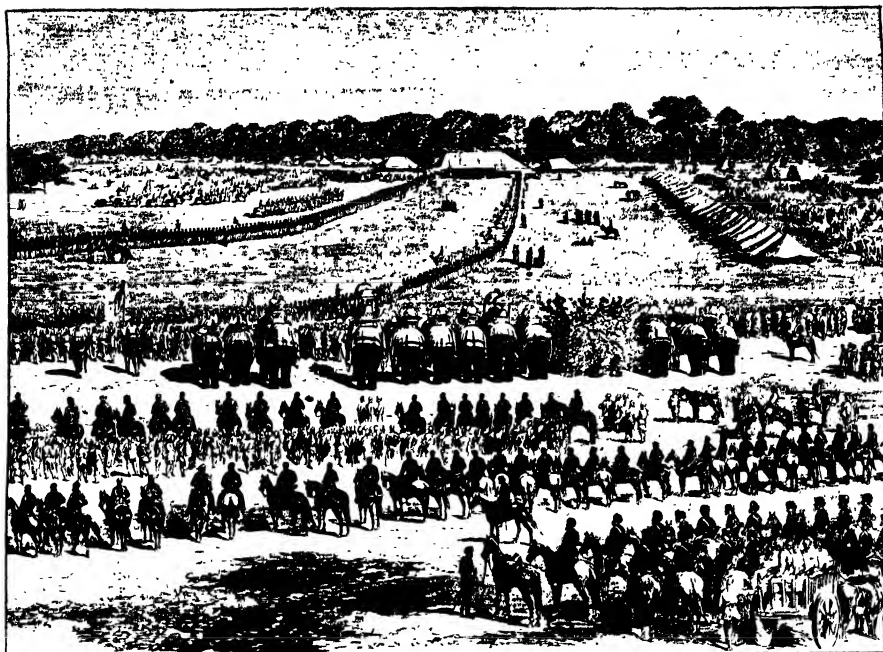
alms and food, remissions of land revenue, and advances made for the purchase of seed corn modified the evil; while the Ganges and Jumna Canals watered the thirsty soil and abundant harvests in Oudh helped to keep life in the millions of the neighbouring provinces. Yet, in spite of every effort, some 60,000 souls are said to have perished. Nor was it only in British India that the stress was felt. Rajputana, Indur,

Gwalior, Marwar, Malwa, Bikanir and Gujerat suffered equally. To their honour, the native chiefs followed the example of the Indian Government, and were aided by it in their endeavour to ward off starvation. But starvation was followed by disease, and in some parts of these provinces scarcity continued to prevail for nearly two years. The tale of deaths exacted it is impossible to compute.

From this story of woe it is pleasant to turn to Lawrence's determination to win the confidence of the native states by explaining the desires of the British Government, and by allaying the fears to which not even the Sanads of adoption granted by Canning had put an end. For this purpose he not only abstained from interference with their internal government, but by personal intercourse sought to draw closer the ties by which they were bound to the supreme Power. To a durbar held at Lahore in 1864 he welcomed some 600 of the nobility of the Punjab, prominent among whom were the Phulkian princes, whose aid in the Mutiny stood us in such stead.

Native Co-operation Secured

Addressing the assemblage in Hindustani, and in terms which, avoiding self-exaltation, won the ready attention of his hearers, the Viceroy adverted to the warm interest taken by the Queen in all her Indian subjects, enumerated some of the blessings that British rule had given the country, eulogised the conspicuous loyalty shown in the troublous days so lately passed, and urged upon the chiefs the advantages to be gained by the spread of English education. The public ceremonial was supplemented by private visits to and from the Viceroy. In these Sir John discussed the condition of the several states, and mingled with approval for the past advice and encouragement for the future. Coming from a man whose sincerity of purpose was so fully recognised, such words were not allowed to fall to the ground. At the second of these impressive scenes he, in 1866, received at Agra the principal chiefs of Rajputana and Central India. To these also Lawrence delivered a weighty speech in Hindustani, dwelling upon the principles by which he hoped they would be guided in dealing with their subjects, and pointing out that those who did most in developing the resources of their dominions would find most favour in the



DURBAR OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE AND 601 NATIVE PRINCES AT LAHORE, OCTOBER 18, 1861



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE'S GRAND DURBAR HELD AT LUCKNOW, NOVEMBER 9-17, 1867

eyes of a Government that valued such endeavours above long descent and extensive sway. Once more, in 1867, a similar pageant was enacted at Lucknow, where Lawrence received the talukdars of Oudh, who assembled in all their splendour of retinue to greet for the last time the man to whom their country owed so much. But if Lawrence

Native Treachery Punished

was eager to engage the goodwill of the native nobility by such policy as would best commend itself to them, he did not hesitate to punish tyranny and bad faith. One flagrant outrage, committed by the Nawab of Tonk, came to his notice in 1867. This chief had been at enmity with one of the tributaries, the Thakur of Lawa. Under the pretence of reconciliation the Nawab summoned the Thakur to receive a *khilat*. The latter, attended by his uncle and a small retinue, duly presented himself at court. By-and-by the Thakur's uncle, Rewat Sing, with his son and fourteen adherents, were invited to the house of the Nawab's Minister, and there treacherously murdered, one man alone escaping, and the Thakur himself being held a prisoner. Subsequent inquiry proved beyond doubt that this atrocity had been contrived by the Nawab. He was therefore deposed in favour of his eldest son, his Minister being imprisoned at Chunar. The avarice and oppression of another chief, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, provoked an appeal by his subjects to the Viceroy. A severe reprimand warned him that deposition would follow unless he mended his ways.

Mysore Restored to Native Rule

Though Lawrence's face was firmly set against annexation, there was one act of the authorities in England to which, while yielding loyal obedience, he was unable to reconcile himself. This was the restitution of Mysore to native rule. For the third of a century this kingdom had been administered by British officials. On the death, in 1868, of the titular Maharaja, it was decided to proclaim his infant son as successor, and to hand over the government of the country to him if at the age of eighteen he should show himself qualified for its duties.

Legislation in Lawrence's time bore a fruitful crop of Acts; and two of these, dealing with tenant right, specially belonged to his initiation. When, after the Mutiny, Canning reinstated the

talukdars of Oudh in their possessions and gave them a heritable title, the grants were declared "subject to any measure which the Government may think proper to take for the purpose of protecting the inferior zemindars and village occupants from extortion, and of upholding their rights in the soil."

Since that time the talukdars, in fancied security from interference, had failed to heed this proviso. The cry of the oppressed went to Lawrence's heart. Determining upon a complete investigation of the matter, he entered into correspondence with the Chief Commissioner, Sir C. Wingfield, whose championship of the talukdars had already been the subject of remonstrances from Lord Elgin. Wingfield's opposition to interference on behalf of the sufferers was supported by an outcry in the Press; friends of the talukdars in their own province in Bengal, and even in England, swelled the clamour; certain members of the Supreme Council were on the same side, and others of the Secretary of State's Council recorded minutes of dissent from the Viceroy's proposals. Lawrence, however,

Problems of Land Tenure

stood firm, and sending Mr. Davies as special commissioner to Oudh, empowered him to direct the proceedings of the settlement officers and to decide all questions of tenant right. A report furnished by Davies showed that while proprietary rights had practically disappeared during the long supremacy of the talukdars, tenancy rights still survived. These it was resolved to maintain, and in 1868 the Oudh Tenancy Bill became law. By it, while the landlords were confirmed in all the rights granted in 1859, the occupancy rights of the cultivators received definition, rents could be enhanced only under certain restrictions, and compensation for improvement of holdings was decreed to tenants who might be evicted after occupancy for a fixed term of years.

A similar fight had to be waged in the Punjab. When, early in Lawrence's time, the period for reviewing the settlements came round, many of the zemindars who, on the annexation of the province, had neglected to register their names as superior landlords, now claimed to do so. Had this been allowed, the result would have been to degrade to the status of tenants-at-will no less than 46,000 out of 60,000 heads of families in one district

INDIA AFTER THE MUTINY

alone, who had become entitled to their tenancies at beneficial rates. In the Viceroy's eyes such a proceeding would have been monstrous. Accordingly, in 1868, he introduced and carried through the Legislative Council a Bill whereby much the same safeguards as in Oudh protected the occupancy tenants in the Punjab.

If no great wars occurred between 1864 and 1869, several small military expeditions had to be undertaken. The most important of these was against Bhutan. On the Bengal frontier were certain lands, known as the Assam Duars, and comprising 1,600 square miles, which the Indian Government rented from the Bhutaneses. As a punishment for repeated raids and outrages, Lord Canning withheld payment of the rents due on these lands. Fresh outrages were the result, and in 1863 Lord Elgin was persuaded to send a mission under Mr. Ashley Eden to the Deb Raja, nominal ruler of Bhutan. The members of it met with the grossest contumely, and Eden, under threat of imprisonment, was compelled to sign a treaty ceding the Assam Duars. On his return this treaty was, of course, repudiated by the Indian Government, an ultimatum being sent to the Deb Raja threatening war unless full reparation was made within three months. The term of

grace having expired, four columns entered the Bengal Duars, and the forts commanding the passes into Bhutan were captured. The easternmost of these, Diwangiri, was held by Colonel Campbell with 500 men, who, a few months later, taken by surprise, had to abandon their position and retreat. Fresh troops being hurried up, Diwangiri was retaken, and the enemy sued for peace. This was granted them upon terms that were generally considered unnecessarily lenient. Among other expeditions may be mentioned that against the Bhils in the centre of India, and another on the north-west frontier against the Hasanzai Pathans in the neighbourhood of the Black Mountain, who had swept down upon Oghi, a frontier station of the Punjab police. Two strong

columns moved up to Abbotabad, and thence on to Oghi. The main position on the Black Mountain was captured with little loss, and, the headmen tendering their submission, hostages were taken from them for the fulfilment of the terms imposed. The Government of India was also called upon to take part in a war which did not concern it—namely, that against Theodore, King of Abyssinia. Sir R. Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, commanded this expedition, with the result so well known and so creditable to his skill and energy. What was less creditable was the decision of the Government in England that the expenses of the campaign were to be borne by India.

Anything like a detailed account of the encouragement given by Lawrence to education is impossible here. It must suffice to say that from the universities downwards to the primary schools, public instruction received a strong impetus, and in the last year of his rule more than three-quarters of a million sterling was allotted to the support of Government and aided institutions.

While Lawrence's domestic administration met generally with public approval, his foreign policy gave rise to vigorous opposition. The keynote of it was "masterly inactivity," the avoidance of all interference in Afghan affairs.

This attitude was justified by its results, but it led to awkward situations while the numerous sons of Dost Mohammed, who died in 1863, were fighting for the throne. At first Sher Ali Khan, the eldest son, was recognised by the Viceroy as Amir of Afghanistan; but when, in 1867, after a long struggle, Mohammed Afzal Khan made himself master of Kabul and Kandahar, he in his turn was accepted as *de facto* ruler. On his death shortly afterwards, similar recognition was accorded to his brother, Azim Khan. Later on again, Sher Ali, with the aid of his son, Yakub Khan, recovered possession of Kandahar, and entered Kabul in triumph in September, 1868.

Lawrence had not been indifferent to the distractions that had weakened a country which he desired to be both strong



EARL OF MAYO
The sixth Earl of Mayo was Viceroy of India from 1868 till his assassination at Port Blair in 1872.

A Little War with Bhutan

and friendly. He therefore so far modified his attitude of neutrality as to give Sher Ali six lakhs of rupees and 6,000 stands of arms. He also encouraged the Amir's proposal 'to pay him a visit in India, but the rebellion of Abdurrahman in Turkestan caused this to be postponed until Lord Mayo's arrival in the following year.

Lawrence's Legacy of Peace When, in January, 1869, Lawrence laid down his high office, he could say with a clear conscience that he had "handed over the Government to his successor efficient in all departments, with no arrears, and with all open questions in a fair way towards settlement." His services were rewarded by elevation to the peerage, with a pension of £2,000 a year for his own life and that of his immediate heir.

Lord Mayo, who was chosen by Mr. Disraeli to succeed Sir John Lawrence, took charge of his post on January 12, 1869. India was at peace throughout, and his predecessor had, to a very large extent, obliterated the traces of the Mutiny. There was, however, much scope for the energies of even so untiring a worker as Lord Mayo. Above every other question towered that of finance, and his inheritance in that direction was a deficit of 4,325,000 sterling.

To establish an equilibrium was the fixed resolve of the new Viceroy, whatever the cost might be. In his budget for the year, Sir R. Temple had calculated on being able to pay his way without loans. But estimates are one thing and actuals another, as had been revealed in the previous year when, in place of £2,000,000 to his credit, Mr. Massey had to face the same amount on the wrong side of the ledger. So when Temple's budget, framed upon the actual figures for nine months out of the twelve came to be checked by the full and final accounts of the past year, it presently appeared that a deficit more than double that for which provision had been made awaited the Government. The immediate difficulty was tideled over by two expedients. Retrenching the projected outlay on public works, education, and other services, Lord Mayo obtained £1,150,000. Another £500,000 accrued from doubling the income tax for the last six months of the current year, and by raising the salt duties in Madras and Bombay. It was therefore possible to declare a small surplus.

Important Fiscal Problems

But Mayo was bent upon reforms which, in ordinary circumstances, should render deficits impossible. An enhanced income tax could not be persisted in; nor could he safely have recourse again to sudden curtailments of outlay. His first measure was to reorganise the mechanism of the Financial Department, so that it should no longer be at the mercy of imperfect and unpunctual estimates submitted by the local governments. A much more important one dealt with the funds for provincial expenditure. Hitherto, the Government of India had doled out money to meet the wants of local governments, which, although they collected the greater part of the revenue, had no responsibility for financial administration. In 1870, Lord Mayo gave to each of the larger provinces a fixed grant out of the revenues collected by it. From this the charges for services affecting the province were paid, any deficit being met by revenue raised locally.

Reorganisation was also possible in the Public Works Department, in railways, and in the Army. In the first of these, Lord Mayo adopted his predecessor's

Mayo's Financial Policy proposal that new lines of railway should be undertaken by the State, the cost being defrayed by loan. It was also decided that the public works debt should be separated from the ordinary debt, and capital expenditure on productive works treated as borrowed by the Public Works Department. Military charges were reduced by £500,000, many needless posts in the Army Department and the Staff being abolished. The net result of these measures was, for the three years between 1870 and 1873, a total surplus close upon £6,000,000 sterling.

In his foreign policy Lord Mayo addressed himself to those problems which had engrossed so much of Sir John Lawrence's attention during the later years of his Viceroyalty. Shortly before the latter's retirement, Sher Ali had made up his mind that a visit to India would help to consolidate his rule. As already stated, internal disturbances delayed the execution of this project; but in March, 1869, he was received by Lord Mayo at Ambala in the Punjab. In addition to the general idea of securing the Viceroy's goodwill, the Amir set his heart upon certain definite objects. These were a formal treaty with the British Power, a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms or men whenever he



WILD AFRIDIS AND KHAIBARIES AT PESHAWAR DURING LORD MAYO'S VISIT IN MAY, 1870. Lord Mayo, during his viceroyalty, from 1869 to 1872, visited outlying parts of the territory under his charge, including Peshawar, which is illustrated above, and Burma, on his return from which he met his death by assassination at Port Blair.

might think it necessary, the promise of support to himself and his descendants in all emergencies and against all rivals; and lastly, an acknowledgment of his younger son as heir to the throne in exclusion of Yakub Khan, his eldest son, to whom he owed his restoration at Kabul. The

Visit of the Amir last of these proposals was, of course, untenable, and the Amir was made to understand that it was contrary to our standing policy to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. For the rest, Lord Mayo could do no more than promise the moral support, with occasional supplies of money and material, already guaranteed by his predecessor. To oral assurances of interest in the welfare of Afghanistan, and of readiness to enter into correspondence with the Amir on all matters about which advice might be useful, Lord Mayo, two days after the conference, added a letter, intimating that the Viceroy's Government would view with the utmost displeasure any attempt on the part of the Amir's rivals to create disturbances at Kabul, and would endeavour from time to time, as circumstances might require, to strengthen

his position and enable him to exercise his rightful rule with equity and justice. Sher Ali could not but be a good deal disappointed at failing to obtain explicit promises on the points so near his heart. Nevertheless, the visit was not without the effect of confirming the friendly feeling on both sides, and impressing the Amir with the power and resources of the Government of India. As a corollary to the policy which it had been determined to maintain in regard to the frontier nations, including Afghanistan, Lord Mayo was no less desirous than Lawrence to come to an understanding with Russia. The Government in England were of like mind, and interviews between Prince Gortchakoff and

The Path to Anglo-Russian Agreement

Lord Granville helped to smooth the way to an accord. A joint Commission for defining Afghan and Russian territories was not appointed until 1884; but the first steps towards it were made by a formal statement regarding Afghanistan which was given to Russia, and is known as the Clarendon-Gortchakoff agreement of 1872-73. Progress was also made in settling the boundaries of Persia. For

some years the Shah had been encroaching upon Southern Baluchistan, or Kelat, the Khan of which country was under British protection. Pressed by Lord Mayo, the Shah agreed to arbitration, and Colonel Goldsmid was deputed by the Government of India to inquire into the respective rights of the disputants. The result was a convention satisfactory to both parties. At the same time, Lord Mayo took the opportunity of trying

Arbitration on Persian Questions

to compose the quarrels between the Khan and his unruly Sudars, and by the adroit management of Sir W. Merewether, the Commissioner in Sindh, this end was attained. About one other question of boundary, that of Sistan on both sides of the Helmund, Sher Ali and the Shah of Persia were still at variance. On its settlement Colonel Goldsmid was engaged when summoned to the more urgent business regarding Kelat. This done, he completed his earlier task by an award which stood good for thirty years when, the river altering its course, a revision became necessary.

With the frontier tribes on the north-west no collision occurred during Lord Mayo's time, their inclination to raids being checked by the vigilant outlook kept by a strong police force. But in the country between Assam and Burma an incursion of Lushais had to be chastised by moving up two columns under General Bouchier and Brownlow in November, 1871. The advance was a toilsome one through swamps and jungle. Opposition, however, was quickly overcome, the headmen of the tribes yielded at discretion, and hostages being taken for future good behaviour, the campaign came to an end in February, 1872.

With the native states in India Lord Mayo's relations were very similar to those of his predecessor. Avoidance of annexation, punishment of the individual offender and not of the state, the lightest possible control where things were going well, with the education of native minors by British officers, were the cardinal points of his policy. He was, however, obliged to take notice of an act of discourtesy on the part of the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who objected to the seat assigned to him in durbar, and to punish more severely the Maharao Raja of Alwar, whose extravagance and misgovernment

Relations with Native States

led, in 1870, to his supersession by a council of its nobles under the presidency of a British officer. For the training of the sons of chiefs two colleges, somewhat after the pattern of Eton, were founded, the one at Ajmir, the other in Kathiawar. Both have flourished, and their outcome testifies to their founder's wisdom.

Turning to legislation, we find a large number of valuable enactments. Among these were the Evidence Act, the Contract Act, an Act embodying various amendments in the Criminal Code, an Act for legalising marriages of a certain class, an Act aiming at the prevention of murder of girl-children, the Punjab Revenue Act, an Act dealing with encumbered estates in Oudh, and many others of greater or less importance.

In the matter of education, Lord Mayo's endeavours were chiefly confined to the extension of primary schools and to encouraging Mussulmans to take advantage of opportunities hitherto neglected by them. The improvement of agriculture was a matter upon which he set much store. For this purpose he planned a

Education and Agriculture

separate department, with a director-general at its head. But financial difficulties stood in the way, and when the new department sanctioned by the Secretary of State came into being it was made to embrace also revenue and commerce. So multitudinous were the branches of each that agriculture profited but little, and after an existence of ten years the whole scheme was dropped.

At the close of his third year Lord Mayo paid a visit to Burma, and on his voyage back to Calcutta called in at Port Blair to inspect the convict settlement there. When the day's work was done, he insisted on climbing Mount Harriet, which he thought might be made to serve as a health resort for sick prisoners. Before the descent was made darkness had come on, and just as he was about to embark upon the launch that should convey him to the steamer in the offing a fanatical Mussulman, who had been released on a ticket-of-leave, eluded the guards, leapt upon the Viceroy's back, and with a sharp knife dealt him two fatal blows between the shoulders. Death followed a few minutes later. The body was taken on board the Glasgow for Calcutta, and ultimately to Ireland, where it found its last resting-place in a

INDIA AFTER THE MUTINY

village churchyard in County Mayo. The assassin was, of course, hanged.

Pending the arrival of Lord Northbrook as Viceroy, the Governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Ettrick, proceeded to Calcutta to assume the office of Governor-General. The only matter of importance that came before him was the publication in March of the budget for the coming year. Lord Mayo had hoped to see the discontinuance of the income tax, and Lord Napier's views were in the same direction. But Temple was in favour of its renewal, and the acting Governor-General felt that he ought not to impose his wish upon a colleague whose province was finance. The tax was, therefore, reimposed for a year at the current rate of one per cent. The following year saw its abolition; nor was it again put into force during Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty. For in spite of the Bengal famine, for which some £4,000,000 sterling had to be provided in 1873-4, the deficit was a small one. In the following year this was converted into a surplus which in 1875-76 reached a handsome figure.

The famine referred to was the one serious difficulty that crossed Lord Northbrook's path. In 1873 the rainfall was so deficient in Bengal and Bihar that autumn sowings were impossible. Sir G. Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces, warned the Viceroy of the impending calamity, and the latter at once came down from Simla to concert measures for meeting it. With the help of the Lieutenant-Governor and Sir R. Temple an elaborate but somewhat extravagant scheme of famine relief was worked out in the minutest detail. Fortunately the rice crop of 1873 in Burma proved to be an unusually heavy one, and thence 300,000 tons were purchased, smaller supplies from various other localities bringing up the total to nearly 480,000 tons. The stores from Burma were shipped to Calcutta, and the whole amount was carried by rail to the neighbourhood of the afflicted districts. The railway, however, did not penetrate to the actual seat of the famine, nor could the Ganges be

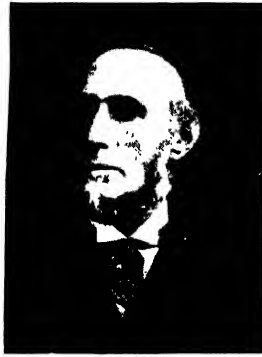
utilised for transport during the dry season. Transport trains of carts, horses, mules, and camels had to be organised, and Temple, now in charge of operations, decided to build a railway fifty miles in length which, while serving as a relief work, should be an asset for the future. When, therefore, in the following May the

Generous Distribution of Food

famine set in in all its rigour the Government was fully prepared to meet it. The accumulated stores were opened for sale at little more than nominal rates, the relief works swarmed with thousands eager to obtain supplies on such favourable terms, while those too weak to earn a wage, or unable for other reasons to leave their homes, had food distributed to them. In the middle of June the monsoon

broke. This was followed by an abundant harvest, Government having advanced to the cultivators the money needed for the purchase of seed. The failure in Orissa was not repeated, the loss of life being trivial. But the operations cost £6,000,000 sterling, of which more than three-fourths were provided by the State.

Foreign politics at the time were quiescent. Russia honourably adhered to her engagements regarding Afghanistan, and Persia had no grievance against us. Sher Ali, it is true, was in a less amiable mood than when under the spell of Lord Mayo's genial influence. Still nervous as to the imagined designs of Russia, and hankering after a definite agreement with the Government of India for the protection of his country, he tried to wring from Lord Northbrook promises which even Lord Mayo had refused to give. He also for a time showed much soreness as to the Sistan boundary award. The Viceroy did his best to allay all uneasiness in regard to Russia, but would not go further than to assure the Amir that, in case of wanton invasion of his territories, help in money, arms, and troops should be forthcoming. By way of solace for the losses which the Amir's subjects had endured from the Persian raids, a sum of five lakhs of rupees was placed to his credit. Later on Sher Ali found a fresh pretext for



EARL OF NORTHBROOK
Lord Northbrook was Viceroy of India from 1872 to 1876, and resigned because of differences with the Government of Lord Salisbury.

Relieving a Great Famine

resentment in the displeasure which Lord Northbrook, perhaps unwisely, felt constrained to express at the treacherous imprisonment of Yakub Khan, invited by his father to a friendly interview at Kabul. Yet, though disappointed and sullen, he refrained from anything at which the Government of India could take umbrage, and, had the Ministry in England been content to leave things as they were, the relations with Afghanistan, if not actively cordial, would have remained sufficiently tranquil. Of frontier disturbances there were few. Just before Lord Northbrook's arrival the Kukas, a new Sikh sect, attempted two incursions, the one in Sirhind and the other near Nabha. These were easily put down. On the north-eastern border the Daffa tribes had to be chastised in 1874 for their frequent raids, and in the following year the Nagas, to the east of Kachai, caused some trouble.

In one native state alone was interference found necessary. For some time past the mis-rule of the Gackwar of Baroda had become too flagrant to pass unnoticed. In 1873 a Commission was appointed to inquire fully into the condition of the state, with the result that the chief was warned that unless within eighteen months things had greatly changed for the better, he would be deposed. It was by Colonel Phayre, Resident at the Gackwar's court, that this ruler's misdemeanours had been brought before the Viceroy, and six months afterwards that officer reported an attempt to poison him. Evidence pointed to the Gackwar's instigation to this crime. It was decided to put him on his trial before a Commission made up of the Maharajas of Jaipur and Gwalior, with the latter's late Minister, Dinkar Rao, and three British officers. The accused was ably defended by Sergeant Ballantyne, of the English Bar, and after a month's trial the verdict was inconclusive, the British Commissioners being unanimous as to complicity, while Jaipur voted not guilty, and Sindhia, with Dinkar Rao, held the charge not proven. The matter was referred to the Secretary

of State, who ordered the deposition of the Gackwar, not on the result of the inquiry, but as a punishment for general maladministration. At the same time, without annexation of the State, a very distant connection of the Gackwar's family was found living in comparative poverty in British India, and him the Maharani of the late ruler was allowed to adopt with a view to his education and succession to the throne.

Education was fostered in every branch, primary schools in Bengal receiving especial attention. And by this time so large was the supply of qualified natives that Lord Northbrook found it feasible to open to them many of the better-paid posts in the local civil services. But the most important educational movement of the period was due to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who opened an Anglo-Mohammedan college at Aligarh, in the North-western Provinces. This institution has continued to flourish, extending its operations until at the present it at least vies with the best efforts of the Imperial Government.

The visit of the Prince of Wales in the autumn of 1875 came as a pleasant diversion from more serious matters.

Early in 1876 Lord Northbrook found himself entirely out of harmony with the Cabinet at home. Distrusting Sher Ali and apprehensive of Russian designs, the Conservative Ministry had in the previous year pressed upon the Viceroy the advisability of obtaining the Amir's permission to establish an agency at Herat, and thereafter at Kandahar, as a means of obtaining more certain information of the trend of matters in those parts. Lord Northbrook was unanimously supported by his Council in returning a strong remonstrance. His arguments were treated with scant respect, and in the following year Lord Salisbury insisted upon a Mission being sent to Kabul, the real object of which, however carefully wrapped up, was to pave the way for a permanent agency there also. Again Lord Northbrook endeavoured to dissuade from such a project. The Ministry was obdurate, and the Viceroy resigned.



SIR RICHARD TEMPLE
Governor-General of Bombay from
1877 to 1880, who rendered good
service in the famine of 1874 and
during the Afghan war of 1878-80.



The Wonder of India

THE empire which Babar and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindustan amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's.

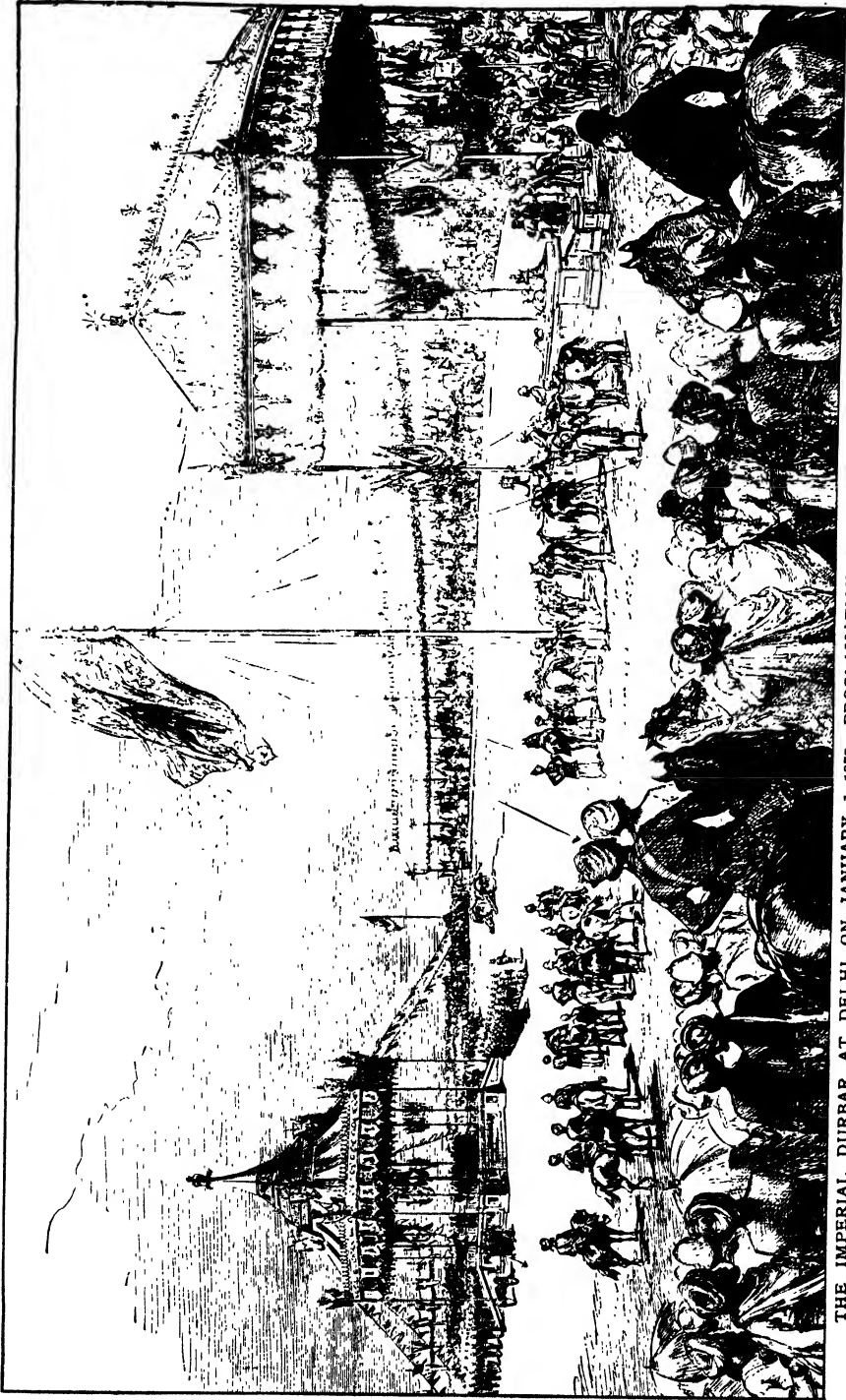
The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys, who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul, ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters.

Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindus, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the Government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy.



By Lord Macaulay



THE IMPERIAL DURBAR AT DELHI ON JANUARY 1, 1877: PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA



THE NEW EMPIRE OF INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

THE sequel to the "forward policy" which Lord Northbrook had so vainly resisted was not long delayed. Arriving in April, 1876, Lord Lytton lost no time in giving effect to the wishes of the Cabinet in England. His first proposal to the Amir was that he should receive a friendly mission under Sir L. Pelly. Scouting in this some sinister design, Sher Ali, with more or less valid excuses, declined the intended honour, suggesting in his turn that he should send an envoy to confer with the Viceroy on all matters needing discussion. This was met by a flat refusal, the original proposal being again insisted upon.

At a loss how to meet the danger to his independence which he felt to be imminent, the Amir then despatched the Viceroy's Vakil at his own Court to represent the grievances he considered himself to have against the Government of India, and to explain how he was situated. For answer, the Vakil was informed that the Viceroy would assent to a conference at Peshawar or elsewhere, between the Amir's Minister and Sir L. Pelly, on the one condition that the residence of British officers in Afghanistan should be permitted. At the end of January, 1877, the respective envoys met, Pelly reaffirming the conditions upon which the Government would undertake the defence of Afghanistan. In vain did Nur Mohammed urge the inability of the Amir to ensure the safety of a British agent in his capital; in vain did he appeal to the agreements sanctioned by Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook; in vain was it asked what new circumstances had arisen to render necessary the new demand so insistently pressed. Pelly, bound by his

instructions, was inexorable, and to a fresh appeal made by Nur Mohammed, no answer had arrived when, after a short illness, the much-tried Minister died. Before his successor, bearing conciliatory messages from the Amir, could take up the negotiations, Lord Lytton closed the conference, and the British Vakil was withdrawn from Kabul.

Meanwhile, irritated by England's action in reference to the war in Turkey, Russia, as a counter stroke, determined on a mission to Kabul, and by June, 1878, Colonel Stoletoff was on his way to that capital. Without awaiting proof as to whether this proceeding was invited, or even welcomed by the Amir, the British Government decided to resent the presence of a Russian mission following upon the rebuff with which its own proposals had been met. In August, therefore, Lytton despatched a letter calling upon Sher Ali to make arrangements to receive a special embassy about to be sent under Sir Neville Chamberlain. The Amir naturally protested against so imperious a message, explaining that the Russian mission had been forced upon him, and that he was anxious to get rid of it; also promising in good time to receive Chamberlain, and appealing to the friendship which had so long existed between himself and the Government of India. Nevertheless, the mission went forward.

On reaching the mouth of the Khajbar, Chamberlain sent on Major Cavagnari to arrange with the commandant of Ali Musjid for his further advance. That officer courteously replied that without orders from the Amir this could not be permitted. Such refusal was deemed intolerable, and when, to a



EARL OF LYTTON

The son of the great novelist was Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, and represented Disraeli's forward policy.

letter demanding ample apology, together with an undertaking to accept a permanent British mission, no answer within the brief interval allowed was forthcoming, Lord Lytton, supported by the Cabinet, declared war. Three columns, under Generals Stewart, Roberts, and Browne, at once advanced towards Afghanistan.

A Short Afghan War Ali Musjid was captured, Stewart and Browne respectively occupied Kandahar and Jellalabad, while Roberts prepared to invest Kabul. Terrified by these rapid movements, and much broken by the death of his favourite son, the Amir made over the defence of his capital to Yakub Khan, and fled to Mazar-i-Sharif, where he died shortly afterwards. Yakub, now acknowledged as Amir, soon found that armed resistance would be useless. He

therefore entered into negotiations, and in May a treaty was signed at Gandamak, whereby the presence of a British Resident at Kabul was accepted, the foreign relations of Afghanistan came under British control, and certain positions of the country necessary for Lord Beaconsfield's "new scientific frontier" were ceded, England in return undertaking to safeguard Afghanistan from foreign invasion. Towards the end of July, the newly appointed Resident, Cavagnari, arrived at Kabul with his staff and escort, and was splendidly received, the Bala Hissar being assigned to them for residence.

Till the beginning of September, everything seemed to be going well. But on the 3rd of that month certain of the Amir's troops, long kept out of their pay, broke into revolt. Failing to obtain more than a month's arrears, they appealed to the Resident, who, of course, could do no more than refer them to their own master. A second application in that quarter being met by no redress, they turned their fury upon the Residency. A stout resistance was offered by the small force under Cavagnari, but after an attack of some hours the insurgents succeeded in setting fire to the building. The Resident fell, crushed by a beam of the roof, and all with him were put to the sword. The Amir at once telegraphed to Roberts, who, pushing

forward from his camp on the Shuib Gardan, quickly occupied Kabul, Yakub taking refuge with the British. Of the military operations the most remarkable incident was the brilliant forced march of General Sir Frederick Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, which concluded with the decisive defeat and overthrow of the Afghan Ayub. The upshot as regards Afghanistan was that, Sher Ali being dead, and Yakub having abdicated, Abdurrahman, a grandson of Dost Mohammed, was installed as Amir by General Stewart in July, 1880, and the army of occupation withdrew. The new ruler was informed by letter that so long as he was guided in the conduct of his foreign relations by the advice of the Government of India, unprovoked aggression by any foreign Power would be met by such assistance from the British Government as circumstances



EARL ROBERTS IN 1880
When Sir Frederick Roberts, he made his famous forced march from Kandahar to Kabul, October, 1880.

might require. While Lord Lytton was sailing through troublous seas in the course laid down for him in foreign policy, he was not exempt from the calamities to which the internal administration in India is always exposed from the malignant forces of Nature. First of these was a storm-wave which, at the end of October, 1876, swept down upon Lower Bengal, destroying the crops, turning the fields into salt marshes, wrecking homesteads, and filling the banks with corpses over an area of nearly 3,000 square miles. Pestilence followed cyclone, and in spite of every

effort in behalf of the wretched sufferers, more than 100,000 human beings perished from one cause or another, to say nothing of the loss of cattle and the ruin to agriculture.

This, however, was but a small matter compared with the famine which shortly afterwards came upon Western and Southern India, and to a less degree upon the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. The usual measures of relief works—of importation of rice, remissions of revenue, house to house visitation, suspension of the import duty on food grain—were promptly adopted. The Duke of Buckingham in Madras, Sir P. Wodehouse in Bombay, and Sir R. Temple, as Famine Commissioner in both presidencies, strove with untiring

Another Great Famine



THE FORT OF ALI MUSJID IN THE KHAIBAR PASS

The fort itself is on the summit of the hill, 1, and the pickets of Ali Musjid are at 2; the spot where Major Cavagnari met the commandant of Ali Musjid is at 3 and 4 is the Khaibar River. The pass converges to 40 ft. wide near this point.

energy to minimise the distress that surrounded them on every side. Warned by the enormous outlay upon the recent famine in Bengal, Lord Lytton's Government was compelled to insist upon economy, especially as the area to be dealt with was now so much more extensive. It was, moreover, impossible to fight the battle on the same terms as before in tracts of land where there were no railways and where the death of cattle from want of fodder rendered transport unavailable. Accordingly, when in 1878 the awful conflict came to an end it was computed that some 7,000,000 of the inhabitants owed their death, directly and indirectly, to famine, while the cost to the State amounted to £11,000,000 sterling. Out of this twofold evil there at all events came the negative good that the Government showed itself more keenly alive to the urgent necessity of extending

its system of railways and of supplementing them by irrigation works. A Famine Commission was also appointed to explore the afflicted districts, to gather information as to the causes of past famines, and to lay down a plan for fighting a like calamity in the future.

The shadow of the visitation described—for in the autumn of 1876 it was already evident that a fierce struggle was at hand—did not deter the Viceroy from carrying out his programme of Imperial rejoicings in view of the addition of the title of Empress to Her Majesty's style. At Delhi a splendid camp was laid out for himself, his subordinate governors and lieutenant-governors; a force of 15,000 troops was cantoned in the immediate neighbourhood; pavilions for the chiefs and princes formed a semicircle in front of that from which the proclamation was to be read. Lord Lytton, with a long

train of elephants, made a triumphant entry, and on the 1st of January, 1877, addressed the assembled feudatories, conveying to them a gracious message from their Empress. The Maharajas of Kashmir and Gwalior were made generals of the British Army: other princes had guns added to their salutes; honours for good service were conferred upon European and native gentlemen. A review of the troops took place on the following day, and various entertainments filled up the week. Similar festivities on a smaller scale enlivened the provincial stations, and 15,000 prisoners had their sentences remitted.

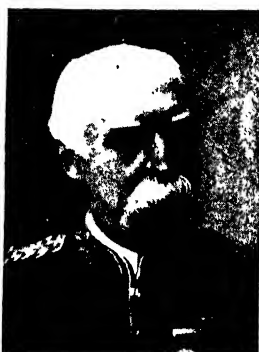
Two remedial measures on behalf of the cultivators of the soil were set on foot during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, which led to further legislation of this kind, enabled courts of law to review usurious transactions of moneylenders which had provoked agrarian disturbances in the Western Presidency, while in Bengal the Act of 1850 was amended so as to give further protection to the ryot from the oppression of the landholder. Another measure by which it was sought to afford scope to the ambition of the more advanced classes was the reservation of a number of posts in the covenanted Civil Service for native probationers selected by the Government of India. These, termed "Statutory Civilians," were, after a two years' training, to receive appointments hitherto filled by civilians selected by public competition, at a slight reduction of the ordinary salary. The scheme seemed a hopeful one, but a twenty years' experience resulted in the establishment in its place of the provincial services. One other Act, intended to curb the licence of the native Press, had a still shorter life. By the Liberal Ministry so soon to come into power such restriction was viewed as indefensible. Yet it cannot be said that a free Press has yet given to India the benefits expected from it.

When, in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield gave place to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lytton at once resigned office, and Lord Ripon sailed for India.

Sent out with the special purpose of reversing his predecessor's foreign policy, the new Viceroy promptly handed back to Afghanistan Kandahar and certain other portions of its territory that had been occupied by us, while nothing more was said as to the residence of British agents at Kabul and elsewhere, or of the scientific frontier on which so much stress had been laid. The result was to allay Abdurrahman's suspicions and ultimately to win his loyal friendship. But though no further complications involved us with Afghanistan itself, there was danger of our being brought into collision with Russia in behalf of that ill-defined country. To avert any such evil, Lord Ripon and his Government proposed an arrangement by which the frontier between Afghan and Russian territory in Central Asia should be defined. The Cabinet in England concurring, negotiations were opened with St. Petersburg, which issued in the despatch of a joint British and



MAJOR CAVNARI
The leader of Sir Neville Chamberlain's advance party, which was refused passage before Ali Musjid.



SIR DONALD STEWART
General Sir Donald Stewart, when British commander in Kabul in 1880, installed Abdurrahman as Amir.

Ministry to reforms in various directions upon a more liberal basis. We have seen that Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was speedily repealed, reliance being placed upon the ordinary penalties of the law for the correction of seditious writings.



MAJOR CAVAGNARI AT A CONFERENCE WITH OFFICERS OF THE AMIR

Sir Louis Cavagnari was appointed British Resident at Kabul in 1879; three weeks after his arrival some mutinous Afghan regiments besieged the Residency and, aided by the populace, massacred Cavagnari and his companions.

From this removal of disabilities Lord Ripon proceeded to two constructive measures, one of which gave rise to a considerable enlargement of the policy initiated by Lord Mayo, while the other evoked a fierce outcry from the British Indian public at large.

The former was an extension of municipal and local boards throughout the country with the special object of enlisting the co-operation of the Indian people in matters of education, sanitation, and local works of public utility.

The latter was the introduction, in 1883, of a Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, generally known as the "Ilbert Bill," from the name of the member in charge of it, Mr. C. P. Ilbert. Hitherto, except in the Presidency towns, no charge against a European British subject could be entertained by a magistrate or a sessions judge who was not of such birth. The new Bill, which aimed at removing this restriction, at once raised a violent outburst of anger and alarm from all ranks of the British community. Europeans valued the privilege of being tried by one of their own blood, and feared that racial prejudice or even mis-

appreciation of evidence would prejudice their trial before native magistrates. Meetings throughout the country denounced the project, associations formed themselves at various centres to bring pressure upon the Government, protests poured in upon Lord Ripon, a hot debate raged in the Legislative Council Chamber, and vigorous representations were made to the Secretary of State. In Calcutta the excitement was at its fiercest, and fears were even entertained that personal insult might be offered to the Viceroy on his return to the capital. After many months of this agitation the Government, though refusing to withdraw its Bill, assented to a compromise whereby all Englishmen were enabled to claim trial by jury throughout the country. Whether it was worth while to awaken dormant animosities for the sake of change in a procedure that had hitherto worked so smoothly has been much debated, but it must be admitted that the law as finally passed has created no well-grounded grievance.

From a matter so contentious we may pass to more pleasant things. General prosperity smiled upon the land. Surpluses

took the place of deficits; from railways, canals, and other public works the returns increased year by year; thanks to a series of good seasons the foreign trade of the country steadily rose; it was found possible to lower the salt tax and to abolish the customs duties on the importation of foreign piece-goods. With the native states no interference was found necessary; but in 1881 the trans-

and drew up a syllabus of recommendations for the guidance of the Departments of Public Instruction in the various provinces.

One cloud alone was visible on the horizon. During his visit to Burma, at the end of 1880, Lord Ripon received a deputation of mercantile residents at Mandalay complaining of the king's arbitrary interference with the course of trade.

On his return to Calcutta the Governor-General made representations to the Court of Ava, which it was hoped would check the abuse of monopolies, which formed the chief grievance. A discontinuance of the system was promised, and a mission sent to India accepted a treaty that, if carried out, would have removed all friction between the two Governments. The king, however, refused to ratify his envoy's concessions, with the result that measures of a serious nature had to be taken in Lord Dufferin's time.

In December, 1884, Lord Ripon left India, and, except that in 1882 he was called upon to furnish a contingent of troops for Egypt, his rule was not vexed by any military operations or by internal disturbances that demanded forcible repression.

Shortly after his arrival, Lord Dufferin invited Abdurrahman to pay him a visit in India for the purpose of discussing all outstanding questions in reference to Afghanistan.

The Amir cordially responded and in the following March arrived at Rawal Pindi in the Punjab, where he was welcomed with every honour. For some months past the Boundary Commission had been at work, when an incident occurred which threatened to put an end to the undertaking. On the left bank of the River Kushk was a place called Panjdeh, to which both Russians and Afghans laid claim. Here, on March 31, a collision took place between

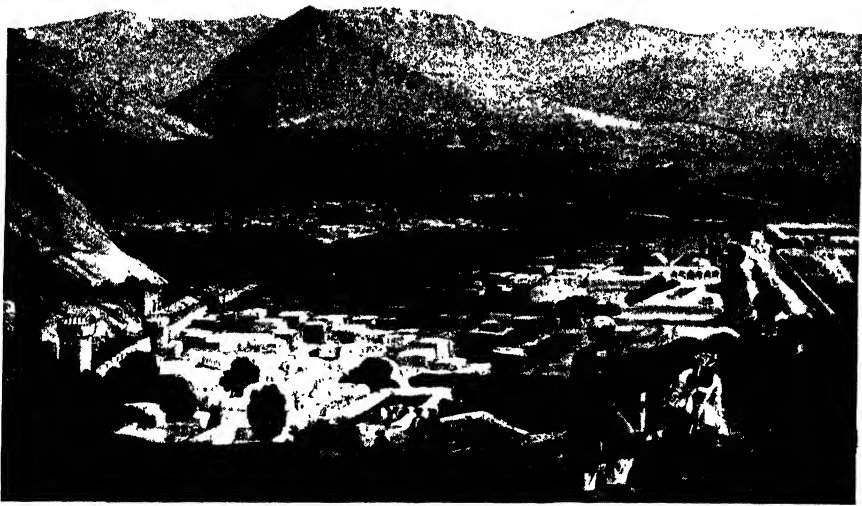


A TROOP OF INDIAN CAVALRY IN THE KHAIBAR PASS. This gateway between India and Afghanistan is the only pass on the north-west frontier suitable for artillery; it is 33 miles long and is overhung by mountains which sometimes rise sheer from 1,400 to 3,000 feet above the pass.

ference of rule in Mysore to the young Raja came into force, and an important instrument, or Sanad, recorded in full detail the obligations under which the state's internal independence was to be guaranteed by the paramount power. Education was stimulated by the appointment of a Commission, which reviewed the whole subject from the date of the Despatch of 1854, classified the schools of all kinds, overhauled the Grant-in-Aid rules,



A SCENE IN THE BAZAAR AT KABUL, THE CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN
The chief merchandise sold consists of fruit, which is grown locally, also carpets, shawls, and silk and cotton goods.



GENERAL VIEW OF KABUL, WITH THE BALA HISSAR IN THE FOREGROUND
The Bala Hissar dominates the city and is a former palace of the Amir; it was the British Residency in 1879, and in it Major Sir Louis Cavagnari and several companions, with about 75 natives, were murdered by mutinous Afghans.

SCENES IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE AMIR

the troops of the respective nations, in which the Afghans were worsted. For the moment it seemed likely that this event would kindle a war between England and Russia.

The Amir, however, who was then being entertained as the Viceroy's guest, attached but little importance to the possession of Panjdeh, and negotiations between the Courts of St. Petersburg and St. James's ended in the neutralisation of the disputed territory until the demarcation should be completed. Meanwhile the conference at Rawal Pindi went on. Lord Dufferin's courtesy and tact were met by frankness on the part of the Amir, the gist of whose policy was a determination not to admit either Russian or Englishman within his dominions. Satisfied by assurances that the British had no thought of interference in his domestic affairs—assurances backed by promises of arms and money—the Amir returned to Kabul, henceforth to remain a loyal friend. Demarcation, interrupted for a while, was pushed forward, Sir P. Lumsden being replaced by Colonel Ridgeway, who, deputed in 1886 to St. Petersburg, brought matters to so successful a close that in July, 1887, an agreement was signed which embraced the whole of the frontier in dispute.

Concurrently with these negotiations ending in so friendly a manner, foreign politics had to deal with the hostile attitude of the Burman king. Reference

has already been made to his treatment of commercial residents at Mandalay, and to the abortive mission of 1882. In 1885 it was suspected that Thebaw was preparing to throw himself into the arms of France as a prospective ally in case of

pressure being put upon him from India. An ultimatum was therefore sent demanding that he should receive a permanent British Resident at his court, and defer to the advice of the British Government in regard to his foreign relations. The answer

from Ava was a distinct defiance. Thereupon a force of 10,000 troops marched upon Mandalay, which was occupied in ten days, the king surrendering himself a prisoner.

After a full consideration of the different courses open to him in order to ensure stable government, and having himself visited the country, Lord Dufferin decided that annexation pure and simple, and the direct administration of the province by British officers, offered the best prospects of securing the peace and prosperity of Upper Burma and our own

Imperial and commercial interests. A complete administrative system was therefore drawn up by which the two provinces were gradually assimilated to each other. The task, however, of pacifying a country infested by robber gangs, and both unaccustomed to, and intolerant of, any form of regular government, was one that at first taxed all the energies of

the new administration. Yet within two years peace and order reigned throughout, and each succeeding year has witnessed increasing prosperity with a cheerful acceptance of British rule.

While political complications were thus successfully met, legislative enactments dealt with

some vexatious questions. Succinctly told, the object and result of the three great Tenancy Bills passed in Lord Dufferin's time were the settlement of disputes between the zemindar and the ryot, with especial reference to the protection of the



ABDURRAHMAN
This grandson of Dost Mohammed was proclaimed Amir by the British under General Stewart in 1880.



MARQUESS OF RIPON
The first Marquess of Ripon was Governor-General of India from 1880 to 1884, and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, who added Burma to the British dominions, was Viceroy from 1884 to 1888.



MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN
The first Marquess of Ripon was Governor-General of India from 1880 to 1884, and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, who added Burma to the British dominions, was Viceroy from 1884 to 1888.

latter. The matter as regards Bengal had already been under the consideration of Lord Ripon's Government without any definite arrangement being come to.

Dufferin's Tenancy Bills While the landlords contended that by Act X. of 1859 partiality had been shown to their tenants, these, on the other hand, emphasised the disabilities under which they laboured by refusing in many parts to pay rent. Act VIII. of 1885 reviewed the whole rent-law of the province, establishing a fixity of tenure whereby, while the landlord was entitled to a fair share of the increased value of the produce of the soil, the tenant obtained the same security in his holding that he had enjoyed under the old customary law.

In Oudh, again taking up the work begun by Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin carried through his Legislative Council a Rent Act which largely curtailed the powers of eviction and enhancement of rent that the talukdars claimed. Whereas hitherto the cultivator's tenure held good by law for a year only, the new Act declared the tenant-at-will entitled to retain his holding for a period of seven years from the date of his rent being settled in accordance with provisions therein laid down, and, further, to claim compensation on ejection for improvements made within thirty years previously.

Reference has already been made to a compromise in 1886 which had sought to adjust somewhat similar difficulties in the Punjab. But by 1886 these had considerably increased, and further steps were necessary to define existing rights.

The result was a Bill, in 1887, which, as in Bengal and Oudh, gave relief to the tenantry, and was accepted by both parties as a satisfactory settlement of their dispute.

Though not carried through in Lord Dufferin's time, two important measures of internal policy were initiated by him. The one was an enlargement of the powers of legislative councils; the other, the admission of natives of India to a larger share of the civil appointments until

then reserved for the "competition-wallah." These proposals synchronised with the formation of a body styling itself the "National Congress," which, under the fostering care of Mr. Hume, a retired English civilian, had been originally organised to promote self-government and representative institutions. The party soon fell into the hands of pleaders and the privileged classes of Hindu society, such as Brahmans, Khatri, and Bengali Babus, who gradually gained control of the native Press, receiving financial support from large landowners and others desirous of securing their interest. Mohammedans held aloof from the Congress, and the masses of the cultivators were indifferent to it. As years advanced, pro-

fessional agitators and the less scrupulous adherents of the party captured the machinery, and professing to speak the voice of India, entered upon an open campaign of sedition and misrepresentation which led to serious trouble in 1907. Lord Dufferin foresaw the probable course of events, and courageously took the opportunity of a farewell dinner given to him on



KING THEBAW IN STATE

The last native King of Burma, whose misrule and arrogance drew upon him repeated remonstrances and protests from successive Governors-General of India, until the climax when Dufferin deposed him and annexed Burma.

**Concerted
Native
Agitation**

St. Andrew's Day to declare the limits within which a further share of power could alone be conceded to the educated classes.

In military matters Lord Dufferin's Government advocated a far-reaching organic reform entailing the abolition of the Presidency commands—a measure that had to wait for its fulfilment till Lord

Dufferin's Military Policy Elgin's time. Among minor events may be mentioned the rendition to Sindhia of the fortress of Gwalior, whereby the long-cherished desire of that chief was at last gratified; the foundation of the "Countess of Dufferin's Fund," out of which hospitals and dispensaries were opened for the treatment of native women by members of their own sex; the establishment of a university at Allahabad; and the gift of a Legislative Council to the North-western Provinces.

In September, 1888, Lord Dufferin was created Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, and on December 10 he made over his viceroyalty to Lord Lansdowne. It was by his own wish that his term of office had been shortened by one year, for advancing age warned him that energies tried by so many burdensome offices must seek relief

in retirement from public life, or, at all events, in duties of a less exacting nature.

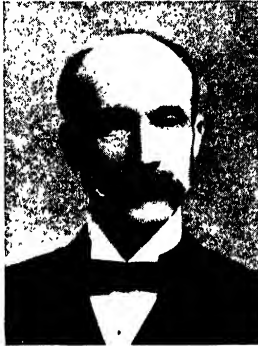
Apart from certain minor expeditions, Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty was free from the scourge of war. But many difficulties in regard to frontier states awaited his attention. Barbarous tribes had to be brought into subjection and predatory outbreaks chastised; feuds between neighbouring tribes demanded intervention; tedious negotiations were necessary for the opening up of roads for commercial enterprise; various boundaries called for definition, as, for instance, between the Shan States and Siam, between Burma and China, between Sikkim and Tibet. Here a British Agency had to be estab-

Problems of Lord Lansdowne lished, there the disputed succession of a chief could be settled only by our recognition; and in one state—that of Manipur, on the borders of Assam—stern measures were necessary in retribution of the treacherous murder of British officials. But no problem of foreign policy was so important as the settlement of our relations with Afghanistan. From time to time projected missions to Kabul had been abandoned for one reason or another, and



THE DEPARTURE OF KING THEBAW OF BURMA FROM HIS CAPITAL OF MANDALAY

especially because of internal dissensions, which Abdurrahman had to quell before he could safely engage in foreign diplomacy. However, in September, 1893, a mission under Sir H. M. Durand set out for Kabul, and was there cordially welcomed by the Amir. The result was eminently satisfactory, all questions as to respective spheres of influence being amicably decided, while an agreement was entered into for the demarcation of the whole frontier between Afghanistan and India. In return for concessions made by the Amir, his subsidy was largely increased, and the Government of India agreed to permit the importation of arms and ammunition.



Russell



Elliot & Fry

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE **SIR H. M. DURAND**
The fifth Marquess of Lansdowne was Governor-General of India from 1888 to 1893, and materially strengthened the friendliness of the ruling chiefs for the British Crown. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand was political secretary to Lord Roberts during the Afghan campaign of 1879 to 1880, and conducted the mission to the Amir in 1893.

A marked feature of Lord Lansdowne's rule was his establishment of personal relations with the ruling chiefs. Within British India itself he won the approval of the educated classes by his treatment of the legislative councils. On his recommendation the number of non-official members was largely increased, the right of financial discussion and of interpretation was conceded, and, further—a privilege pre-eminently valued—the local legislatures and certain other bodies were entrusted with the selection of nominees for the Imperial Legislative Council; rules conceived in the same liberal spirit being drawn up for the local legislative bodies. In legislation itself the more important Acts due to Lord Lansdowne's government were the Factory Act, restricting the hours during which women and children might be employed; an Act by which cruelty to animals was made punishable; the Age of Consent Marriage Act, whereby the age up to which the law protected young girls was raised from ten to twelve years. To these measures must be added the appointment of a commission to consider a revision of the Deccan Relief Act of 1879.

Lansdowne's Domestic Reforms

To economics and public works Lord Lansdowne gave the closest attention. Thus, in accordance with the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1881, an Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture was created with provincial Departments organised upon a similar basis. Steps followed for a more scientific and more moderate assessment of the land revenue, one, too, which should tend towards relieving indebted and distressed land-owners. The area brought under irrigation increased by nearly 2,000,000 acres, while close upon 4,000 miles of new railway lines were opened between 1888 and 1893. With a people so wedded to

custom, perhaps no reform is more difficult than that of sanitation. Something, however, has been done by the establishment of provincial sanitary boards, and the system of waterworks introduced during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty bids fair to be of inestimable benefit. As with so many previous Viceroy's, financial disturbance troubled Lord Lansdowne. Though between 1889 and 1892 he had been favoured with considerable surpluses, deficits again made their unwelcome appearance. These were mainly due to the rapid and continuous decline in the value of silver. So great was the embarrassment thus created that the Ministry in England determined to appoint a committee to consider proposals made by the Government of India for restricting the coinage of silver at the Indian mints and making sovereigns legal tender at a rate not exceeding 1s. 6d. for the rupee. These proposals, though modified by the committee, resulted in fixing the ratio between gold and silver at 1s. 4d. for the rupee, and with this standard to work upon. Indian finance is now free from the oscillations that had so long vexed it from a fall in the rate of exchange.

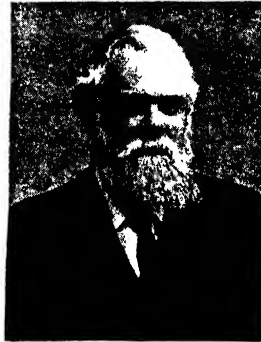
Falling Price of Silver

In military affairs many important steps were taken. Among them were the abolition of the Presidential Army system, the amalgamation of the three separate staff corps, the recruitments from more warlike classes in many of the native regiments, the equipment of the Imperial service troops offered by the feudatory chiefs at the instance of Lord Dufferin, and large measures for the more prompt mobilisation of the army and the defence of the harbours and frontiers of India. Lord Lansdowne also laid the foundations of police reorganisation on which Lord Curzon was to build, instituted an inquiry into the administration of gaols, founded an Imperial library, and collected valuable statistics by means of the Imperial census.

On January 24, 1894, he handed over charge of his office to Lord Elgin with the consciousness that the measures taken during the five years of its tenure had contributed towards the greater security and increased well-being of the country at large, more active co-operation on the part of the native princes, and friendlier relations with foreign states. His successor brought to the task of governing India those qualities of common-sense and high principles which ensure success to their possessor if willing to profit by the experience of others. His judgment and courage were soon put to the test by a succession of unlooked-for calamities. The first trouble

was a legacy from events occurring towards the close of his predecessor's reign. In 1892 the Mehtar of Chitral, who received a subsidy from the Government of India, suddenly died. His second son, Afzal-ul-Mulk, thereupon seized the reins of State to the

exclusion of his elder brother, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who took refuge with the British at Gilgit. Hardly had Afzal established himself on the throne when he was attacked by his uncle, Sher Afzul, and fell in the struggle. In his turn Sher Afzul had to yield to the old Mehtar's eldest son, whose right was recognised by Lord Lansdowne, a British



EARL OF ELGIN
The ninth Earl of Elgin, was Governor General of India 1894-99, and pursued a cautious and conservative policy.

command of a British officer, which was driven into the fort of Chitral, and there besieged by a large force of Chitralis. Two British columns, speedily despatched, relieved the fort, order was restored, and

the invader fled the country.

Everything now gave promise of quiet times, when once again famine loomed large. So general, indeed, was the failure of the monsoon in 1896 that distress more or less acute threatened nearly the whole of India. Every measure that previous experience had dictated was at once set in operation, yet at

one period nearly 5,000,000 of half-starved human beings were earning a scanty subsistence on the relief works, while the death-rate increased by leaps and bounds. Charitable contributions from various quarters reached the high figure of some £3,000,000



Russell

LORD CURZON

Lord Curzon of Kedleston was Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, and followed an energetic policy of reform in every direction. The fourth Earl of Minto succeeded Lord Curzon, and was Viceroy from 1905 to 1910.



Thackeray

EARL OF MINTO

MODERN INDIA—THE NEW EMPIRE

sterling, and the loss to the Government of India in one shape or another was computed at not less than £17,000,000. On the top of famine came bubonic plague in Bombay, which eventually spread over the greater part of the country. Endeavours to stamp it out by isolation and sanitary precautions have been baffled as much by the caste and religious habits of the people as by our ignorance of its cause, and now, after ten years, it appears to have become endemic.

To crown the anxiety with which the Viceroy and his councillors were beset in these directions, a general and apparently concerted rising of border tribes along the north-western frontier necessitated extensive military operations. Afridis, Mohmands, Orakzaus, Buners, Waziris, and others poured down into British territory, capturing forts, beleaguering posts, and overwhelming native garrisons. For

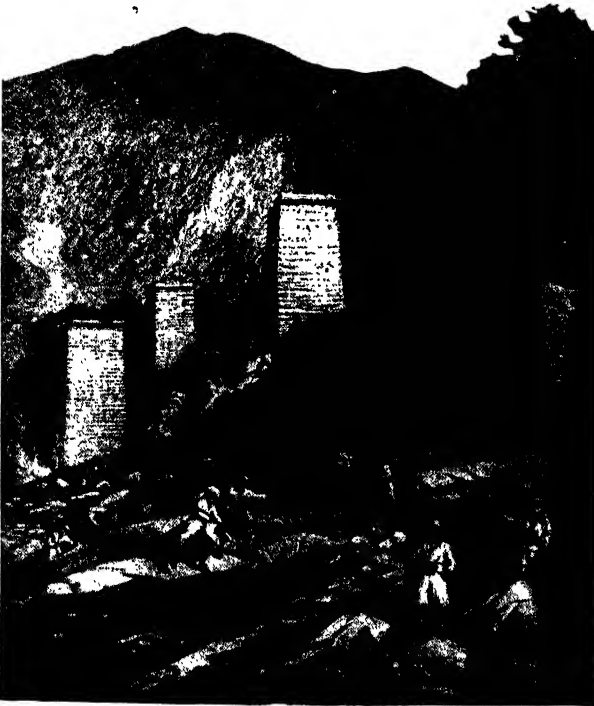
their punishment, two expeditions were fitted out—the one against the Afridis under Sir W. Lockhart, the other, commanded by Sir Bindon Blood, against the other tribes. Throughout the winter of 1897 these forces were engaged in a bitter struggle, and though in the end the insurgents were vanquished, victory was bought at a heavy cost of life and large expenditure of money. Apart from the measures demanded by famine and plague, which absorbed so much of the energies of civil governments, nothing of striking importance marked

Work of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty

Lord Elgin's rule. Progress was made in the way of opening up a wider career to educated natives by enlarging the number of posts to which they were accounted eligible, and in developing the provincial, as distinguished from the Imperial, system; something also was done towards improving municipal administration. In 1899 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the brilliant Englishman who now took up office and the cautious Scotsman who had just laid it down—between the steady determination of the one to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors and the bold energy of the other intent upon regenerating India in every direction. During the seven years of his rule Lord Curzon pushed his inquiries into every nook and corner of the administration, completing some useful reforms and originating a variety of schemes upon the value of which time alone can pronounce. It is impossible here even to summarise the multifarious projects on which his active mind busied itself. Nor can we treat in much detail the more prominent occurrences of his rule.

Of frontier questions, those most perplexing to successive Viceroys have had reference to the North-



THE FORT OF CHITRAL: SCENE OF A MINOR SIEGE
In the fort of Chitral, in the native state of Chitral on the north-west frontier of Kashmir, Sir George Robertson (then Surgeon-Major Robertson) was besieged in 1895, and relieved by Colonel Kelly after a forced march from Gilgit.

west. Till lately, the territory contiguous with the border was under the administration of the Punjab Government. This involved a great deal of work which, if not of any Imperial character, seemed to Lord Curzon to demand special arrangements. These he proposed to make by carving out of the Punjab a frontier province under the rule of a commissioner, subject to the Government of India. Though meeting with much opposition, the scheme was ultimately sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Cognate with it was the question of protecting the frontier. Hitherto this duty had been in the hands of Imperial troops, whose neighbourhood was thought at times likely

**Several
Frontier
Problems**

to provoke collision with the frontier clans. It was therefore decided to substitute tribal levies under the command of carefully-selected British officers. After the severe chastigation which the tribes had recently received, it was not to be expected that renewed outbursts would occur in the near future, and thus these two experiments were launched at the most favourable time. So far they seem to have been successful, but it would be rash to draw conclusions from so short an experience of their working.

**Protection
of the
Frontier**

Another measure which roused still greater opposition was the subdivision or "partition" of Bengal. In this there was no novelty of procedure. As Lord

Dalhousie had found it necessary to sever Bengal from the Governor-Generalship, as the North-western Provinces and the Punjab became distinct provinces, and Assam a Chief-Commissionership, in each case because it was found impossible for a single officer to administer so wide an extent of country, so now Bengal required relief of a similar nature. The idea, however, roused the Bengal pleaders and the newspaper proprietors to a frenzy of wrath, and the agitation against it was active. Meetings of protest were organised throughout the province; the native Press teemed with vituperation of the most rancorous character; English goods were boycotted, and the "Friends of India," as they style themselves, still continue their outcry in the House of Commons. But the change once carried out has been maintained, and it may safely be predicted



ENTRY OF THE BRITISH MISSION INTO LHASA

During the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, in 1903, a British mission under Colonel Younghusband entered Tibet to compel observance of the provisions of the treaty of 1887; a few minor engagements took place, and Lhasa was reached on August 3, 1904.

that the administrative advantages of the redistribution of charges will soon be recognised.

In financial matters Lord Curzon reaped what others had sown. Thanks largely to Lord Lansdowne's treatment of the exchange difficulty, he enjoyed a succession of surpluses averaging about three millions sterling. But if the funds at his disposal were large, the demands upon the public purse kept pace with the incomes. Famine, the equipment of the army, and the need of civil administrations, all helped to swallow up what might otherwise have been devoted to the remission of taxes. Not till 1903, therefore, was it possible to move in this direction. In that year, however, the salt tax was reduced by eight annas per maund, and the limit of exemption from income tax was raised, two measures involving an annual sacrifice of revenue to the amount of two and a half millions.

The famine of 1899-1900 affected a population of 25,000,000 in British India, and more than 30,000,000 in native states. For weeks together, upwards of 6,000,000 of human beings were dependent upon the charity of Government. The expenditure exceeded £6,000,000 sterling, besides liberal advances made to agriculturists, loans to native states whose finances were unequal to measures of relief, and large remissions of arrears of revenue. At the end of 1902, remissions to the extent of over £1,000,000 sterling were granted to clear off the arrears that had accumulated during the time of distress, and so to give the rural population of the affected tracts a fresh start in life. Each previous visitation had added to the experience gained



THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF LHASA

The Treaty of Lhasa, which was signed in the apartments of the Dalai Lama at the Potala in Lhasa on September 7, 1901, permitted trade between India and Tibet; it engaged Tibet not to sell or lease any Tibetan territory to any foreign Power without the consent of Great Britain and to pay an indemnity of £500,000 in 75 yearly instalments.

by Government in respect to the treatment of famine, but much credit was due to the Viceroy's personal energy in coping with so far-reaching a calamity.

In the existing state of education, Lord Curzon found a scope for his reforming energies. To consider the subject generally, a conference was held at Simla, in 1901, at which the views of those most competent to advise were fully stated, the result being a series of resolutions embodying a programme of reconstruction. The most urgent question was that of extending elementary education, the provincial fund for which had long been insufficient. Ultimately an annual grant of thirty-five lakhs of rupees for this purpose was accepted as a permanent charge upon

the Imperial Exchequer. Something was also done for training colleges, industrial schools, and female education. The universities presented a more thorny problem. In the absence of a general inspection of the affiliated institutions, many of the so-called colleges were no better than "cramming" establishments of an unsatisfactory character, with a direct interest in lowering the university standards. This desire was tacitly encouraged by the Senates, in which a superabundance of members with no practical knowledge of education made it their object to attract the largest number of students and to glorify themselves by an

Reform of Indian Colleges

General's complaints no heed was paid, his letters being returned unopened. In 1902 a conference at Yatung was arranged with China as the suzerain of Tibet. The Chinese envoys, however, arrived too late, and nothing was done. Later on, with the consent of the Chinese, Khamba Jong, just across the Tibetan frontier, was fixed upon as the place of meeting, the Dalai Lama accepting the proposal, only to decline all negotiation when the mission arrived. It was now felt by the Governments of India that no further delay could be allowed in settling the matter. A British force, therefore, pushed on to Lhasa, which it occupied after some fighting. A treaty, subsequently revised



GENERAL VIEW OF LHASA, THE METROPOLIS OF LAMAITE BUDDHISM

Lhasa, which means "the abode of divine intelligence," is the capital of Tibet, and has only recently been entered by foreigners. Towards the left of the picture is the Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama, and there was signed the treaty of September 7, 1904, by which non-British interference in the affairs of Tibet was made impossible.

increasing out-turn of graduates. By a Bill passed into law in 1894, the universities were provided with new Senates, mainly composed of teachers, and leave was given to each to frame its own regulations and to inspect its own colleges. This step, which ought to have been taken long before, was received with a storm of obloquy, on the ground that it was intended to "officialise" the universities and, by insisting upon an impossible standard of efficiency, to crush the weaker colleges out of existence.

Among foreign matters was the mission to Lhasa, provoked by the failure of the Tibetan Government to observe the treaty made with it in 1887. To the Governor-

by the Secretary of State, was exacted, the Dalai Lama fled, and the Tashi Lama, his successor, has since shown himself ready to accept British friendship. Another mission, this time to Afghanistan, was despatched in 1904, its object being to draw closer the relations between the two countries, and so persuade the new Amir, Habibulla Khan, to take measures for opening up his dominions to free commercial intercourse. A treaty was, after some delay, concluded which merely reaffirmed existing arrangements.

Lord Curzon, having taken leave to England in April, 1904, was reappointed Governor-General on his return to India

Tibetan and Afghan Relations



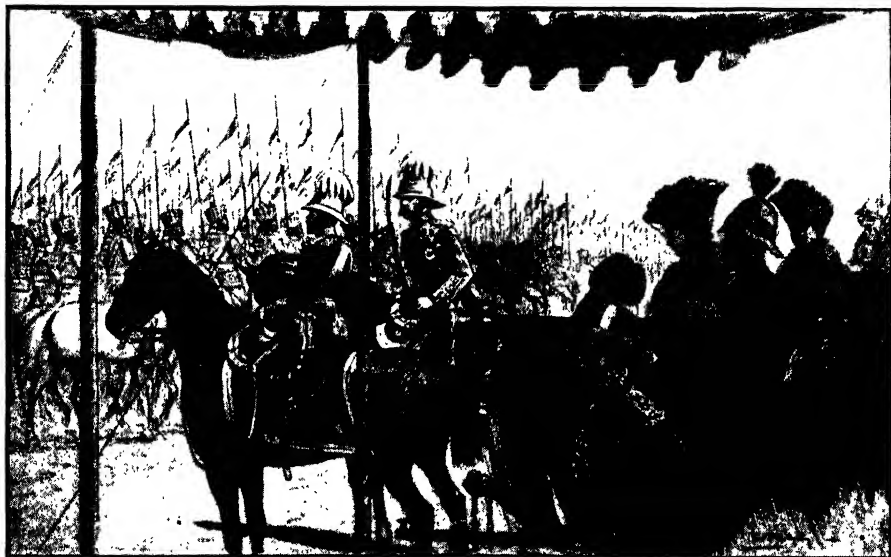
KING GEORGE V. AND QUEEN MARY, AS PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES, IN INDIA
In December, 1905, the Prince and Princess of Wales arrived in Calcutta. Their three months' tour was a pageant of Oriental magnificence, and brought much benefit to India on account of their reception by the native princes and people.

in the following December. He took an active part in the great scheme of military reorganisation to which the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, had devoted his energies. The Governor-General persuaded himself that the direct participation of the Commander-in-Chief, as a member of Council, in the disposal of military business that came before the Government of India would weaken the control of the civil authorities over the military affairs of India. Neither the Government of Mr. Balfour, nor that of the Liberal Party which at a later date succeeded it, shared these fears. Before, therefore, another year was over he relinquished his post in India in favour of Lord Minto, who assumed office in November, 1905.

The new Governor-General at once attended to two matters of great importance which his predecessor had nearly brought to a final issue. A Police Commission had reported upon the various forces throughout India, recommending substantial increases of pay and the introduction of much-needed reforms of system. The necessary changes were at once carried out in this department. In the extension of irrigation, the late Viceroy had provided further important safeguards against famine, and Lord Minto actively followed the lead given him.

As soon as he had settled the outstanding questions which awaited his arrival, Lord Minto strove to allay the feelings of unrest and discontent which recent changes had increased, and even proceeded to consider how far it might be possible to associate the natural leaders of Indian society in the guardianship of common and imperial interests. The formation of councils of notables, the enlargement of legislative councils, and the increase of facilities for discussion of the budget, were some of the schemes which he contemplated. Unfortunately, the Hindu Press in all parts of India, and the opposition to the division of Bengal, with the popular movement in favour of boycotting European goods, had already inflamed racial animosity; and he was obliged to turn aside for the moment from the task of reform to that of repression and the preservation of the public peace. It may be noted that during this period of unrest the Mohammedans, who have always realised that the programme of the Congress party is not in their interest, have displayed loyalty to British rule.

The tour of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and the Princess of Wales in the winter of 1905-6 was a success in every way and exercised a most salutary effect upon all ranks of Indian society.



KING GEORGE V., WHEN THE PRINCE OF WALES, REVIEWING THE INDIAN ARMY
The drawing from which the illustration is taken is the work of an artist present at the military review at Rawal Pindi, where 25,000 troops were on parade. In the picture the Prince of Wales is the front figure on horseback, Lord Kitchener is immediately behind him, and the Princess of Wales occupies the front position in the carriage.



INDIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

HAVING now traversed the dusty road of Indian history, and marked the stages along it indicated by the terms of office held by the Viceroy down to the present time, we may pause and take a general survey of the country.

India consists of two parts—British India, comprising, with Berar, which is administered by the Nizam, 1,097,900 square miles, with 244,000,000 of British subjects; and native states, under British protection, covering 675,267 square miles, with 71,000,000 of people, subject to the laws of their own ruling chiefs. The former is divided into fifteen Provinces, of which the following are the largest in matter of area: Burma, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Central Provinces and the

Area and Population of India

Punjab. Of these, Bengal is the most populous, with over 45,000,000; the United Provinces, with nearly 48; Madras, with 41; and Bihar and Orissa with 34 millions, following in the order stated.

The Boards of three members, known as the Governor-in-Council in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, conduct the affairs of those Provinces; but elsewhere one Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner is the executive head of the administration. Beneath these higher authorities Commissioners, except in Madras, where there is a Board of Revenue, exercise authority over divisions, and collectors under them have charge of Districts. The 270 districts are the real units of administration in British India, being in turn subdivided into *talukas*, or *tahsils*, over which a native officer has control.

The law, whether of Parliament or of India, lays down in detail the powers which the supreme Government of India, consisting of a Governor-General and six members of Council, to which is added the Commander-in-Chief as an

extraordinary member, must retain in their own hands. The Provincial Governments exercise all authority not specially reserved by the Government of India, and in turn distribute a share of their powers among the Commissioners, the

How Great Britain Rules India

collectors—who are also magistrates—and the sub-divisional officers. Throughout, the whole administration business is divided into departments, such as judicial, revenue, military, financial, public works, political, and legislative; and as the streams of work pour in from the villages through the districts into the provincial offices, they are conducted into the proper department of the secretariat or provincial offices, whence orders issue to the part affected, or else a reference is made to the supreme Government.

The Indian Civil Service, to which natives of India as well as other subjects of the King gain access by open competition, supplies the upper layer of the official classes, and is so thin that the average of civilians actually at work at any time is about one for every quarter of a million of the Indian population. Including this thin crust, mainly composed of British officers, there are some 22,000 natives of India holding public posts on monthly salaries of 75 rupees and upwards, thus forming 77 per cent. of the entire staff of officials employed in India on the salaries stated.

Part of the work of Government in British India is, however, performed by municipal and local boards. Of the former there are 714 dealing with an urban population of 17,000,000; of the latter, 1,124 administering an expenditure of over £3,000,000 sterling on education, civil works, and sanitation.

Local Governing Bodies

But the real field open in India to the application of indigenous principles of government consists of the 693 native

states under their own ruling chiefs, who apply a public revenue of 24,000,000 of rupees to their own uses and the wants of more than 70,000,000 of their subjects. Some of these chiefs rule over considerable states, while others govern mere jurisdictional estates. Five—viz., Nepal, Haidarabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmir—are in direct relations with the supreme Government, in addition to 148 states in Central India, twenty in Rajputana, and two in Baluchistan. The rest are under the control of the Provincial Governments, those under Bombay numbering 354 large and small states. But none of

co-operation in time of Imperial need; it settles successions, and preserves their integrity; but it does not interfere in the local affairs of those which are large enough to exercise internal sovereignty, except in cases of gross misrule.

The economic condition of British India, for which the British Governments are responsible, depends mainly upon the following facts. The population, in the main rural, is scattered among 551,490 villages. Only 8,000,000 are attending schools, of whom 505,000 are studying English. And in the whole of India, including the native states, not 57,000,000 out



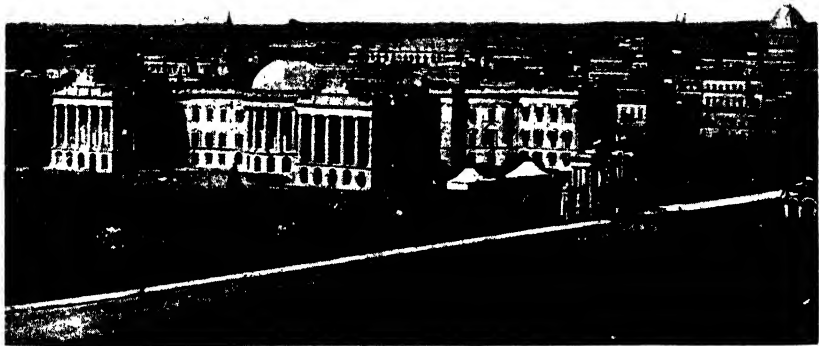
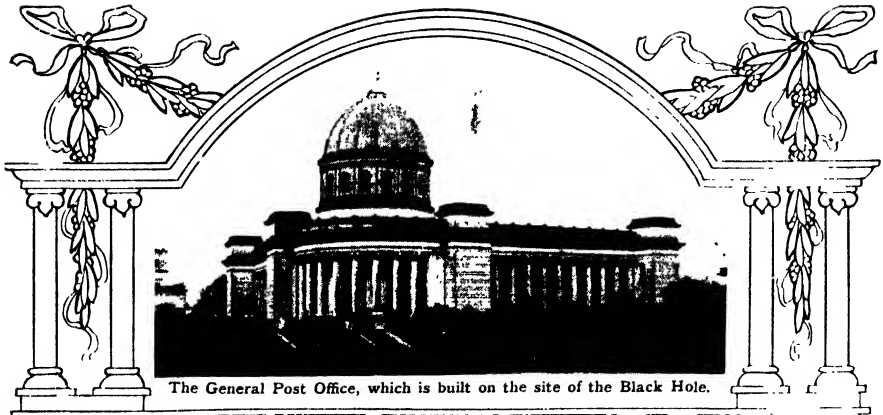
SIMLA: THE SUMMER HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

Simla is beautifully situated amid magnificent scenery on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; it is a sanatorium as well as the seat of the Government during the hot summer months, and during the winter it is deserted.

these states are subject to British law, the principle of autocracy pervading the whole. The ruling chief promulgates laws without the intervention of a legislative council. He is supreme alike in executive and judicial matters; he spends the revenues as he thinks proper, and tolerates no free Press or political agitation. The tie which unites such states to the paramount Power is light. The British Government acts for one and all of them in their foreign relations. It regulates the extent of their armed forces, and claims their military

of 315,000,000 have ever learnt to read or write. The people are divided by religion, caste, and language, no less than 147 vernaculars being spoken in the empire. Two-thirds of the population depend on agriculture, and many more on labour or industries connected with it. Yet more than half of the empire is subject to failure of the annual rains, and therefore to a cessation of the work from which its inhabitants derive their livelihood.

The prevention and mitigation of famine therefore demand constant forethought, and in a less degree sanitary measures



General view of the city as seen from the Ochterlony Monument.



The Town Hall and the High Court, showing the statue of Lord William Bentinck. Photo- by F.ith

VIEWS IN CALCUTTA

are urgent, in view of the habits of life which favour the spread of plague, cholera, and fever. Much has been done by the extension of irrigation to prevent famine, and about one-eventh of the cropped area in British India is now fertilised by means of canals. The annual value of the crops on irrigated areas was

Canal and Irrigation Schemes

in 1912 equivalent to over 100 per cent. of the total capital outlay, or about £41,510,000. In Sindh and the Punjab, irrigation colonies have been recently planted out on a grand scale. Railways have been extended so as to bring relief to all parts, there being now 33,494 miles of line open to traffic.

The material improvement effected by these measures is reflected in the extension of cultivation, the expansion of trade, and the increase of revenue. In the last five years imports have risen over 50 per cent., and exports nearly as greatly, no less than £170,000,000 sterling of gold and silver having been absorbed in that period. The salt tax, reduced from 2½ rupees to 1 rupee, brings in less than formerly, and opium receipts are falling as a result of other causes. But the increased receipts from land, stamps, and excise, and the earnings of railways, produce a larger revenue. The net revenue of British India in 1912-13 was £60,685,300, and for some years now substantial surpluses have accrued. The burden of taxation proper is two shillings and a penny a head, or if land revenue, which is not taxation, be added, it is three shillings and ninepence a head. Of the total Indian debt, £274,403,000, no less than three-fourths is productive debt, representing capital borrowed at low rates for the construction of railways and canals yielding large returns, which are therefore excluded from the net revenue mentioned above, while the country's other liabilities are covered by reserves, loans, and other assets. It

Sources of Indian Revenue

may be added that the post office and telegraphs are worked at a low profit, and the country therefore escapes payment of charges which in the United Kingdom are pitched high enough to produce a substantial revenue.

Despite, therefore, the losses due to failure of the rains, which no human foresight can avert, the risk of frontier wars, and outbreaks of devastating plague, the material condition of India is sound.

It possesses a free Press, and 600 vernacular newspapers testify to the activity of its political organisations. The Government, secure in its intentions, and confident of the results which it has achieved, has hitherto taken no steps to correct the misstatements of fact which are disseminated by these organs; but the question must arise whether a foreign Government, employing a large native army and reducing its civil servants of European extraction to a minimum, can afford to allow the credulous masses of its subjects to be daily seduced from their allegiance by falsehood and seditious writing. Current events seem to indicate the necessity of educating the people more rapidly than has been the case in the past, and of placing before them the true facts relating to themselves and their governors.

At this point inquiry suggests itself as to the part which India is playing in the history of mankind. What does its possession mean to the United Kingdom? And what does British dominion mean to the Indian Empire with its vast population? The India of to-day is in every respect

Progress of a Century

different from India at the beginning of the last century. Then desolation still impressed its fresh traces on the land. Internal wars and the competition of rival claimants for native states had not ceased. Forests and hill tracts witnessed human sacrifices and the most degrading superstitions. Property in slaves was recognised. The open country was exposed to gang robberies and the detestable practices of Thugs. The patient cultivator, oppressed by his landlord, was squeezed by the robber, and if a horde of Pindaris passed through his district, fire and sword worked havoc in his village. All this has been changed, and even clean forgotten by the present generation; changed not by the gradual progress of a people righting their own wrongs step by step, but by the sudden grasp of the reins by a foreign ruler, lifting up the weak, establishing courts of justice, suppressing disorder with a firm hand, and organising the military forces of India for the maintenance of peace and order. To the work of pacification succeeded the rapid application of foreign science to human needs, improving by leaps and bounds the moral and material condition of the people. Even the physical features of the country have been altered. The conservation



INDIAN BULLOCK CARRIAGE OR REET



SNAKE CHARMER IN PUBLIC STREET



KASHMIR WOMEN SHELLING RICE



20-WOMAN TEAM WITH ROAD ROLLER

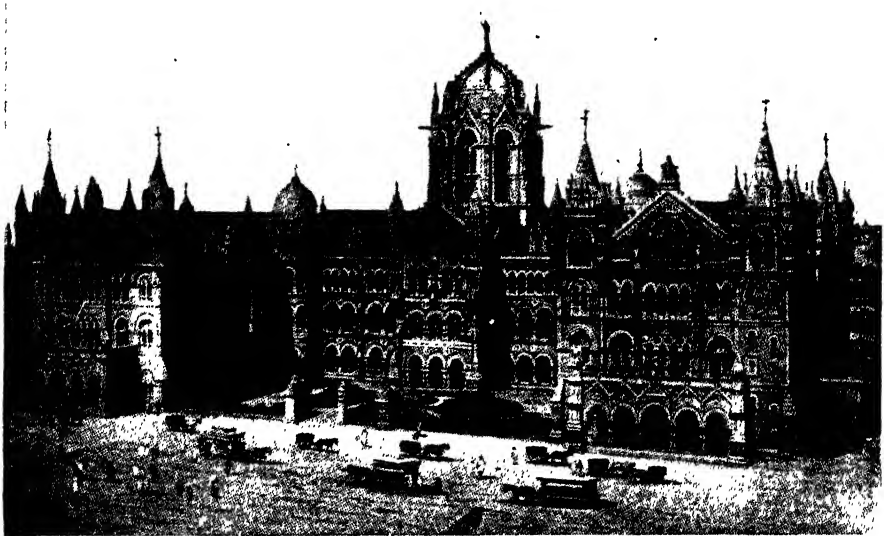
SCENES IN LIVING INDIA

Photographed by H. C. White Co. and Underwood & Underwood

and restoration of forests have reclaimed large tracts from sterility due to want of rain. The rainless tracts of desert have been converted into popular colonies of busy cultivators.

The Indian, who rarely left the limits of his village, is now a frequent traveller by road or rail. New markets have been opened to his products, foreign capital is brought from distant lands to his service, and a variety of new occupations is offered to him both above and beneath the surface of the land. The revenue returns show that in the last thirty years the proportion borne by land revenue to the gross public income has fallen

all its watertight compartments of caste, is moving forward, and Mohammedans are no longer content to look only backwards on the glories of the past with longing, lingering looks. They have taken their education into their own hands. The minds as well as the bodies of all classes are stirred by new desires, and although the masses still lay behind their leaders, they feel the ferment of a new civilisation. Religion has not escaped the universal change. When his river gods have yielded their freedom to the engineer and the dreaded goddess of smallpox has been defrauded of her victims by the doctor, the priest must shift his ground; and



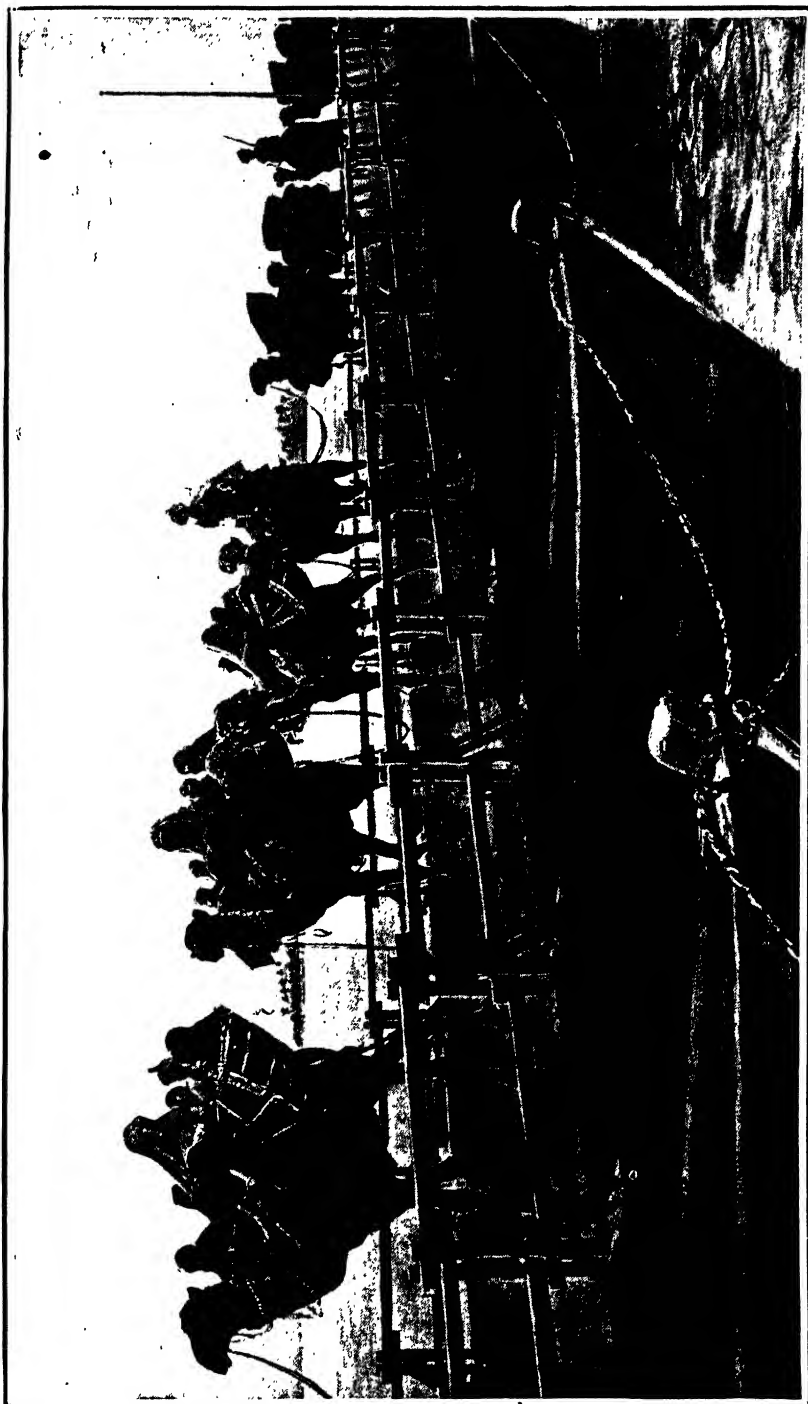
THE FINEST RAILWAY STATION IN THE WORLD: VICTORIA TERMINUS, BOMBAY

This elaborate edifice, in Italian Gothic style, with Oriental modifications in the domes, was completed in 1888 at a cost of £300,000; it is certainly the finest railway station in India, and is said to be unequalled in any country

from 39 to 22 per cent., thus indicating the progress of industrial enterprise. The increasing volume of trade, the absorption of the precious metals, the style of domestic architecture, the clothing of the people, their staying power, and their rapid recovery from the effects of bad monsoons or disastrous floods—all tell a tale of material progress. A moral advancement is equally visible. The East, which in olden times regarded Western methods with "patient deep disdain," now sends her sons over the seas to learn the secret of European machinery and commercial success. Hindu society, with

although European missionaries may not win many converts, railways, public works, and hospitals have turned the world upside down, and given new courage and hopes to even uneducated masses of mankind.

India on her part, lifted from the despond and helplessness of ages by her improved communications with the West, has rendered and will render a still larger return for the services received by her. Her contributions in corn, tea, cotton, and other products to countries in which the growth of population has outstripped production, are of the highest value. Her



THE TRADE OF THE EAST: AFGHAN CAMEL TRAIN CROSSING THE INDUS WITH MERCHANDISE FOR THE MARKETS OF INDIA
This ancient means of transport for long distances is still used by certain Afghan tribes who, on the approach of cold weather, collect their belongings, consisting chiefly of hides, fruit, and grain, which they take to the cities of India and transport from one commercial centre to another until disposal, afterwards returning to Afghanistan in the spring.

religious books, philosophic works, and languages are of great help to scientific inquirers, and there is no reason why her sons should not be enrolled in the lists of great inventors. Her fighting power and her resources may assist to promote the cause of peace, and give her neighbours a chance of acquiring that freedom and peace which she herself enjoys. The fact that the Convention of August 31st, 1907, between Great Britain and Russia includes three Asiatic countries, Afghanistan, Tibet, and Persia, and is actuated by a sincere desire "to prevent all cause of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Russia," shows how the politics of East and West are intertwined. The maintenance of peace, the development of commerce, and promotion of moral progress are the objects of British Imperial policy, and it is well that India should join hands with the United Kingdom in the attempt to secure them for her neighbours.

In the narrower sphere of the relations between the two countries, abundant testimony is afforded as to the far-reaching effects of their mutual interdependence. The distant dominions of the Crown in South Africa, America, and

British Columbia must to some extent accommodate their local interests in the labour market to the obligations of the central authority towards the Indian subjects of his Majesty. Problems of public administration, a free Press, representation, and self-government, must be looked at from another side when applied to a population composed mainly of uneducated men, divided by sharp lines of religion and caste, upon whose patriotism—if that term means allegiance to an alien rule—too great a strain must not be placed. Questions of free trade or tariff reform cannot be settled without thought of India's feelings and wants. The difficult internal problems of the unemployed invite inquiry into the Indian plan of campaign against famine, and economists must ask themselves how it is that there is no Poor Law relief in India. These and other instances may be cited to illustrate the extent to which the internal as well as the external politics of the United Kingdom and the Indian Empire are interwoven, emphasising the oneness of mankind and the claims of universal history to the consideration of statesmen.

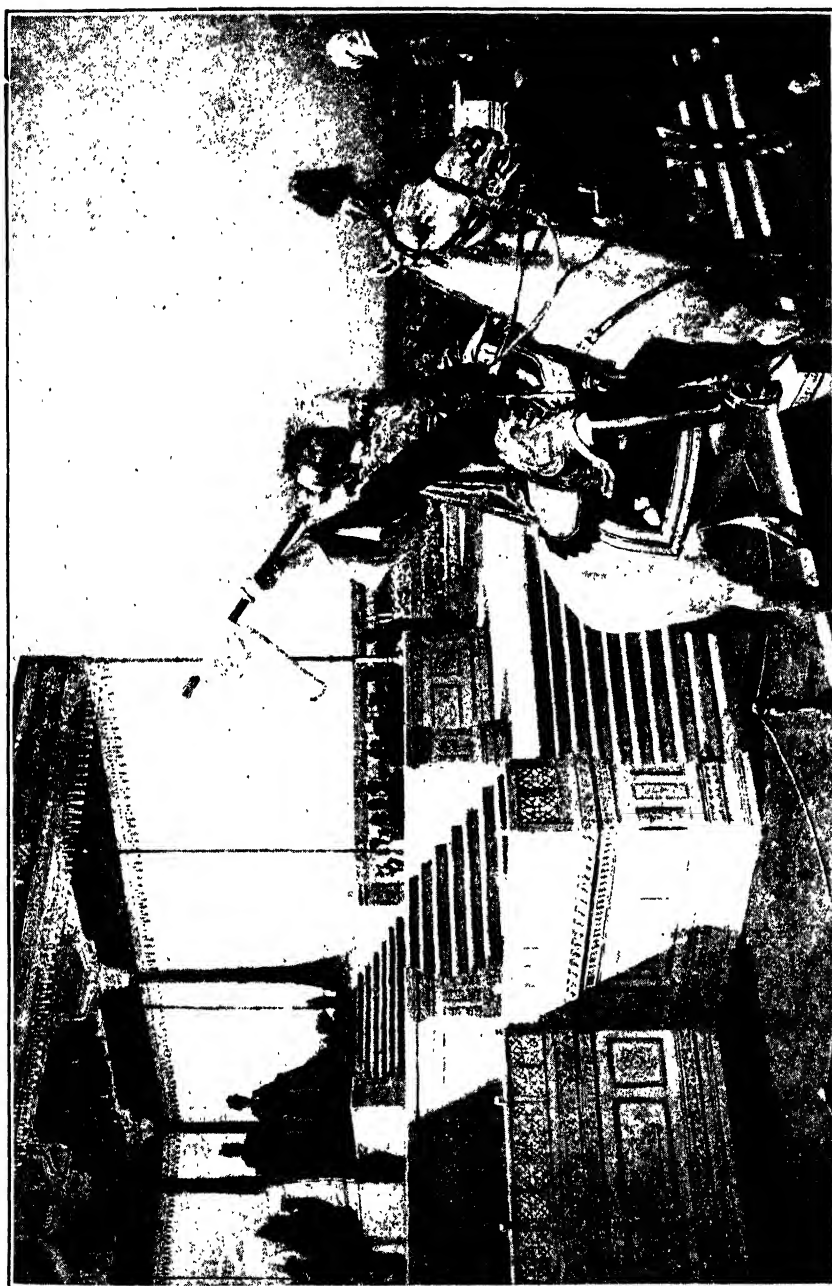
WILLIAM LEE-WARNER

LATER EVENTS IN INDIA

THE Indian Councils Act of 1909 made very considerable changes in the Government of India. It placed an Indian on the Viceroy's Council and enlarged this council for legislative work to a membership of 68, of whom 36 are nominated and 32 elected as representatives of landholders, professional classes, Mohammedans, and European and Indian traders and planters. The Act also enlarged both the powers and the membership of the Provincial Councils and increased the number of elected members to these councils. But Lord Morley, in introducing this Bill, stated emphatically that these reforms led neither "directly nor necessarily up to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India." The result has been that while the commercial Indians and the large landholders have welcomed these changes, the extreme Nationalists, students and lawyers for the most part, remain dissatisfied and pursue their campaign of agitation against British rule with undiminished activity.

We must, however, discriminate in con-

sidering this agitation, between the Nationalists who look for self-government for India on the lines of Colonial independence, or at least for fuller opportunities to co-operate in legislative and administrative work, and the small group of academic or physical force revolutionists, chiefly inhabitants of Bengal, who hope to make India completely independent of British sovereignty. It is computed that the latter, theorists and physical force advocates combined, only number 3 per cent. of the educated Indians. Yet in spite of the smallness of their numbers, the anarchists, for the group that practices assassination and bomb-throwing have assimilated the anarchist doctrines of the West, succeed in conveying the impression that they represent a considerable following, while the entirely loyal and constitutional Nationalists are apt to be overlooked. The Indian National Congress embodies the ideals of the Constitutionists, the propaganda of the anarchists is carried on by the circulation of pamphlets and by newspapers in the vernacular—papers



THE KING-EMPEROR AND QUEEN-EMPRESS AT THE DURBAR HELD AT DELHI, DECEMBER, 1911. NATIVE HERALD MAKING THE PROCLAMATION

which are from time to time suppressed for sedition.

The catalogue of political murders and attempted assassinations in India since the opening of the twentieth century is too long to be written here. It must suffice to mention the murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca in London, 1909; the bombs thrown at Lord and Lady Minto at Ahmedabad that same year; and the attempt on Lord Hardinge's life at Delhi in 1912.

Of course, these crimes give an altogether exaggerated notion of the "unrest" in India. The conspirators of the anarchist type are extremely few, and their influence is nil on the millions of patient labouring native Indians. But education of European pattern has turned a section of the youth of India from the traditional religions and philosophies of their fathers, and it has made them fiercely interested in politics, and unwilling to enter any profession except the law. The Indian Bar is overcrowded,

the Indian student cannot become a politician of American or European type in his native land, and, in revolt against the conditions that govern his activities, he turns his hand against the British Raj, and embarks on a career of conspiracy, sedition, and murder. When more money is spent on schools and colleges in India it is possible that the unemployed pleaders at the Bar, and the young Indians of education and intelligence who now find an occupation in planning and executing assassinations,

may turn to the more peaceful business of the schoolmaster; in that case, the "unrest" will no longer be displayed to the world in the form of sedition and murder.

The ground of "unrest" amongst the more moderate Nationalists, the partition of Bengal in 1905, was removed in 1912 by the reconstitution of Bengal as a compact Bengali-speaking province, under a Governor in Council, and the creation of

Bihar and Orissa as a new province. Assam at the same time once more became a separate province under a Chief Commissioner.

Lord Hardinge succeeded Lord Minto as Viceroy in November, 1910, and a great Durbar was held at Delhi in December, 1911, to announce the Coronation of King George V., and at this Durbar, the first attended in person by the British Sovereign, the King-Emperor made the important statement that the seat of the government of India was to be transferred from Calcutta to the ancient



LORD HARDINGE, who succeeded Lord Minto as Viceroy in 1910

Jeakins, Simla

capital, Delhi. On geographical, historical, and political grounds this choice of Delhi was made, and the new capital forms a separate and independent territory (like Washington).

The appointment of a town-planning committee, and the selection of the southern site for the capital, were followed, in December, 1912, by the formal entry of the Viceroy into Delhi, and the taking possession of the new capital.

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA

DATE	B.C.	DATE	1701-1750	DATE	1801-1850
3000	India occupied by Dravidian Peoples	1701	François Martin, French Governor in the Carnatic	1807	Minto, Governor-General. Missions to Persia, Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sindh
2500	Arayan domination of Upper India	1707	Death of Aurangzeb, followed by gradual DISINTEGRATION of MOGUL EMPIRE	1800	Treaty with RAJAJI SINGH
2000	The Laws of Manu	1717	Development of Marhatta power under the Peshwa or Minister Balaji Wisedwanath, at Poona	1813	Lord Maura (Lord Hastings), Governor-General
1000	The Mahabharata	1724	Asaf Jah Nizam, Viceroy of the Deccan, assumes virtual independence	1814-5	GURKHA OF NEPAL WAR. Treaty with Nepal
500	Gautama (Buddha) institutes Buddhism	1735	Extension of Marhatta ascendancy over Malwa	1817-8	PINDARIE WAR, developing into third Marhatta war, Annexation of Peshwa's territories
322	Invasion of India by Alexander the Great	1730	Invasion of Nadir SHAH. Sack of Delhi	1820	Extension of (the Sikh) Ranjit Singh's power in the Punjab
250	Asoka rules in Hindustan	1740	Oudh and Bengal establish virtual independence under viceroys	1823-6	Lord Amherst, Governor-General. First Burmese war. Annexation of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim
500	Buddhism displaced by the later Hinduism	1741	Dupleix Governor at Pondichery	1828	BLANDINCK, Governor-General Abolition of Suttee
664	Saracen incursions begun	1746	France and Britain being at war, DUPLIX ATTACKS MADRAS, captures it, and employs sepoys to rout the forces of the Nawab of Arcot	1830	Suppression of Thuggee
	1000-1500	1748	Restoration of French and English conquests	1835	Establishment of educational system. Liberty of the Press
1001	MAHMUD of GHAZNA begins series of Mohammedan incursions	1749	Renewed Anglo-French hostilities in support of rival claimants to the thrones of Haidarabad and Arcot	1836	Arncliffe, Governor-General
1176	First Mohammedan Dynasty ("Ghoris") established in Hindustan by Shahab-ud-Din	1750	Predominance of the French	1839	Shah Shuja restored at Kabul by British arms. Death of Ranjit Singh
1206	Turkish "Slave" Dynasty established at Delhi		1751-1800	1841	DISASTER OF KARUL
1288	Afghan Khilji Dynasty at Delhi	1751	CLIVE AT ARCOT: BEGINNING OF BRITISH ASCENDANCY	1842	Afghanistan. Kabul recaptured. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General
1321	Turkish "Tughlak" Dynasty at Delhi conquers the Deccan	1752	Supremacy of French at Trichinopoly	1843	Annexation of Sindh. Gwalior repressed in the MADHARAJPUR Campaign
1350	Bengal and the Deccan throw off the Delhi supremacy; Bahman (Mohammedan) Dynasty in the Deccan	1756	Black Hole of Calcutta	1844	Haidinge, Governor-General
1398	TAMBRKASE devastates Upper India	1757	BATTLE OF PLASSY ESTABLISHES BRITISH POWER IN INDIA	1845	Sikhs invade British territory. SEVEAL CAMPAIGNS concluded by battle of Sobraon
1414	Said (Arab) Dynasty at Delhi	1760	Lally decisively defeated by Eyre Coote at Wandewash	1848-9	Houseless, Governor-General. Second Sikh war ended by battle of GUJRAT
1450	Lodi (Afghan) Dynasty at Delhi	1761	END OF FRENCH POWER IN INDIA		ANNEXATION OF PUNJAB
	Five main kingdoms in the Deccan	1764	Overthrow of Marhattas by Ahmed Shah at Panipat	1851-1851	Second Burmese war. Annexation of Pegu
1408	VASCO DA GAMA reaches India by the Arab route	1765	Bengal secured by Minto's victory over the Oudh Nawab at Buxar	1853	Annexation of Nagpur
	The Sikh sect founded in the Punjab by Nanak	1770	CLIVE ACCEPTS THE DIVISION OF BENGAL FOR THE COMPANY FROM THE MOGUL	1856	Annexation of Oudh
	1501-1600	1773	Suppression of the Rohillas. North's Regulating Act	1857	Canning, Governor-General OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY (May). Storming of Delhi and reinforcement of Lucknow (Sept.). Relief of Lucknow (Nov.)
1507	Portuguese established at Goa by Albuquerque	1774	WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General	1858	Suppression of Mutiny
1526	BAHAR the Turk conquers Hindustan BEGINNING OF THE MUHAMMAD OF MOGUL SUPREMACY	1778	First Marhatta war; capture of Gwalior. Invasion of Canara by Haidar Ali of Mysore	1862	TRANSFER OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE COMPANY TO THE BRITISH CROWN
1530	Humayun succeeds Bahar	1780	The French admiral Suffren in Indian waters. The crisis ended by the death of Haidar, and the treaty of Versailles	1863	Canning first Viceroy
1540	Humayun expelled by Sher Shah (Afghan)	1782-3	PITT'S INDIA ACT	1864	Lord Elgin, Viceroy
1556	Return and death of Humayun. The empire went back for long to young son AKBAR at Panipat	1784	CONWALLIS, Governor-General War with Tippu Sahib of Mysore	1869	Ambera Campaign
1561	AKBAR assumes the government. Period of toleration, Hindus and Mohammedans being appointed impartially to the Imperial service. Organisation of the Mogul Empire over North India. The great Deccan kingdoms remain independent	1790	Partial annexation of Mysore	1870	Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy
1600	Charter of the English East India Company	1793	The permanent settlement (of land) in Bengal	1872	Lord Mayo, Viceroy
	1601-1700	1798	Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General Lord Mornington (MARQUESS WELLESLEY), Governor-General	1873	Lord Mayo assassinated
1605	Jehan Gir succeeds Akbar	1799	CONSTITUTION OF MYSORE. "Subsidiary alliance" with the Nizam	1875	Lord Northbrook, Viceroy
1613	FIRST ENGLISH FACTORY IN INDIA AT SURAT	1803	Second Marhatta war. British victories of Assaye and Laswari	1876	Visit of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII.)
1620	First English settlement in Bengal, at Hugli	1805	Barlow, Governor-General ad interim. Marhatta treaties	1877	Lord Lytton, Viceroy
1627	Shah Jehan succeeds Jehan Gir. The Mogul Empire partly absorbs the Deccan			1879	Queen proclaimed Empress
1632	FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE POWER			1880	Afghan War
1639	English settlement at Madras			1881	Lord Ripon, Viceroy
1688	Aurangzeb deposes Shah Jehan				British withdrawal from Afghanistan
	Beginnings of the Marhatta power under Sivaji			1885	Lord Dufferin, Viceroy
1662	Portugal cedes Bombay			1886	Burma annexed
1679	Aurangzeb begins conquest of the Deccan			1887	First meeting of National Congress
1687	Fall of the Deccan kingdoms			1888	Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Afghan frontier
1700	Govind, the last Sikh guru			1889	Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy
				1890	Lord Elgin, Viceroy
				1891	Lord Curzon, Viceroy
				1892	Lord Minto, Viceroy
				1893	Indian Councils Act
				1894	Lord Hardinge, Viceroy
				1895	King-Emperor and Queen-Empress hold Durbar
				1896	Delhi is made the capital of India



THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE LEGENDARY PERIOD

THE history of India at the very earliest times known to us has been influenced by its position on the southern boundary of a great continent. Its frontier mountain ranges, apparently impassable, have been repeatedly crossed by foreign nations, and these invasions constantly transformed the history of the country so richly dowered by Nature. The case of Ceylon is wholly different. As the most southerly outpost of India, it is so far removed from the rest of Asia that no races have penetrated the island from the interior of the continent.

Every invasion within historical times started from the peninsula itself, from which Ceylon is divided by a narrow strait little broader than a river. As regards its general characteristics, therefore, it is practically a continuation of India. The Eastern and Western Ghats form an abrupt boundary to the Deccan. On the south lie the plains of the Carnatic, broken by several isolated plateaus—the Sivarov, Palni, and other mountains—and by numerous small islands of granite and gneiss rock. This plain gradually sinks away southward to fall below the sea at the Coromandel coast. Beyond the narrow Palk Straits, Ceylon gradually rises again above the sea-level, the north of the island being almost entirely flat coral soil, while in general outline the whole is formed like a shield. The centre of this immense shield, the highlands of Malaya, are crowned by the central mountain range of Ceylon, the most

southerly and the greatest of those isolated mountain systems in Southern India. The narrow straits are interrupted by numerous islands placed like the pillars of a bridge, and form rather a link of communication between the island and the mainland than an obstacle to intercourse, the characteristics of both countries being almost identical in consequence of this connection. In Ceylon, as in India, the rocky foundations of the soil consist of the same primeval stone, and on each side of the Palk Strait the characteristics of rocks and mountains are identical. The same winds blow upon both countries; in the summer the rainy south-west monsoon bringing a bountiful supply of moisture to the steep and mountainous west, while in winter the dry north-east monsoon refreshes the eastern side of the island.

Physical Features of Ceylon

The vegetable world of Ceylon is therefore a repetition of that of India. The west of each country is marked by luxuriant growth and inexhaustible fertility, while the east shows a poorer vegetation and a more niggardly soil; in the east, as in the flat north of the island, the population attains to any density only when the industry of man has succeeded by scientific works of irrigation in collecting the fertilising moisture against the times of long drought. The fauna of Southern India and of the island are again, generally speaking, identical. In both cases the

**Position
of the
Island**

forests are inhabited by the elephant, the great cats—the Bengal tiger alone has not crossed the straits—apes, snakes, white ants, and leeches. The scanty means of livelihood produce the same epidemics in the dwellers of both countries; sickness and death are due to cholera, and especially to malaria, which is prevalent at the foot of the mountain ranges and of the many isolated peaks, with their blocks of stone thrown in wild confusion one upon another, as also in the jungles of the river beds.

Plants and Animals of Ceylon

It would be astonishing if this identity of natural characteristics were not observable also in the population which has inhabited the island from the remotest antiquity. At the present day Ceylon, like India, is inhabited by two main types anthropologically and ethnologically different, a dark and a fair race, of whom the latter immigrated at a comparatively late time, and were not the original inhabitants of the island.

In primeval times India, like Ceylon, was the home of one race only, characterised by dark colouring, wavy hair, and small or even diminutive stature. The facts of geology, and of the distribution of plants and animals, prove that the continent and the island must have formed a continuous whole at no very remote epoch. Assuming, however, that the Palk Straits have always been situated where they are now, it would have been an easy task for people, even in the lower stage of civilisation, to have crossed from the plains of Southern India by the Adam's Bridge to the attractive districts of the island. It can be historically demonstrated that Tamil invasions took place at least two thousand years ago,

and the plantations of Ceylon at the present day annually attract from the continent a Dravidian population which is to be numbered by thousands. It is, however, certain that before the first historical immigration the island was inhabited by tribes standing in the closest possible relation, anthropologically and ethnologically, to the Dravidian peoples. The legendary woodland tribes of the wild Wakka are undoubtedly to be identified as the ancestors of the modern Veddas: while, in all probability, the first Aryan immigrants into Ceylon found other Dravidian races in possession who had risen to a higher state of civilisation in

more favourably situated habitations. The "Tamils of Ceylon," who now inhabit the north and the east coasts of the island, are undoubtedly for the most part descendants of those Dravidians who overran the island from the north in numerous campaigns.

Together with this dark race of primeval Indian origin, the island is inhabited in the more fertile southwest portion chiefly by the Singhalese, an entirely different race, both in civilisation and physique. These were originally strangers to the country,

with totally different physical characteristics, language, religion, manners, and customs. Where was the home of these strangers? Certainly not in the south of India, which was then inhabited by pure Dravidians. The geographical position of Ceylon obviously points to North India as the most probable point of departure for a migration of this nature. The southern part of the island is confronted by no country whatever, while in the east and west the mainland is far distant and is divided from Ceylon by broad oceans, to be



GROUP OF YOUNG SINGHALESE WOMEN

Races of the Island

CEYLON—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

traversed only by the children of a highly-developed civilisation. On the other hand, the coasts of Nearer India, curving inwards from the north-west and north-east, plainly point the mariner towards Ceylon. With the exception of a few Malays introduced within the last century, the island exhibits no trace of Indonesian or Malay blood which might in any way remind us of the African races. On the other hand, the nearest relations of the Singhalese are to be found along the line of the coast routes followed by those Aryans who crossed the mountain frontier and entered India in the third millennium B.C., and in the mixed tribes of the North Indian plains descended from them; physical characteristics, language, customs, and social organisation alike point to this origin. Evidence of this nature even enables us to define with some precision the date at which these immigrants entered the island and the road by which they came. The highest castes of the Singhalese have always been the *Goiwansa* or *Handuruwo*—that is to say, those of noble birth: Brahmans have never found a place among their various castes. Where they are mentioned by tradition, or in

historical records, we have to deal with pure invention on the part of the chronicler, or with foreign Brahmans, references to whom occur, for example, in the accounts of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon: in no case, however, do the Brahmans appear as an essential element in Singhalese society. Thus the Singhalese branch must have broken away from the Aryan-Indian group of peoples at a time when the Brahmans had not yet secured their supremacy over social order, justice, and morality, popular feeling, thought,

and action—that is to say, before the period of the formation of the great states of the central Ganges. Hence the Singhalese migration cannot have started from the east of India, from the mouths of the Ganges, or from Orissa: for it was

not until the Brahman's supremacy had been assured that the Aryans advanced into those districts. At a much earlier

period the Aryans on the west had advanced to the sea, starting from the Punjab and following the Indus to the mouths of that river, while at a later period they followed the Aravalli Mountains to Gujerat. But the Indus

was of very little importance as a trade route for transmarine commerce: its current was too strong, its delta too soft and shifting, while the sea coast offered no protection against storms. On the other hand, an admirable base for transmarine enterprise was afforded by the sheltered Gulf of Cambay, running far into the country with its rich hinterland. This was the point where the Aryans took the sea, during the flourishing period of the great Aryan states on the Ganges; and during the whole of the Mohammedan

period it formed the chief harbour of India. The inference that earlier Aryan marine migrations started from Cambay is irresistible.

This conclusion is well supported by tradition. In Ceylon, human memory has been more tenacious than on the Indian continent, and has preserved a reliable historical record for more than 2,000 years. It is true that the epic of *Ramayana*, which in its Singhalese form is a shorter imitation of the great work of *Walmiki*, a glorification of the mythical conqueror of Ceylon, is pure poetical



Underwood & Underwood

SINGHALESE CRAFTSMEN AT WORK

The Castes of the Singhalese

invention. Unhistorical are all the legends there related of the expedition of Rama, of the seduction of his faithful wife Sita, of his alliance with the apes—the black races of the Southern Deccan—of his enemies the Rakshasa, of his bridge over the straits, his wonderful exploits, and his ultimate return to India. Rama is a model

Legends & Traditions of Ceylon

of virtue from the Brahman point of view, and the many exploits related of him are only the scaffolding used by the artists in constructing the ideal of a Brahman royal prince.

We have, however, more valuable historical sources. The monarchy lasted for more than 2,000 years, as did the Buddhism which it protected, a course of development more favourable to the muse of history than the political and religious revolutions which disturbed the history of India proper. In the monastic libraries everything was recorded which concerned the order itself and its patrons the kings; and the annals thus collected were from time to time condensed into literary works.

Thus the oldest of the Ceylon monasteries, the Mahawira, or Great Monastery in Anuradhapura, has preserved the tradition of the introduction of Buddhism, and the history of the "Great Family" of 174 kings, in its chronicle, called the Mahawansa. Two Pali books, the Dipawansa, or History of the Island, and the Mahawansa, which is later by 150 years, are works diverging but little from the original, and, like that original, both are continued until the death of King Dhatusena in 479 A.D. At a later period, however, continuations were constantly added to the Mahawansa, which were carried on to the end of the Singhalese monarchy and till the English occupation in 1816. For a long period these and similar works lay forgotten in the libraries of the monasteries, until, in 1836, George Turnour made the first part of the Mahawansa known by a faithful

Ancient Historical Records

translation, throwing a flood of light upon the early history of Buddhism. Other chronicles display divergences from the original source, which explain the difference between the views of the several monasteries to which they belong; they are shorter, less accurate, and, moreover, inadequately translated. A third class of documents is still hidden in the collections of manuscripts within the Buddhist monasteries.

In the case of every chronicle the light of history dawns only with the introduction of Buddhism into the island—that is, with the time of Asoka, in the third century B.C. The accounts given of earlier events in Ceylon are chiefly pure Buddhist invention, which attempted to increase the sanctity of the sacred places in the island by asserting the presence therein of Buddha or of his twenty-three predecessors. These improbabilities apart, the prehistoric portions of the chronicles contain secular stories of far greater importance for us. Here we find reduced to writing that tradition which for centuries had been handed down by the people; transformed and decorated, no doubt, the work of whole epochs being assigned to individual personalities, but, on the whole, plain and recognisable in its main features. The very first figure of Singhalese history can be supported from the evidence of historical ethnology. Wijaya—or Victory—led the foreign tribes across the straits, and his characteristics can be recognised in the Aryans who advanced to the sea before the era of Brahman supremacy.

Story of a Royal Exile

In the country of Lala, or Gujerat, so runs the legend in chapter seven of the Mahawansa, a lion surprised a caravan which was escorting the daughter of the King of Wanga and of a Kalinga princess; the lion carried off the king's daughter to his cave, and from their marriage was born a son, Sihabahu, and a daughter, Sihasiwali. Mother and children fled from the captivity of the lion: the lion's son grew up and, after killing his father, became the successor of his maternal grandfather, the King of Wanga. At a later period, however, he returned to his native country of Lala, and built towns and villages in the wilderness, in spots where irrigation was possible. His eldest son, Wijaya, was made viceroy when he came of age; but he developed into an enemy of law, and his associates committed innumerable acts of treachery and violence. Ultimately the people grew angry and complained to the king. He threw the blame on the friends of the prince, but censured his son severely. The offences were repeated, and upon the third occasion the people called out, "Punish thy son with death." The king then half shaved the heads of Wijaya and his 700 retainers, and put them on board a ship, which was driven forth into the

CEYLON—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

open sea. Wijaya first landed in the harbour of Supparaka, in India; fearing, however, that the reckless immorality of his followers would arouse the animosity of the natives, he continued his voyage. This prince, by name Wijaya, who then became wise by experience, landed in the district of Tambapanni, of the country of Lanka, or Ceylon. As the King Sihabahu had killed the lion, his sons and descendants were called Sihala—that is, lion slayers; and as this island of Lanka was conquered and colonised by a Sihala, it was given the name of Sihala—Europeanised as Ceylon—that is, Lion Island.

The historical foundation of this legend carries us back to the starting-point of the Singhalese settlement, the country of Lala; the name survived in the Greek Larike, the modern Gujerat; the solitary lion, who at the very outset inhabited the country and attacked and plundered the neighbours, is to be explained as an early Aryan settlement on the Gulf of Cambay. The nickname of "lion" was a favourite designation for all the warrior Aryans and their leaders. In Gujerat itself a famous dynasty, known as "the Lions," continued till recent date; while all Sikhs bear the name of Singh—i.e., Lion. At that period the Aryan conquerors had not been subjected to the stern caste regulations of the Brahmans, and had no scruples of conscience in contracting alliances with native wives—e.g., the Kalinga princess. The migration to Ceylon belongs to a somewhat later time. The lion prince made the former desert a populous country, with towns and villages; then further disturbances broke out. According to the Buddhists, who followed the Brahman version of Indian history, the lawlessness of Wijaya and his adherents consisted merely in resistance to the Brahman claims. The rulers attempted to use compulsion. However, the bold

spirit of the warlike part of the Aryans continually revolted against Brahman predominance, until the warriors were defeated and sailed away to seek intellectual freedom in a new country. Driven back from the Malabar coast, where Brahman influence seems to have penetrated at an earlier period, they found what they required on the north-east coast of Ceylon, an arable district untroubled by Brahmans.

Wijaya landed with his adherents, apparently about 543 B.C., at Tambapanni—according to the Sanscrit name of the river, Tamraparni, the Taprobane of the Greeks. His later history is adorned by tradition with features familiar in the

legends of Odysseus, and perhaps appropriated thence, owing to the intercourse of early European civilisations with the Spice Islands. The strangers first fall into the hands of an enchantress, Kuweni, who kept them fast in an underground place; they are then freed, as in Homer, by Wijaya, who is helped by a god well disposed to man—in this case, Vishnu. He marries the princess enchantress, and with her help becomes supreme over the country; then, however, he divorces her and marries the daughter of the

powerful neighbouring King Pandu of Madura, while his comrades take wives from the daughters of distinguished families in the Pandu kingdom.

The death of Wijaya, who left no legitimate descendant, was followed by a short interregnum—the country of Lanka was without a king for a year; however, a new influx of the Aryans arrived from Lala, and Wijaya's nephew, Panduwasudewa, seized the throne of the Singhalese king. After the death of his son Abhaya, the succession was interrupted for seventeen years by disputes about the kingship. Then, however, after the defeat and slaughter of an uncle, the most important



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SITE OF THE CITY OF ANURADHAPURA

The growth of the jungle is so rapid that sites of the old towns in Ceylon are soon overgrown; even the once great city of Anuradhapura, the capital before our era, is now, as this picture shows, overgrown with the jungle.

of the legendary rulers ascended the throne, by name Pandukabhaya. Under his governorship the Singhalese State rose to considerable power; the different races of the island were reconciled, and

Building of a Mighty Capital lived peacefully together in the capital of Anuradhapura. This town had been founded by the first settlers: now,

however, the tank which had been previously built was extended to form a great lake, and by the construction of a palace and shrines for the different religions and sects the settle-

ment became highly important, and is spoken of by the chronicler as "delightful and well built." The oldest of the king's uncles, the former Prince Abhiaya, was installed as governor of the town: two Yakkas were appointed as overseers for every two of the four quarters into which the town was divided, another Yakka being made sentinel of the southern gate. The despised races, such as the Chandalas,

were settled in the suburbs, where they were employed in street-cleaning, police work at night, and burials; outside the town, cemeteries and places for torture and execution were constructed. The royal hunters—the Veddās, who now dwell apart from the other inhabitants—had a street of their own. The king appears in the character of a benevolent monarch. Hospitals are erected for the sick, and the ruler attempts to meet the views of the various religious sects by assigning quarters to them, building them houses, and erecting temples. The Singhalese rulers thus mentioned by tradition cannot be

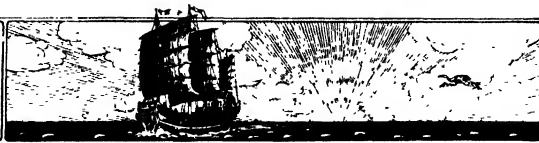
considered in any degree historical personages. Wijaya is as vague a personality as the founder of Rome, and Pandukabhaya was no more a legislator than Numa. It is probable that the characteristics of famous generals were interwoven with the picture of those legendary kings; the most we can say is that they represented successive stages of civilisation. Wijaya is the personification of the first Aryan emigration, as Panduwasudewa is of a second; his successor, Abhiaya, represents the struggle of the princes for supremacy, while Pandu-

kabhaya personifies the final victory of one individual over his rivals, and the introduction of social order, the reconciliation of the natives to the immigrants, the rise of general prosperity, and the development of the kingdom. Generally speaking, the Aryan development in Ceylon advanced on parallel lines with the development of the kindred tribes in the Ganges territory. The victorious conquest of the original inhabitants and the occupation of the country, the struggles of

princes with one another, and the final formation of certain great towns, supported by the many natural products produced by cultivation or by a bountiful Nature, and advanced by the peaceful incorporation of the subject tribes into the body politic—such is the general course of development. In one respect only was the development of the island Aryans essentially different from that of their brothers on the mainland—the Brahmins never asserted their fatal influence upon the intellectual development.



H. C. White Co.
ANCIENT SHRINE OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON
The Temple of Isurumuniya at Anuradhapura, dating from 300 B.C., and attributed to King Tissa, is hewn from the living rock on a lake surrounded by lotus plants but infested with crocodiles.



CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

THE early history of Ceylon assumes a more reliable character about the year 300 B.C. It is characterised by three main movements—Buddhism, internal struggles for the succession, and foreign wars with the Dravidians on the continent.

The first human figure in Singhalese history is Dewanampiya Tissa, the contemporary of King Asoka. In the Singhalese chronicles his date is not yet accurately determined. While his own history is written in full detail, the scantiest account is given of his three successors, of whom we know little more than the facts that they were all younger brothers of Tissa, that each of them reigned ten years, and that they endowed many pious foundations to support the monks. Similarly, King Asoka, who is distinguished from the above-mentioned rulers by the first entrance of the Tamils into the succession, is said to have reigned ten years. He is stated to be the son of King Mutasiva,

Beginning of Buddhism in Ceylon

who had died a century earlier! These accounts of the different reigns have often received wholly arbitrary additions. Consequently the great event in Ceylon, the introduction of Buddhism under Tissa, is to be placed at a later date than that assigned by the chronicles. The chroniclers supposed Tissa to have accepted the new doctrine shortly after his accession, which is stated to have occurred in 307, the actual date being 251 B.C., and placed his death in 267 B.C., whereas the despatch of Buddhist monks to Ceylon by Asoka did not take place before 250 B.C.

The monarch who gave the monks so hearty a reception was naturally painted by them in most brilliant colours. Tissa is placed at an equal height of piety to Asoka, who had extended his kingdom from Afghanistan to the modern Mysore, and legend is even ready to retrace the friendship of the two monarchs to their association in a previous state of existence in which the kings were said to have been brothers. But all this brilliant description cannot entirely hide the truth that the Ceylon king was dependent in some degree

upon Asoka. In his thirteenth rock inscription, Asoka prides himself on the fact that he had disseminated the Dhamma "as far as Tambapanni"; moreover, Tissa, who ascended the throne amid great festivities in 251 B.C., represents himself as being again crowned by special deputies of Asoka after the exchange of rich presents destined for coronation purposes. The surprising liberality with which the exponents of the new doctrine were received was probably due in part to the dependent position of Ceylon. Mahinda, the son of Asoka by a woman of inferior birth, the daughter of a merchant in Wedisa, was most kindly received by Tissa with six other missionaries a month after his second coronation.

Magnificent endowments of land, such as the splendid park of Magamega in the capital, together with the mountain of Chetya, were the first gifts to the missionaries; the transference was made with the greatest pomp, and dwellings for the monks were immediately erected upon the lands. On the very first day the king and six thousand of his subjects were converted to the new teaching, which had long before lost its original simplicity, and in which the worship of relics was an important element. Hence almost immediately two of the greatest objects of veneration were brought by special ambassadors from the country of the founder; these were the collar-bone of the "Enlightened One," and a branch of the sacred Bo tree. At the present day upon the island the shrines built for such relics with their cupola-shaped thupas or stupas, in some cases of enormous size, are to be found by thousands, and are a characteristic feature in the landscape. The relics were accompanied by the order of nuns of Samghamitta, who also found many adherents.

The introduction of Buddhism was fraught with the most important consequences to the whole development of the Singhalese people. The Indian Brahmans had attained their high position at the

price of severe struggles; the Buddhist monks received theirs as a present from the Singhalese kings, and henceforward the people were under their spell. At the moment the order merely acquired sites for the erection of monasteries, of summer resorts, and of shrines for relics. In other respects, the command of complete poverty

Growth of Monastic Wealth

which Buddha had laid upon his *bikkhus*, or beggars, was strictly followed, and the monks obtained the necessities of life as alms, and in no other way; but after a little more than one hundred years this rule was broken, first by the king Duttha Gamani, who was celebrated for his services to the order, and afterwards by his grandson Wattha. Successive kings assigned the best land, the canals and tanks, and, indeed, whole villages with their inhabitants, to the monks. By degrees, if not the whole, at any rate the best part, of all arable and cultivated land passed into their possession.

Meanwhile the inhabitants became impoverished. The population increased in proportion to the land recovered for cultivation by means of irrigation, but the products of such land chiefly went to support the idle monks. Many villages were in a state of serfdom to the monasteries; the remainder, oppressed by the royal taxes and the alms which they were obliged to place in the pots of the yellow-robed mendicants, were cut off from all hope of prosperity. A considerable proportion of the growing youth disappeared into the monasteries of monks and nuns; those who remained upon the land were oppressed by the teaching that activity in any form was an obstacle to true happiness; while intellectual growth became impossible, and freedom or self-respect were unknown.

The pious king who had introduced Buddhism to the island, with many of his successors, might well look with satisfaction upon the wealth of the country, the increase of agriculture, the growth of the population, and the boundless piety of his subjects. To the splendour of the capital, even in later times, testimony is borne not

only by the admiring accounts of the Singhalese historians and Chinese pilgrims, but still more by the miles of ruins, now hidden in the primeval forest, which alone mark the sites of former temporal and ecclesiastical palaces. The extent of the arable land and the thickness of the population are shown by the

Remains of Former Splendours

enormous tanks—now dry—almost as large as lakes; while the slavish subjugation of the people is evidenced by the gigantic shrines and the many miles of irrigation works which were constructed by the forced labour of the villages and districts. But the apparent greatness of the royal power was at the same time its weakness; the people over whom the king ruled was a people of sub-servient slaves. In the mountains only did a remnant of the former population survive;



H. C. White Co.

THE MOST SACRED TEMPLE OF BUDDHA'S TOOTH
This temple was built in Kandy in the fourteenth century to contain an alleged tooth of Buddha, which speedily caused the city to become an important centre of Buddhist power and influence throughout Ceylon.

even there small ruins of monasteries are to be found; but there also lived strong and independent men. When a Tamil invasion overran "the royal domains" on the great northern plains and compelled the king to flee from his capital, the wave of conquest was broken upon the mountains.

CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

Almost all the kings were good rulers according to Buddhist ideas; but their praise depends entirely upon the extent of the gifts with which they endowed the order. Mahawansa in one and the same breath relates that Asoka, the great friend of the order, was the wisest and best of princes, and that he killed his ninety-nine brothers to secure his sole power in Jambudipa, or India. Similarly, later the murderers of brothers and kings are described as "men who devoted themselves to works of love and piety," or as men "who after their death enter the community of the king of the gods," provided only that they were benevolent to the order during their reigns.

The numbers, the riches, and the influence of the order increased with extraordinary rapidity. Purity of life and doctrine, however, deteriorated no less speedily. The history of the order is a history of violent schisms. From the time of King Wattha Gamani, the brotherhoods of the monasteries of Mahawihara and Abhayagiri were separated by bitter jealousy and hatred; the tension increased with the value of the possessions which the kings assigned to one or other of the parties, and bloody struggles broke out the moment the king definitely declared for either of the two rivals. Energetic rulers made attempts at reunion, which appeared successful for the moment; but the old hatred invariably broke out sooner or later, and seriously impaired the prestige of the Church. The disconnected nature of the doctrine itself was reflected in the looseness of monastic morality. Mahawansa complains, "In the villages which have been presented to the order, purity of life for the monks consists solely in taking wives and begetting children." The people gradually grew more indifferent to the order, for which their respect had long since ceased;

and the order itself was so shattered by the long, weary Tamil wars that from 1065 A.D. onward scarce four monks in full orders could be found throughout the island. Since this was the number required by the laws of the Church for the formation of a legal chapter and the creation of new members, monks had



A HERMITAGE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CEYLON

The chief Buddhist cave temples of Ceylon are in the mountainous district about 60 miles north-east of Colombo; their date is said by tradition to be about 100 B.C.

to be imported from India or Burma. The list of successors to Dewanampiya Tissa provides a more intelligible but a far less pleasing picture than the obscurer figures of that monarch's predecessors. After the reigns of three kings, who appear but shadowy personalities in the chronicles, the Tamils invaded the country in the year 237 B.C., according to the Mahawansa. under the leadership of two young princes, who possessed numerous ships and a strong force of cavalry. After killing the king, Sura Tissa, they ruled over the kingdom for twenty years. The Buddhist historians describe them as righteous, and we may therefore assume them to have been tolerant. They were defeated and killed by Asela.

In 205 B.C., however, after the lapse of the usual ten years, the Tamil Elara invaded Ceylon from the north, "a man of the famous tribe of the Uju"; he slew the king, and held the supremacy for forty-four years impartially against friend and foe. The only province that did not bow to the foreign yoke was the

**Priestly
Wars and
Vices**

**Tale of
the Tamil
Invasion**

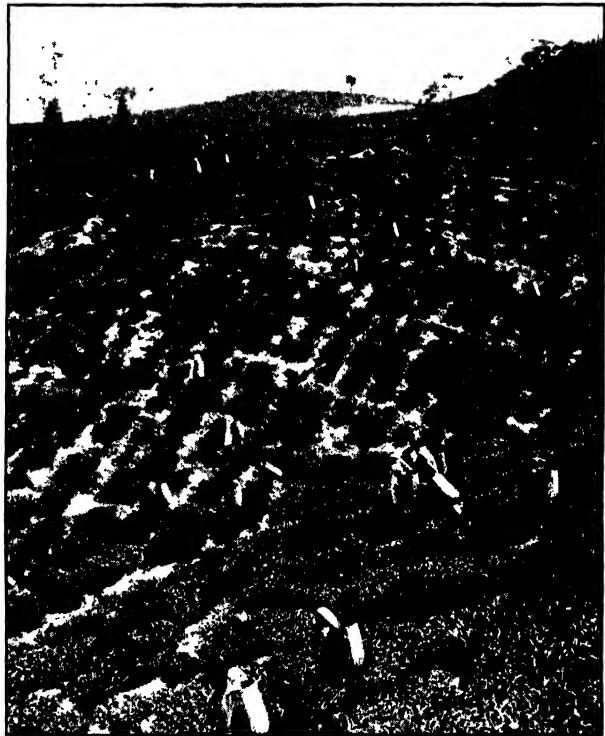
mountainous Rohana in the extreme south of the island; from that point a descendant of the great family, Duttha Gamani, again expelled the Tamils. One Tamil fortress after another fell into his hands; and finally in 161 B.C., in a battle at Anuradhapura, he killed the Tamil king

An Epic of Ancient Ceylon Elara himself in single combat, and immediately afterward Elara's nephew, Bhalluka, who had brought up a fresh army too late from Malabar. This portion of the Mahawansa reads like a stirring epic. The monks had every reason to praise the pious and liberal conqueror of the Tamils. He refounded numerous monasteries and erected permanent memorials in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars of Lohapasada in the Marikawatti and the Ruwanweli dagobas.

Laji Tissa, a grandson of Duttha Gamani, killed his uncle, Saddha Tissa, in 119 B.C. to secure the power for himself; his successor and younger brother, Khallata Naga, was murdered by his Minister, Maharattaka, in 106 B.C. Hardly had Wattha Gamani Abhaya, the youngest grandson of Duttha Gamani, avenged this treachery, when the Tamils, attracted by these quarrels about the succession, again invaded the country under seven leaders, and forced the young king to seek refuge in the mountains. At that time purity of blood among the Aryan Singhalese kings had long been lost. Scornfully the Brahman Giri called after the flying king, "The great Black Sihala is flying!" Like his grandfather, Wattha Gamani in 88 B.C. raised in the highlands a force which succeeded in liberating the throne of Wijaya from the hereditary foe; afterwards, during his reign of twelve years he built many monasteries, and assigned large districts for the support of the monks, who had hitherto lived on the alms they gained by begging.

During the Tamil supremacy the population had been so impoverished, and the contributions of alms had grown so scanty, that the very existence of the order would have been endangered if forced to depend on this source. At the point where he had been insulted by the Brahman Giri, Gamani founded a monastery which he called Abhaya Giri, after his own name and that of the Brahman. The elder monastery of Mahawihara, inspired by jealousy, soon found an excuse for quarrelling with its younger sister foundation.

Quarrels of Monastic Orders The dispute led to one good result—the reduction to writing of the sacred doctrine which had hitherto been orally transmitted from generation to generation. The three Pitakas and the commentaries to these, the Atthakathas, were written in the Singhalese language, and a wound was consequently inflicted upon the Buddhist Church which has never since been healed. Melancholy is the picture which the



H. C. White Co.

TEA-PICKING AT NUWARA ELIYA, CEYLON

This photograph of a characteristic Singhalese tea-garden was taken at Nuwara Eliya, the Governor's summer residence, which is 6,210 feet above sea-level.

CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

historians of the monastery of Mahawihara have drawn of the immediate successors of Wattha Gamani. Hisson, Chola Naga, is described as a robber and brigand from the very moment of his accession, and afterwards as a cruel persecutor of the monks; apparently he had declared against the brotherhood. However, his wife, Anula, from 47 B.C. to 42 B.C. seems to have been a disgrace to the royal throne, and to have rivalled Messalina by her poisonings and voluptuousness. She poisoned her husband's successor to secure the throne for herself and to gain full license for her unbounded avarice. Henceforward death was active in the royal palace: Anula herself was killed in 42 B.C., while twelve years later Amada Gamani was assassinated by his younger brother, as was Chandamukha Siva in the year 44 B.C. The last of the great family, Yasalalaka Tissa, who had murdered his predecessor, had a favourite

warder, by name Subha, who bore a very close resemblance to himself. The king would amuse himself by clothing his servant in the royal robes and setting him on the throne, while he himself took the post of doorkeeper. Once, however, when he joked

**Jest that
Became
a Tragedy**

with the false king arrayed in his royal robes, the latter called out, "How can this slave dare to laugh in my presence!" Yasalalaka was punished with death, and Subha continued to play the part of legitimate king; however, after a year, he was killed by Wasabha, a member of the Lambakanna caste, who seized the throne. The Lambakanna caste had displayed rebellious tendencies at an earlier period. Their caste pride had been wounded by King Ilanaga, who reigned 38-44 A.D.; they had revolted and expelled this monarch for three years. On the present occasion they maintained their possession of the throne for three generations. Then ensued a period of



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THE TROPICAL FRUITS OF SUNNY CEYLON

The produce of Ceylon includes coconuts, cinnamon, coffee, tea, plantains, tamarinds, grapes, cinchona, cacao, cardamoms, areca-nuts, and other fruits.

rebellion and murder, and the power passed into different hands, until in 248 A.D. three of the Lambakanna murdered the king, Wijaya II., and seized the power.

In the country generally times were hard, and the prevalence of robber bands made life and property alike uncertain: the royal prestige was greatly impaired, and the order was weakened by the dissensions of the two chief brotherhoods. The last of the three above-mentioned Lambakanna, by name Gothabhaya, vigorously attacked the Abhayagiri sect, and expelled from the Church and banished from the island some sixty monks who "had adopted the false Wetula doctrine, and were like thorns to the conqueror's religion." At a later period, however, he was persuaded to change his mind by Samghamitta, a pupil of the banished high-priest, to whom he entrusted the education of his sons. In the case of the elder, Jettha Tissa I., this education

**Monastic
Sect
Expelled**

proved unsuccessful; upon reaching the throne he sternly oppressed the Abhayagiri monks, and persecuted his tutor in particular, who was forced to flee to the mainland. Twelve years later he was succeeded by his younger brother Mahasena, who ruled from 277 to 304 A.D. This king was persuaded by his tutor, who had now

A King who Persecuted the Priests

returned, to begin a severe persecution of the Mahavihara brotherhood. He prohibited these monks from receiving alms, and thereby made it impossible for them to remain in the "royal domains"; they were forced to flee to the mountains. For nine years the venerable mother monastery remained entirely abandoned; proposals were brought forward to dismantle it, and to use the valuable materials for the improvement of the hostile Abhayagiri monastery, when at length the king revoked his decision against the persecuted monks. His adviser, Samghamitta, was killed in the course of a popular rising, the expelled monks were recalled, and their monastery was splendidly restored. Henceforward the king attempted to make amends to the brotherhood for the wrong which he had done to them by a special display of liberality.

The next four kings were good Buddhists, liberal to the Church and benevolent to their subjects. Sirimeghawanna, from 304 to 332, the son of Mahasena, is lauded for the complete restoration of the Mahavihara monastery, and also as being the ruler under whom a princess of Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, brought to Kandy in Ceylon the most sacred relic of the Buddhists, the tooth of Buddha. Among the following monarchs Shettha Tissa II., from 332 to 341, is distinguished as a sculptor and a painter, while his son Buddhadasa, from 341 to 370, was famous as a physician and the author of a Compendium of the Whole Science of Medicine. Then followed Upatissa II., from 370 to 412,

Rise of the Arts

who was murdered by his brother Mahanama. Under the latter, from 412 to 434, an event took place of high importance to southern Buddhism—the translation into the Pali language of the Atthakathas, emanating from Mahinda, which had hitherto existed only in Singhalese and were unknown in India. The monk Buddhaghosha was sent from Magadha to Ceylon by his teacher Rewata to translate this work "according to the rules of Magadha, the root of all

languages"; in the seclusion of the Ganthakara monastery at Anuradhapura he completed this great work.

In the year 1893, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his coronation, King Chulalongkorn of Siam issued a new edition of it in thirty-nine volumes.

The example set by Mahanama in murdering his brother was rapidly followed. Then the Tamils reappeared under their king Pandu and his sons, occupying the northern part of the island from 410 to 463; they were ultimately driven out of the country by Dhatusena, a great landed proprietor and apparently a descendant of the family of Asoka—the Maurya dynasty. "He gave the country peace, and restored to religion those rights which the strangers had abolished"; however, he was imprisoned by his own son Kassapa, and buried alive in the year 479.

This scandalous deed opened another period of misery for the country. In the next two centuries, from 479 to 691, no fewer than twelve rulers died violent deaths. Fratricide and the revolts of generals

Period of Crime and Disorder

produced a rapid series of changes in the succession to the throne. The provincial viceroys tended to independence, and the sectarian warfare within the Buddhist Church continued undiminished. The Tamils, who had formerly invaded the country for plunder and conquest upon their own initiative, were now constantly brought in by the Singhalese princes or generals to overthrow the legitimate occupants of the throne. Temples and royal treasuries were plundered, religion was oppressed, and the people grew more and more impoverished. During the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the period of the king Kumara Dasa, from 515 to 524, to whom is ascribed the Sanscrit translation of the Ramayana, which remains only in the Singhalese translation, and of Agrabhi I., from 564 to 598, who was famous as a poet, Chinese pilgrims describe the capital as a brilliant town; even at the outset of the seventh century a Singhalese historical work speaks of the beauty of Anuradhapura.

Nevertheless, under Aggabodhi IV., from 673 to 689, the capital could no longer hold out against the hereditary enemy; the royal residence was removed to Polonnaruwa, or Pulathi, at a greater distance from the point of Tamil invasion, the

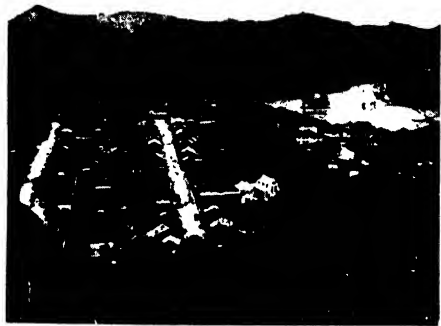
CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

harbour of Mantotte on the Gulf of Manaar. This change became permanent about 846 A.D. The island gained some occasional relief from the internal wars of the different Dravidian races on the mainland. Nevertheless, Sena I. (846 to 866) was obliged to take refuge in the inaccessible recesses of the highlands; the northern part of the island was cruelly devastated, the capital plundered, and its treasures carried off to India. Now, however, attracted by the rich booty, the Chola began war with their Tamil neighbours. Thus, under Sena I., the Singhalese crossed the Palk Straits, the Pandya king was killed, the hostile capital of Madura plundered, and the booty taken from Ceylon recovered. Under Kassapa IV., from 912 to 929, a Singhalese army went to

Rohana, the last, though not the inviolate, bulwark of the Singhalese kingdom. His successor, Vijaya Bahu I., also known as Sirasanghabodhi (1065-1120), though at first defeated, repeatedly advanced into the lowlands, where he overthrew three Chola armies, captured their fortresses, recovered Anuradhapura, and shattered the last resistance of the enemy in a bloody conflict under the walls of Polonnaruwa; this victory permanently freed the country from the Chola.

The power of Ceylon was not yet, however, definitely established. When Vijaya Bahu endeavoured to enter into friendly relations with the enemy, and sent special ambassadors to the Chola king with rich presents, the noses and the ears of the

Invaders
Finally
Expelled



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VIEWS OF KANDY, THE FORMER SEAT OF THE TYRANNICAL KANDYAN KINGS

the help of the Pandya king, though with little effect, and the Tamil ruler was forced to take refuge in Ceylon.

This rapid rise of Singhalese prosperity was of no long duration. Under Udaya III. (964-72) and Mahinda IV. (975-91) Ceylon was invaded by the Cholas; under the leadership of their king, Parakesariwarman (1052-61), they overran the island to its southernmost extremity, the province of Rohana, carried away two sons of the king Manabharana, and killed the king Wira-Salamanga about 1056. The plundering extortions and the religious animosity of this Malabar people reduced the country to an awful state of desolation. It was not until 1059 that a brave noble, Loka, succeeded in driving the Chola from his native province of

Invasion
by the
Cholas

emissaries were cut off. Further, when he ordered his troops to march against the Cholas, a mutiny broke out, and the whole of the south rose against the king, who had much difficulty in crushing the rebellion. The country was utterly exhausted, and the Buddhist order was in so feeble a state that not a single monk in full orders was to be found anywhere in the island; monks, accordingly, had to be brought over from Ramanya or Martaban in lower Burma.

Under Vikkama Bahu I., the southern provinces broke away entirely and were divided among different rulers. The king had the utmost difficulty in driving out an Aryan adventurer from North India, who had blockaded him in a mountain fortress, and in recovering Polonnaruwa. The population was com-

pletely exhausted, and the taxes were collected by measures of the severest oppression, "as the sugar mill presses the juice from the cane." To meet his necessities, Vikkama Bahu was forced to appropriate Church property, and thus made the monks his deadly enemies. They emigrated to Rohana, taking with them Buddha's tooth and his alms-dish. During the many wars the irrigation canals had been destroyed, and the once fruitful land had become a malarial desert. Towns and villages were abandoned, and had grown so desolate "that their sites were undiscoverable."

Oppression
Causes
Desolation

Parrakkama Bahu I., or Parakrama, from 1164 to 1197, was the greatest monarch who ever sat upon the Singhalese throne. Only by realising the misery under which the country almost succumbed during his youth can we estimate the results achieved by the intellectual force and patriotism of this ruler, whom history rightly names "the Great."

After the death of Vijaya Bahu I. the Singhalese monarchy had almost entirely collapsed. The nominal ruler was still resident in Polonnaruwa, but the greater part of the country was broken into petty principalities. In the province of Rohana alone four such princes were to be found, including Manabharana, who laid claim to the little district "of the twelve thousand villages," and was the father of Parrakkama the Great. This ruler spent his youth in the mountains; "he received a thorough instruction in religion, in the different legal systems, in rhetoric and poetry, dancing and music, in writing and in the use of sword and bow, and in these exercises he attained the highest degree of perfection." Upon the death of his uncle he became ruler of his principality.

Parrakkama's administration was in every respect admirable; he introduced a properly organised system of taxation, and endeavoured to make the utmost possible use of streams and rainfall for the irrigation of the soil. At the same time he drilled those of the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms, with a view to the reunion of his country as a whole. His first expedition was directed against the highland of Malaya, which he subdued with the support of a general of King Gaja Bahu IV. The court at Polon-

Ceylon's
Greatest
Ruler

naruwa was entirely denationalised; it was thronged by crowds of foreigners, including princes from the mainland, who disseminated foreign influence, foreign customs, foreign religion, and "filled the land of the king like thorns in a bed." For this reason he declared war upon Gaja Bahu, and advanced by a rapid series of victories to the land of pearls, "the coast of the Gulf of Manaar." Ultimately the king and the princes were captured. After thus attaining his object, the conqueror restored their country to his defeated foes. A chieftain of Rohana, Manabharana the younger, had attempted to turn the war between Parrakkama and Gaja Bahu to its own advantage; he was conquered in like manner, and also left in possession of his land. Both of these conquered princes appointed the victor as their successor. Thus Parrakkama became master of the whole island, although at first he was obliged sternly to suppress repeated revolts, especially among the freedom-loving inhabitants of the south and in the western province of Mahatittha.

The king's strong hand soon made itself felt beyond the boundaries of his kingdom.

Relations
of Ceylon
and Burma

For a long period he had been in friendly relations with Ramanya or Lower Burma. Vijaya I. had invited Burmese monks to Ceylon, and the two countries were united by peaceful commercial relations. However, during the gloomy period of the last Singhalese king, Arimaddana, the ruler of Ramanya had attempted to profit by the unfavourable condition of Ceylon. A tax was laid upon the exportation of elephants, which made the purchase of these animals almost impossible for the impoverished Singhalese. The usual presents were withheld from the Singhalese ambassadors, the ships of Ceylon were forbidden to land in Burma, and the emissaries sent from Polonnaruwa were finally robbed and imprisoned. Parrakkama then sent a strong expedition to Ramanya; his ships were greatly damaged by a storm, but the army succeeded in defeating the Burmese troops, storming the capital, and killing the king. Parrakkama's supremacy was proclaimed, and peace was granted only upon condition of an indemnity to compensate for former vexations, to which was added the obligation of a yearly tribute.

In Southern India also, Parrakkama avenged the wrongs that had been committed against Ceylon in former years.

CEYLON IN THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

The struggles between the Cholas and the Pandyas had continued since the time of Vijaya Bahu I. Under their king Kulasekhara the Cholas had fiercely besieged King Pandu in his capital of Madura. It was not to the interest of Ceylon to see a great Dravidian kingdom in place of the numerous petty states, who might wear one another out by internal struggles; Parrakkama therefore sent to the help of the Tamil king a strong army under Lankapura and Jagad Vijaya Nayaka. Before the arrival of this force, Madura had fallen and King Pandu had been killed; however, the Singhalese had

Singhalese Invasion of India

defeated the Cholas and devastated their country. King Kulasekhara was besieged in his fortress of Rajina and was barely able to save himself by flight. He was forced to conclude peace upon terms highly disadvantageous to himself. The Pandya kingdom was restored, Prince Vira Pandu was installed in Madura as king and a Tamil coinage, with the head of Parrakkama, was struck to commemorate the campaign. The captured Cholas were sent to Ceylon, where they were forced to work at the restoration of those same religious buildings which their forefathers had destroyed in their plundering raids. True to the proverb of his choice, "What is there in the world that a persevering man cannot perform?" Parrakkama gave his devastated island



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ELEPHANT CARRYING A HALF-TON LOG
The intelligence and great strength of the trained elephant give him a high industrial value, which is nowhere more apparent than it is in the teak forests of Further India.

a fresh lease of prosperity. As chieftain of a small district, he had once observed, "In a country like this not the least drop of water that falls from heaven should be allowed to run into the sea until it has first done good service to mankind." This principle was now vigorously put into practice throughout his great kingdom. He had tanks built or restored by thousands; the greatest of these, for example, the "Sea of Parrakkama," was equal in extent to the lake of the Four Forest Cantons. More than five hundred new canals were made, and several thousand ruined waterways were reconstructed. Malarious swamps and impenetrable jungles were transformed into miles of flourishing rice fields and orchards; towns and villages arose from their ruins, with a dense and prosperous population.

The decaying capital of Polonnaruwa rose to new splendour and was provided with everything that could conduce to comfort and luxury. The ruler was not forgetful of the old and famous capital of Anuradhapura, the palaces which the founder of the empire had erected, the shrines consecrated by Mahinda and his successors: and the monasteries and relic shrines were cleared of their jungle overgrowth and restored. The administration of the country was reorganised, and a mild and equable system of taxation introduced. The disorders which had



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NATIVE FARMING IN CEYLON
The elephant is frequently used for ploughing and other purposes on the "paddy," or rice farm, and he is here seen harnessed to a primitive Singhalese wooden plough.

broken out in the Church were checked, and the morality of the priesthood improved. Parrakkama even succeeded in reconciling that feud between the chief sects which had lasted for a thousand years, and in unifying the doctrine; "the attempt to bring about this union seemed no less desperate than an attempt to raise the mountain of Meru from its foundations."

Religious Enemies Reconciled

Parrakkama the Great was succeeded by his nephew Vijaya Bahu II. (1197-8), a weakling characterised by the monks as a great scholar and poet; after a reign of one year he was assassinated. Then began a period of the greatest confusion. During the eighteen years immediately following the death of the great king the empire saw no less than fifteen different rulers, with reigns of one, nine, and seventeen days, three, seven, nine, and twelve months. At least five were murdered; six were deposed, and in some cases blinded. A motley row of figures passes before us, Singhalese, Kalinas, Cholas, and Pandyas. The Kalinga prince Magha, who reigned from 1215 to 1236, seized the island with an army of twenty thousand warriors, was the first ruler able to secure his position upon the throne; at the same time his rule proved a devastating scourge to the unfortunate country which had never yet been subjected to so fearful a visitation.

In the south alone a few capable leaders were able to maintain their independence in the mountain fortresses defended alike by Nature and art. Of these petty principalities, the most important was Dambadenya, where Vijaya Bahu III. (1236-40), who traced his descent from Vijaya Bahu I., had established himself; from this base of operations he was able to subdue the province of Malaya. His son Parrakkama Bahu III. (1240-75), drove out the Dravidians in 1255, almost annihilating them, together with the Chola king, Someswara; still, he was forced to struggle with other enemies, for the weakness of Ceylon had attracted the Malays, who were especially active at that period. Their leader, Chandrabhanu, twice invaded the country and devastated "the whole of Lanka"; the Malays, however, never succeeded in permanently establishing themselves on the island.

In the works of peace, Parrakkama II. rivalled his great predecessor. During the

Dravidian rule proprietary titles had been lost or confused, and a redistribution of the country among laity and monks was now undertaken. Roads were laid down, tanks and canals restored, and Polonnaruwa, which had been almost entirely ruined, was rebuilt; in Anuradhapura works of restoration were begun upon the main buildings, which had been severely damaged. Meanwhile, the so-called monks had plunged into every kind of vice, and the old quarrel between the brotherhoods broke out with renewed fury. Here, too, the king's action improved the situation.

Vijaya Bahu IV., the successor of Parrakkama II., was murdered by one of his generals two years later, though the murderer also received short shrift. In default of a powerful ruler, the people quickly relapsed into their former state of misery, and, to complete the tale of their suffering, a terrible famine broke out. A Pandu army invaded the country so suddenly that even the greatest relic of the Buddhist world, the tooth of Buddha, could not be hidden, but was carried off to Madura with other booty. The tooth

A Great National Relapse

was not recovered until the reign of Parrakkama Bahu III. (1288-93). This raid of the Pandyas seems to have been the last Dravidian invasion of Ceylon; a few years later in 1311, the Mohammedans under Kafur advanced from the north to the Palk Straits, and from the middle of the fourteenth century the Pandyas became tributary to the kingdom of Bijanagar, in the Deccan. The Singhalese chronicles make no reference to wars with the Dravidians later than the year 1290. In consequence of the incessant civil wars, the ruling kings removed their capitals further within the mountains, and Buddhism hardly existed even in name. Hence, even up to the time of Parrakkama IV., about 1300, only the very scantiest historical record was kept in the monasteries, and from that date until the middle of the eighteenth century historical writing ceased entirely. The records became somewhat more definite at the time of Raja Simha I. (1586-92), who secured the throne by murdering his father. But it was not until the time of Kirti Sri raja Simha (1747-80) that the gaps were filled up with the scanty material to hand and with the aid of tradition.



THE EUROPEANS IN CEYLON

"IN those days certain merchants carried on trade in the harbour of Kolamba, which they continued until, in the course of time, they had grown very powerful. The Parangi, or Portuguese, were collectively base unbelievers, cruel, and hard-hearted." In the year 1498 Vasco da Gama had cast anchor before Calicut; seventeen years later came the destruction of the Arab trade, which had hitherto monopolised the valuable products of Asia, especially the spice exports; Ormuz, Malacca, and Goa became the foundations of the Portuguese power in the Indian seas. Portuguese ships had visited Ceylon as early as 1505; in 1515 a fleet sailed to the island from Calicut under Lopez Soarez, and the Singhalese monarch in Kotta gave permission to the admiral to found a permanent trading station in the harbour of Colombo, near his residence. If the king hoped to gain powerful friends by this means, he was soon bitterly

Aggression by the Portuguese

undecided. He was forced to become a Portuguese vassal, and to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute of cinnamon, precious stones, and elephants. Hostilities were the early and the natural result. The kings removed their capitals to the mountains of the interior, first to Sitawaka, then to Kandy. But in vain; the war continued without interruption, and every Portuguese campaign penetrated further into the country.

By degrees, however, the difficulties afforded by the precipitous highland slopes, the jungles of the primeval forest, the dangers of the climate, and the military strength of the highlanders increased. The latter learnt the arts of strategy, tactics, and the use of weapons from their enemies; they had of old been famous for their skill in metal-working, and were able to keep their guns and cannons in better repair. Mayadhana and his son Raja Simha I. vigorously repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese; of Raja Simha II., Mahawansa says: "As a lion bursts into a herd of elephants, or as flakes of wool are swept away by the wind, so was the

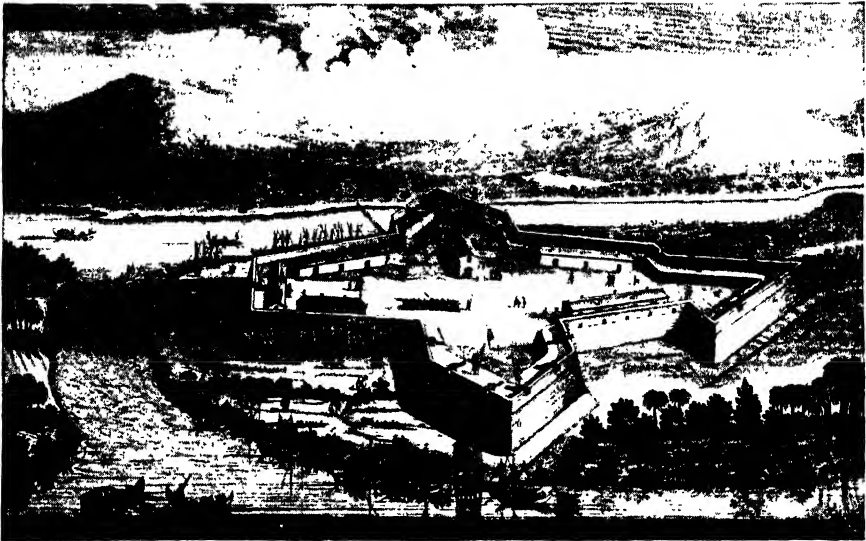
enemy seized by fear and fled before the dauntless king."

The Portuguese were never able to establish themselves in the interior; their only established possessions were the fortresses of Negambo, Colombo, Galle, Batticaloa, and Trincomali, with the land immediately adjoining these settlements. They operated with some success against the Tamil kingdom, which occupied the northern extremity of the island, and a small strip of land upon the east coast. The capital of Jafna was stormed in 1560, and the sacred tooth fell into the hands of the Portuguese. In vain did the King of Pegu offer 400,000 gold pieces for the relic. The Portuguese valued the destruction of that fragment of bone at a higher price; it was pounded in a mortar by the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Gaspar, burnt in the fire, and the ashes thrown into the river. Tooth worship was, however, not extirpated by this means; in no long time a second "tooth" appeared in Kandy, which was said to have been hidden and buried during a Portuguese invasion, while the conquerors were said to have destroyed only an imitation of the real tooth. On the first conquest of Jafna, the Portuguese contented themselves with depriving the Sultan of the island of Mannar and of all his treasures, and imposing a heavy tribute upon him. In 1617, the town was again stormed upon the reported outbreak of hostilities against the Christians; the Sultan was beheaded and his land declared Portuguese territory.

Extent of Portuguese Power

The story of the destruction of Buddha's tooth is typical of the religious fanaticism of the Portuguese. Every ship brought, together with soldiers greedy for plunder, bands of monks who were anxious to spread Christianity by any means in their power. Their greatest success was the conversion of a Singhalese king to the one true Church. "The King Dharma Pauli Raja embraced the Christian religion, and was baptised under the name of Don Juan Pandaura; many nobles of Kotta were

Portuguese Religious Fanaticism



BATTIKALAO, ONE OF THE EARLY PORTUGUESE STRONGHOLDS IN CEYLON

Battikalao, now the capital of the eastern province in Ceylon, is situated on an island in a salt water lake, 30 miles long and from two to five miles wide; the old Dutch fort, seen in the picture, now does service as a prison.

converted with him. From this time onward the wives of the nobles, and also those of the lower castes, such as the barbers, fishers, humawas, and chalyas, became Christians, and lived with the Christians for the sake of the Portuguese money."

This apostate king appointed Philip II. of Spain and Portugal his heir, and from that time the Portuguese kings have added to their many titles that of Lord of Ceylon. The soil was well prepared for the conversion of the Singhalese to Christianity. The old religion had degenerated to the lowest possible point; Raja Simha, the worshipper of Siva, had persecuted his Buddhist subjects. Repeated importations of foreign monks had been unable to check the decay of Singhalese Buddhism; the people had grown utterly indifferent to religious questions. Within the Portuguese districts members of the lower castes could exist only by keeping on good terms with their masters, and consequently the people came over to the Catholic Church in numbers.

High-sounding Portuguese names are still to be found among the modern Singhalese, the descendants of converts who adopted the family names of their

masters upon their change of faith. The Portuguese exemplified their own interpretation of Christianity by practising inhuman extortion upon every subject within their domains. In this manner they sought to indemnify themselves for the comparatively small profits accruing from their trade. The cultivation of the most valuable product of the island, cinnamon, was retarded by the bitter hatred of the foreigners, and confined to narrow districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortified settlements of Colombo and Galle. Spices "were collected sword in hand and exported under the guns of the fortresses." Trade rapidly decreased, and the receipts failed to balance the expenditure of the Portuguese during 150 years of unbroken war. The decay of Portuguese trade in Ceylon was but one of the many phenomena apparent upon the decline of Portugal, which was absorbed by the Spanish monarchy in 1580. The spirit of enterprise which had inspired the country during the fifteenth century and at the outset of the sixteenth had faded; its power was wasted by constant wars in deadly climates, the people were impoverished, and the oppression of the Inquisition lay upon all minds.

Decay of Portuguese Power

THE EUROPEANS IN CEYLON

Portugal's career as a colonial Power was at an end. Her place in Ceylon was taken by the Dutch, who had now all but achieved their deliverance from Spain.

In 1602 Joris van Spilbergen landed in the island with two ships to conclude an alliance with the angry Singhalese king against the Portuguese; the king sent two ambassadors "into their beautiful land," and persuaded the people to come to Ceylon with many ships. In the meanwhile, the two Powers concluded a convention in 1609 for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island, though

Beginning of Dutch Influence

neither the feeble king Vinila Dhamma Surya I. (1592-1620) nor the Dutch felt themselves strong enough for immediate action. The war was not prosecuted with any energy until the time of Raja Simha II.; the Dutch then captured one Portuguese fortress after another. Ultimately, in 1658, after an armistice of ten years, Colombo and Jatna fell, and the Portuguese were definitely ousted by the Dutch.

The new nationality conducted their policy in a wholly different spirit. They were primarily merchants, and their chief object was to avoid any possible disturbance to their trade. They had originally agreed to send an embassy to the king at Kandy every year. The king treated these with contempt and scorn; on different occasions the ambassadors

The Dutch Policy of Peace

were beaten, imprisoned, and even put to death, outrages which the Dutch patiently bore. On one occasion only, during the reign of Kirti Sri Raja Simha, did they attempt a punitive expedition with Malay soldiers; Kandy was captured, and the king was forced to flee, taking with him the tooth of Buddha. Sickness and famine, however, broke out among the troops, and their line of retreat was cut off; many soldiers succumbed to the attacks of the mountaineers, while others were scattered and lost their way in the inhospitable forests.

Raja Simha II. was succeeded by a number of weak rulers who favoured the



AUDIENCE GRANTED BY THE KING OF CEYLON TO GERARD HULST IN 1656

Inset in top of the picture is a portrait of the Dutch general, Gerard Hulst, who is described as the "First Counsellor, and Director General of ye Indies, Comander in Chief of all the Sea and Land Forces sent to Ceylon, and the Coast of the Indies." The united arms of the Singhalese and the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from the island.



THE BARBARIC EXECUTION OF A USURPER

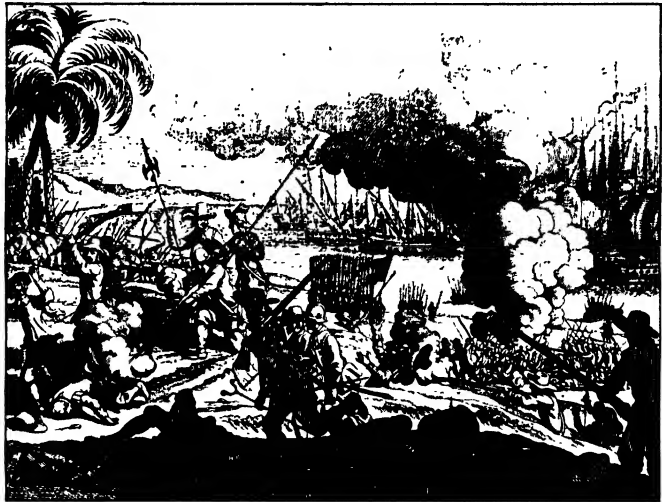
In the reign of Raja Simha, a usurper had himself proclaimed King; Raja Simha enticed him to his court, had him buried to the elbows and killed by his attendants, who threw wooden balls at his victim. Our illustration is from an old engraving in an early history.

monks, though they were unable to improve the position of the order. Sri Wira Parakkama Narinda, from 1701 to 1734, built the Dalada Maligawa, a temple yet in existence, to enshrine the sacred tooth, and decorated its outer walls with thirty-two histories of the birth of Buddha; but under his successor, Vijaya Raja Simha, from 1734 to 1747, the monks had entirely disappeared. The doctrine itself had degenerated into a mixture of Hinduism, devil worship, and Buddhist conventionalities. The connection of the island with Southern India—a large number of the rulers of Kandy married princesses from Madura—had enabled the Brahman gods to gain the pre-eminence in Ceylon; their images were carried in procession in company with the statues of Buddha, and when a king built a Buddhist shrine he erected with it a temple dedicated to Siva or Vishnu. It was not until the time of Kirti Sri Raja Simha,

from 1747 to 1780, that Buddhism was purified of its hollow formalities and revived; two embassies brought over each a chapter of ten monks, the first under the high-priest Upali, from Siam. The religious toleration of the Dutch and the English has since enabled Buddhism to extend its area and regain some of its power in Ceylon, though at the same time the doctrine has been largely modified by the worship of Brahman gods and Dravidian demons.

The Dutch at first derived great profit from their trade in the products of Ceylon.

The cinnamon plantations captured from the Portuguese were not increased; but the careful cultivation of the plants raised the value of the bark to an unprecedented height, and high prices were maintained by a strict monopoly. These measures, however, eventually led to the decay of the trade. The high prices attracted the rivalry of other plantations upon other islands. An army of subordinate officials



DUTCH FORCES TAKING THE ISLE OF MANNAR

An incident in the struggle for supremacy in Ceylon before 1658 when the Dutch finally expelled the Portuguese, against whom they had allied themselves with the Singhalese.



DEPOSITION OF THE KING OF KANDY BY THE BRITISH IN 1815
 The British assumed complete sovereignty of Ceylon in 1815, when they deported Wikrama Raja Singha, King of Kandy, whose excesses had culminated in the massacre of some native merchants who were British subjects.

swallowed up a large proportion of the profit, and dishonesty was increased by the scanty salaries paid. The cinnamon trade, which originally brought such high profits, at length scarcely succeeded in paying its expenses.

The trade of Ceylon suffered from the decline of Holland as a sea-power. The capture of the Portuguese possessions

marks the zenith of Dutch influence, and Dutch trade was at that time five times greater than that of England. While, however, the struggle for Colombo and Jafna was in progress, England dealt a deadly stroke at her rival; in 1651-60 the Navigation Acts were passed, which prevented foreign ships from carrying goods between England and her colonies. In

the year 1792 the proportion of trade in the hands of these rivals was as two to five. When Holland became a virtual dependency of the French Republic during the European wars at the close of the eighteenth century, Great Britain took from the Dutch not only their trading fleet,

savage excesses of the monarch, Wikrama Raja Singha of Kandy, culminated in the massacre of some native merchants who were British subjects; with the inevitable result. The king was easily captured and deported to Madras, and in March, 1815, the chiefs by formal treaty accepted the British supremacy.

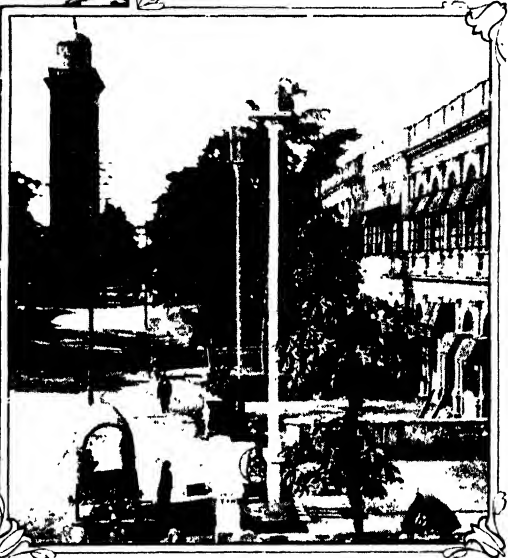
Since that date Ceylon has had "no history." The island is ruled as a British Crown Colony, and its notable events have been mainly of commercial interest. The first was the successful development of the country as a great coffee producer; the second was the destruction of the coffee plantation by a fungus which all efforts failed



H. C. White & Co.
COLOMBO HARBOUR, CEYLON

which was valued at £10,000,000, but also all their colonies at the Cape, in Malacca, in Cochin, in the Moluccas, etc. The occupation of Ceylon was not a difficult task.

The British Governor of Madras sent an expedition which promptly captured Trincomali, a position of considerable naval importance. The capitulation of Colombo, the Dutch capital, which surrendered without striking a blow, effectively substituted British for Dutch throughout the island—which, unlike many other British conquests of the time, was not restored at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when, on the contrary, it was formally annexed to the British Crown. For the time, the native rulers in the interior were not dispossessed. But the



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to eradicate, about 1870, followed by the development of tea-growing, which has proved a not inefficient substitute. For the rest, the rule of Ceylon has followed the lines of other British Crown Colonies where a large dark-skinned population is governed by a handful of British.
EMIL SCHMIDT



THE LAND, ITS PEOPLES, AND GENERAL EARLY HISTORY

FURTHER INDIA, otherwise known as Indo-China, forms the most easterly of the three great projections southward from Asia. Equal in area to the south of Neater India 830,586 square miles—it is bounded by China on the north, by India on the north west; the western boundary in all its length is formed by the east coast of the Sea of Bengal, its southern boundary is the sea between the mainland and the islands of Java and Borneo, while the China Sea washes its eastern shores. The course of its civilisation has been inspired by impulses derived not from over seas, but from the two civilised countries of India and China.

The superficial configuration of Further India is controlled by parallel mountain ranges running for the most part from north to south, which, beginning in the mountain country between Eastern Tibet and Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the southern provinces of China, to the north of the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, diverge southward. At the roots of these mountains, in gorges often 3,000 feet deep, run those four mighty rivers which rise in Tibet, afterward diverging fan-wise to hurry on to the different seas. From its passage through the mountains eastward the Yangtse Kiang naturally forms the most important line of communication in the Celestial Empire. The Brahmaputra turns back westward through the broad valley of Assam to the Ganges delta. Only the Salwen and Mekong, running southward, can be said properly to belong

to the peninsula of Indo-China. Between these rivers flow parallel streams, the sources of which begin at a point somewhat to the south of the spot where the main streams pass the gorges; of these the most westward is the Irawaddi, which rises in the mountain land to the east of Assam. The greater part of its course is navigable; with its tributaries it facilitates communication with Yunnan, passing through the fruitful plains of Chittagong and Arakan, and forming one of the greatest deltas in the world at its mouth in the Gulf of Pegu.

From this river the Salwen, eastward, is divided by no greater obstacle than a low-lying range of hills running north and south, which eventually turns it away from the narrow coast district of Tennasserim and directs its course to Central Further India. Between the Salwen and the Mekong flows the Menam, the main river of Siam, the whole course of which falls within Indo-China, since its sources do not extend beyond the twentieth degree of latitude north. Beyond is the Mekong, rising in Tibet, the delta of which extends eastward into the China Sea. All these streams have fruitful deltas, and plains upon their banks, but navigation on any large scale is excluded by the rapids and shallows immediately above their mouths. The mountain chain running from north to south forms a sharp line of demarcation to the east of the Mekong between Central and Eastern Further India, Cochin-China, Annam, and

**The Great
Rivers of
Indo-China**

**Mountains
of the
Peninsula**

Tonquin. The Songka, or Red River, is the only stream flowing northward in Tonquin, a district generally narrow which forms the eastern third of Indo-China; it is, however, more navigable than the central rivers, and forms the most convenient route of access to Yunnan and its mineral wealth. The climate is that

Physical Features of Indo-China of a tropical Asiatic district under the monsoons. In the alluvial plains of the valleys and deltas all natural growths flourish with inexhaustible fertility, and from an early age these have been the points of departure for Indo-Chinese civilisation. The highlands further to the north are less richly dowered by Nature, and have retained for thousands of years their influence upon tribal formation. Here from a remote antiquity was the home of powerful half-barbaric tribes who were driven out by upheavals among the restless nomadic hordes of Central Asia or attracted by the riches of the southern lowlands, which they repeatedly invaded, bringing infusions of new blood and valuable material for the work of civilisation.

Hence even at the present day racial stocks displaying anthropological and ethnological differences can be plainly recognised. As direct descendants of the earliest inhabitants we have three races belonging to different anthropological groups—the Nigritic, Malay, and Indonesian types. The Nigritic people, who are related to the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, and to the Aëtas of the Philippines, are now known as Sakai and Semangs, and inhabit small districts within the peninsula of Malacca. The Malays are identical with the inhabitants of the islands, to which they were expelled at a comparatively late period. Tribes which have maintained their purity of blood also occupy certain districts in the Malay peninsula: while others, mixed

Races of Further India with later invaders, occupy extensive tracts in the lowlands of Siam and Annam; their original settlements seem to have been the lowlands of Indo-China. On the other hand, the highlands were inhabited by Indonesians, whose nearest relations are now to be found in the Indonesian Archipelago, in the Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, etc. The modern representatives of the Indonesian race within Indo-China are the Nagas on the

frontier between Assam and Burma; the Selongs, in the Mergui archipelago; the Moi—half-wild tribes between the Mekong and the coast of Assam and between Yunnan and Cochinchina; the Kui, in South-eastern Siam and North-western Cambodia; and the Mons or Talaings in the deltas of the Burmese rivers, formerly distributed throughout Lower Burma.

The highlands, which extend further northward from Eastern Tibet to the southern provinces of China, were in antiquity inhabited by a powerful race closely allied to the Indonesians, who may be generally comprehended in the tribal families of the Thai. From this point repeated invasions took place into the lowlands at a later period. About 1250 this people was settled in the principality of Xieng-Mai. Under Râma Khomheng in 1283 the more southerly kingdom of Sukhodaya is mentioned in inscriptions. Driven westward by the resistance of the Brahman kings of Cambodia, the Thai are found in possession of the lower Menam about 1350.

Early Kings of Further India The descendants of these immigrants after fusion with the former inhabitants of the district form the chief element in the population of those states of Further India which reached any high degree of culture.

It is impossible to decide whether the Cham are an early branch of the Thai or whether they originated from the Indonesians; they found the Malays settled in the lowlands and borrowed their language, which is closely related to the different Malay dialects of the present day; at the same time their physical characteristics display marked divergences from the Malay type and approach more nearly to the Indonesian. The first glimmer of historical information shows them as the settled people of a kingdom which embraced South Tonquin, Annam, and a great part of Central Further India. A second wave of migration advancing within our era brought the Khmers into the fruitful land; here they, too, mixed with the population in possession, the Malays, and Indonesians—hence the wavy hair of the Kui—and raised their State of Cambodia to high prosperity at the expense of the Champa kingdom. By later invasions of the Thai their district was reduced to its present limits, the

FURTHER INDIA—GENERAL EARLY HISTORY

smaller State of Cambodia and Southern Cochin-China.

From this cradle of nations new races advanced east and south and expelled the Moi, the Malays, and Khmers from their settlements: these were the Annamese. At the present day they are settled from the delta of Tonquin to Southern Cochin-China, and have been strongly modified by infusions of Chinese blood, while their civilisation is almost entirely Chinese. Probably the same wave brought a second stream of the Thai forward about the same date, the Lao race in the mountains of what is now North Siam, and a third tribe, the Burmese, who are linguistically related to the Tibetans; these tribes advanced from the mountain land at the east of Tibet to the lower courses of the Irawaddi, where they settled, driving to the coast the Mons, who show linguistic affinities with the Annamese. About 1000 A.D. they were followed by the Shan, now settled in the mountain districts of Upper Burma, who still call themselves Thai, or Free, and further to the east by the Siamese, who overthrew the supremacy

Migrations and Conflicts of the former Khmer immigrants in Cambodia and formed a highly prosperous kingdom of their own. The physical characteristics of all these tribes show that they are not free from fusion with other races.

The prehistoric period of Further India is shrouded in darkness, though a few vague and general indications may be derived from the sciences of comparative philology and anthropology. These indications alike point to early racial commixture and fusion. From a philological point of view, several primordial groups stand out in isolation. The dialects of the dark inhabitants of the peninsula at the present day are as yet but little known; but the special characteristics of the Malay group of languages show that this branch diverged from the original stem in a remote antiquity. The remaining dialects of the people of Further India belong to the isolating family of languages, and point to the existence at an extremely early age of two distinct tribes, which may be designated as Tibeto-Burmese and Thai-Chinese, according to their modern distribution.

We have no means of deciding where the first ancestors of these groups may have dwelt. We can venture to assert

only that the separation of these primitive peoples, with whom we are concerned in the history of Further India, took place in the north. During the later history of Indo-China, the Thai preserved their racial purity, as they do at the present day in the mountainous frontier between Further India and China. Philological evidence

Cradle of the Races points to the fact that an early bifurcation of the Thai formed the tribes of Mon-Annam, which were driven into their present remote habitations by the invasions in later centuries of the Thai. They were then known as Mons and Annamites. The Cham also broke away from the Thai at an early period, and were strongly influenced by the Malay population, with whom they came into contact, both in respect of language and physical structure. Within recent and historical times they were followed by the Khmers, the Laos, Shans, and Siamese.

Upon the dates and the history of these ancient racial movements we have no information whatever. Chinese histories refer, indeed, to an embassy sent from Indo-China, probably from Tonquin, in the year 1110 B.C. to the Imperial Chinese court of the Chau. In 214 B.C. and 100 A.D., Chinese generals founded dynasties of their own in Tonquin. Upon the general history of those ages we have no other information. The wild imagination of the natives has so transformed their legends that though these go back to the creation of the world, they give us no historical material of any value whatever.

It is not until the first centuries of our era that the general darkness is somewhat relieved. On the north frontier and in the east we find a restless movement and a process of struggle, with varying success, between the Chinese and the native races; while in the south and west Hindu civilisation is everywhere victorious. The most important source of our knowledge upon the affairs of Further India in those ages is Ptolemy's description of the world, dating from the first half of the second century A.D. The larger part of the south was occupied by the Champa kingdom of the Chams, with its capital at Champapura. To the east and north-east were settled the Khmers, who, according to an ancient tradition of Cambodia, had advanced southwards from their northern settlements and come into connection

with the Chams. Ptolemy, however, also informs us that at his time the coast-line of Further India was inhabited throughout its length by the Sindoi or Hindus. As their importance in Indo-China was at that time great enough for the Alexandrine geographer to describe them as a race of wide distribution, the advance of Hindu

Brahmanism in the Peninsula

civilisation must have taken place at least some centuries previously. The introduction of Brahman civilisation was a victory for merely a few representatives of a higher culture. The physical characteristics of the population of Further India were but little influenced by this new infusion. The movement can hardly have begun before the period at which the Brahmins colonised Orissa. From this point Brahmanism apparently made its way to Indo-China by sea. On the one hand, the Brahmins did not advance along the land route, long hidden and leading through the Ganges delta and Assam, until the second half of the present millennium, at which time Brahmanism had long since fallen into decay in Indo-China. On the other hand, a proof of the fact that the colonisation was of transmarine origin is the predominance of Hinduism upon the coast. The movement to Indo-China cannot have started from Southern India for the reason that at that period Brahmanism had taken but little hold on the south, and the transmission of their civilisation from those shores is therefore extremely improbable. It was not until a much later period that communication between the two countries began, the results of which are apparent in the Dravidian influences visible in the later temple buildings of Indo-China. Further evidence for the northern origin of Indo-Chinese Brahmanism is found in the names of the more important towns of early Indonesia, which are almost entirely borrowed from the Sanscrit names of the towns in the Ganges

Evidences of Brahman Influence

district, and also from the desire of the Indonesian rulers to retrace their origin to the mythical sun and moon dynasties of Madhya-desa. The maritime route led straight to Burma, but Indian civilisation at the moment found that district less favourable to its development than that of the great and more hospitable Champa kingdom in the central south. The Gulf of Ligor and the coast and banks of the great rivers of

Cambodia seem to have been the central points of Brahman influence. This influence was less important in the eastern part of the peninsula of Further India, which was both further from the Brahman starting-point, and more subject to Chinese civilisation. From Upper Burma to Cochin-China countless temple ruins are to be found at the present day, with rich ornamental sculptures and Sanscrit inscriptions, bearing evidence of the force of Brahman influence in earlier ages.

Every year important discoveries are made, especially in those districts which the French have opened up. Most of the traditional names of the kings of Cambodia are to be read in inscriptions in their Sanscrit form from the third century A.D. to 1108. At a later period within this district Sanscrit writing gave way to the native Khmer script. Inscribed memorials, carvings, and building generally, make it clear that Siva and his son, Ganesa, the god with the elephant head, were the most widely distributed of the Brahman gods. The images and symbols of these gods are far more numerous than those of the other

figures of Hindu mythology. At the same time Vishnu was highly venerated. The most important and beautiful Brahman temples of Further India are dedicated to this god, instances being the temples of Angkor Thom and of Angkor Wat, built, as we learn from the evidence of the inscriptions, in 825.

At the time when the early exponents of Brahmanism advanced to China, Buddhism had also taken root in their native land, being then considered merely a special variant of the belief in the old gods. Hence, with the transmission of Brahmanism, the seeds of Buddhism were undoubtedly sown in Indo-China. As Buddha himself was received into the cult of Vishnu as being the incarnation of this god, so, during the flourishing period of Brahmanism in Champa and Cambodia, his images were erected and worshipped within the temples dedicated to Siva or Vishnu.

Buddhism advanced to Indo-China by two routes. The first of these led straight from India and Ceylon to the opposite coast. According to the tradition, Buddhaghosha, in the fifth century A.D., after making his translation of the sacred scriptures into Pali, introduced the doctrine of Buddha into the country, starting from

FURTHER INDIA—GENERAL EARLY HISTORY

the island of Ceylon. Resemblances between the script of Cambodia and the Pali of Ceylon testify to the contact of the civilisation and religion of these two countries. Subsequently, however, the northern or Sanscrit developments of Buddhism had advanced to Further India by way of Central and Eastern Asia.

The doctrine in this form was first transmitted to the vigorous and half-barbaric tribes of the mountainous highlands, who seem to have accepted it readily. At any rate, the Thai races—Laos, Shans, and Siamese—who migrated southward at a later period, were undoubtedly zealous Buddhists. Their advance about the end of the first and second centuries A.D. implies a definite retrogression on the part of Brahmanism in Indo-China. The Brahman gods decay, and the temples sink into ruins. Upon their sites arise buildings which, in their poverty of decoration and artistic conception, correspond to the

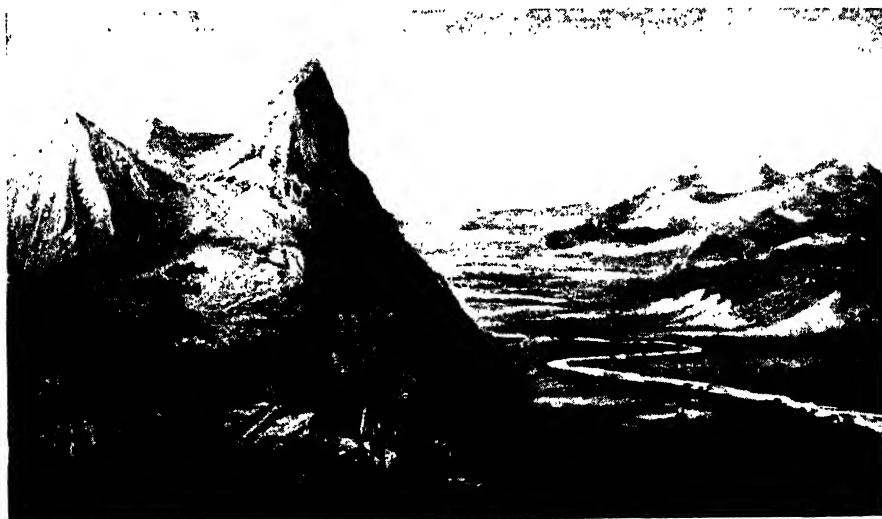
Decay of Brahmanism in Further India

humility of Buddhist theology and metaphysics. In Cambodia alone did Brahmanism maintain its position for a time, as is evidenced by buildings and inscriptions from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. About the year 700 the northern type of Buddhism made an unobtrusive entrance, and King Jayawarman V., who

reigned from 968 to 1002 undertook reforms on its behalf. But it was not until 1295 that the schools fell into the hands of the Buddhists, and Buddhism did not become the State religion in Cambodia before 1320.

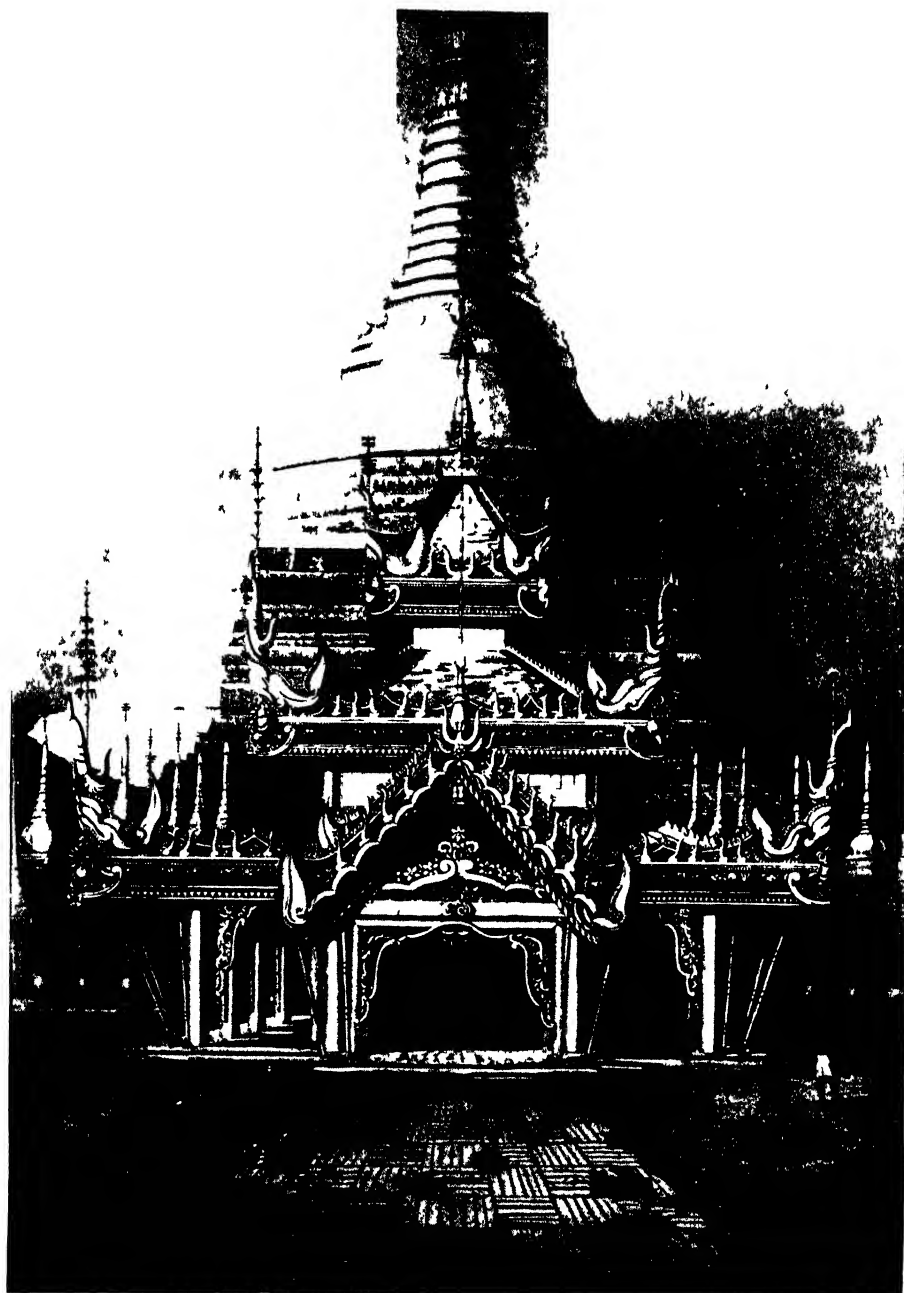
Buddhism Increases its Influence

At that date, the Southern, or Pali, Buddhism had also found adherents in the country. Brahmanism, however, had been very deeply rooted, as is proved by the numerous Sanscrit words borrowed by the modern languages of Further India, and also by many special practices which have persisted to the present day. Vishnu, Siva, and Ganesa, though no longer worshipped as gods, were honoured as heroes, and their images in bronze and stone decorated the temples side by side with the images of Buddha, as, for instance, in the temple of Wat Bot Phram at Bangkok. Vishnu remains one of the heraldic devices on the royal banner of Siam, and the kings of this empire show special favour to the Brahmins in their districts who cling to the old beliefs. They alone are allowed to prepare the holy water, and play a predominant part in many palace ceremonies. The aristocracy of Cambodia still lays claim to certain privileges which remind us of those possessed by the Kshatriyas, or Rajputs, in the Brahman caste system.



A STRETCH OF THE VALLEY OF THE IRAWADDI IN BURMA

The Irawaddi is the main highway of commerce in Burma, and its many-mouthed delta makes a prolific rice field.



EAST FRONT OF THE GREAT SHIVE DAGON PAGODA AT RANGOON

This picture can but imperfectly convey an idea of the splendour of the magnificent edifice which for the light elegance of its contour and the happy combination of its several parts may be fairly said to challenge for beauty any other of its class in India. The building is composed entirely of teak wood and the most unwearied pains have not been spared upon the profusion of rich carved work which ornaments it. The whole is one mass of the richest gilding with the exception of the three roofs which are silvered. The carved work is so highly executed as to resemble alto relievo



COUNTRIES OF FURTHER INDIA

BURMA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

FROM the times when, thanks to Ptolemy, a more definite light is thrown upon the affairs of Further India the general history of Indo-China appears characterised by a tripartite division corresponding to the three main geographical districts of the peninsula: we have to-day the western district, facing the Indian Ocean, the central district, watered by the rivers of the Salween, Menam, and Mekong, and the eastern district, most easily accessible from China and facing the Chinese Sea.

The earliest sources of Burmese history are of Chinese origin. From the Chinese annals we hear of struggles with the inhabitants of the north-west of Further India during the first century B.C. In these struggles the old capital of Tagong ceased to exist, and further Chinese incursions took place between 166 and 241 A.D.

Burma Before Our Era The earlier history of the country rests solely upon vague tradition. These traditions enable us dimly to observe the persistence of an incessant struggle between petty kingdoms which rise to power and again disappear.

From this constant change a number of larger and more tenacious bodies politic originate. Such is the state of Arakan on the northern coast, which was colonised from Burma, but strongly influenced by India by reason of its neighbourhood to that country. Under its king, Gaw-Laya, it held the predominance over Bengal, Pagan, Pegu, and Siam about 1138, and about 1450 it advanced from Sandoweh, beyond its central point of Akyab, to Chittagong. On the south we have the state of Malaya Desa, so called after the principal tribe, and—more important than either of the foregoing—the two states of Burma and Pegu. The history of these latter is the history of an incessant struggle between two races—the Burmese, who

advanced from the north, and the native Mons.

The earliest mythology of the Burmese speaks of Prome in the fifth century A.D. as the capital of a primordial kingdom. At a later period certain rebels emigrated from Prome and founded Pagan, which became the central point of a new kingdom,

The Early Burmese Dynasties and flourished from the seventh to the ninth centuries. About 1060 it was sufficiently powerful to conquer, under the leadership of Anuruddha, or Anorat azo, the Talaing kingdom of Sadon, but was destroyed about 1300 by the dynasty of Panja. The period during which Tagong was the capital of the old Burmese kingdom coincides with the distribution of Indian civilisation by the Brahmins. According to Brahman legends, Tagong on the Irawaddi was founded by King Abhiraja about 500 years before our era. At any rate, the rulers of Tagong were entirely subject to the influence of foreign civilisation. Tradition has preserved long lists of names belonging to different dynasties, in which there is an attempt to establish an original connection with the royal families of early India. Individual members of these lists are still celebrated as mighty heroes in Burmese popular songs.

The scanty substratum of historical truth that can first be derived from the native legends displays the first thousand

Chinese Aggression in Burma years of our era as an age of restless movement, and of struggles fought out between the individual states, and also against the Singhalese, and in particular the Chinese, who attempted to reduce Burma under their supremacy when they were not themselves occupied by internal disturbances. At a later period Chinese incursions were repeated, and as late as 1284 fierce battles against these powerful neighbours took place. It was not until

1305 that the Burmese ruler Minti succeeded in shaking off the dominion of China, until the time of Shan supremacy in that country. The darkness in which the details of Burmese history are veiled begins to disperse in the second half of the fourteenth century. The character of the development, however, remains unchanged: bloody wars between the two chief races, the Burmese and the Mons, brave and cruel rulers alternating with

the conquest of Prome. He and the following kings defeated both the Arakanese in 1413 and later, and the Chinese in 1424; 1449, and 1477. The centre of power then shifted from Ava to Pegu, the ruler of which, Mentara, after subduing Burma and Arakan in 1540, then stormed Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, in spite of a most vigorous defence, and thus became paramount over the great kingdom in Central Indo-China in 1544. The Siamese repeatedly revolted, although their efforts were forcibly suppressed, and soon succeeded in freeing themselves from the supremacy of the Pegu king, Burankri Naunchan, who reigned from 1551 to 1581. Burma remained dependent upon Pegu for a longer period. Attempts to shake off the foreign yoke failed in 1585: Ava became a provincial town, and was reduced to ruin by neglect.

At the outset of the seventeenth century the forces of Pegu were expelled by Nyaung Mendarah; Ava was restored as the capital of Burma in 1601, while Pegu and the northern Shan states in the neighbourhood were subjugated. In 1636, however, Pegu freed itself from Ava, which its rulers then subdued, and Ava became the capital of the two united states. The balance of fortune and power continued to oscillate between these states. In the second half of the seventeenth century Pegu was predominant; the turn of Burma came at the outset of the eighteenth century. However, between 1740 and 1752 Burma suffered several severe defeats, and again became subject to Pegu.

When Burma finally threw off the yoke of Pegu in 1753, the last section of her history as an independent state begins. Europeans had set foot upon the soil of Indo-China several centuries previously; Malacca had been conquered by Albuquerque in 1511, and had become a stronghold of Portuguese influence in the Malay Archipelago; trading stations had also been founded on the north and west coasts of Further India, but the development



SURRENDER OF RANGOON TO THE BRITISH

During the viceroyalty of Lord Dalhousie the British took Rangoon on April 11, 1852, after a blockade and assault by Commodore Lambert.

weaklings, and a general state of upheaval which affected the little states of the west, and even the kingdom of Central Indo-China.

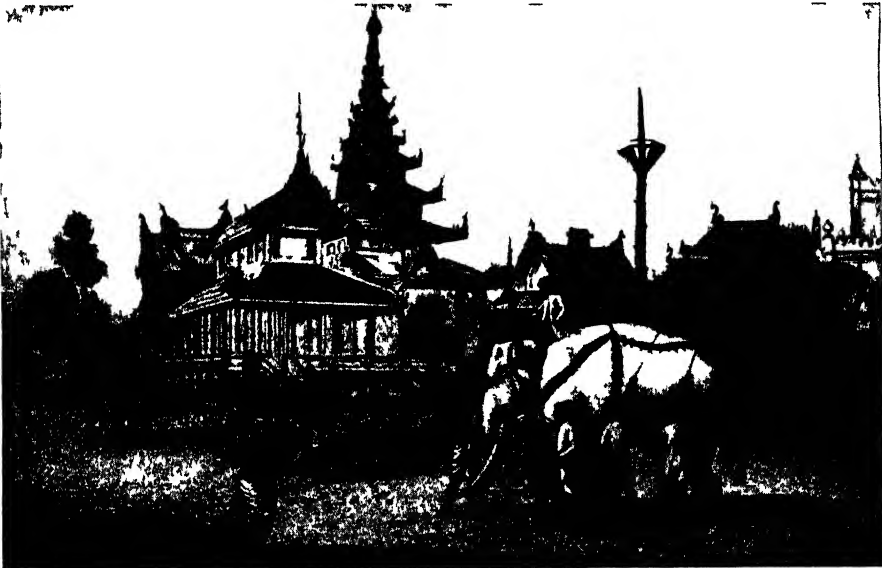
In the year 1364, King Satomenchin, lord of the land of Sagoi and Panja, founded the Burmese capital of Ava, the classical Ratnapura, which for a long time was to be the central point of the history of the country. His successor, Mengyitsauke, increased his kingdom by



BURMESE HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS FIFTY YEARS AGO

of these was hindered by the continual struggles between Pegu and Burma. Upon occasion Portuguese knights and soldiers fought on one or the other side. Adventurers both Portuguese and Spanish gained a temporary reputation at the cost of a miserable end. However European relations with Further India went no

further than this. At a later period the English and the Dutch also founded settlements on the Burmese coast but were collectively expelled in consequence of their tactless behaviour to the Burmese officials. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the English in return for the help which they gave to



SACRED WHITE ELEPHANT OUTSIDE THE PALACE AT AMARAPURA

Amarapura, literally the city of the gods a few miles from Mandalay was the capital of Burma before 1860.



KING MENG DAN MENG

The well-meaning but incompetent ruler of Burma, who, in 1857, changed the capital from Amarapura to Mandalay.

Alompra, the Burmese liberator, obtained permission to found a factory on the island of Negrais, at the mouth of the Bassein River, which carried on a considerable trade until October, 1750.

In 1740 Burma was overrun by Beinga-Della of Pegu, and the royal family was utterly exterminated. In 1753, however, Alompra collected a number of adherents in the village of Mozzobo. In a parable apparently emanating from Buddhaghosha we read the following contemptuous statement: "Of the twenty-one castes, nineteen can be released from their sins by good works; but the huntsmen and fishers, though they visit the pagoda, hear the law, and keep the five commandments until the end of their lives, can never be released from their sins."

Castes Beyond Salvation Alompra drove out the Governor of Pegu and the brother of its king, Aporaza, who appeared in 1754 before Ava with a fleet. In 1755 he advanced upon Pegu and gained possession of the hostile capital in 1757. In memory of the victory of Synyangong on April 21, 1755, Rangoon was founded, a town which rapidly rose to great commercial importance by reason of its favourable geographical situation.

Pegu, which had struggled for so many centuries with Burma for predominance, ceased to exist in 1757. From that date Burma, which, by the occupation of Mergui and Tenasserim, even encroached upon Siam, was indisputably the first power in the west of the peninsula of Further India. After the death of

Growth of Burmese Power

Alompra, May 15th, 1760, his successor, Namdoji Prau, was confronted with the task of quelling revolts, repelling the attacks of the Chinese, who declined to tolerate the growth of this new Power on their southern frontier, and incorporating those petty states of Western Indo-China which had retained their independence. Shembaun (1763-66), the second successor of Alompra, successfully defended his empire against the Chinese, almost destroying their army under General Chien Lang before Ava; in 1771 he temporarily conquered Siam and subdued Assam, which had hitherto maintained its independence both against India and Indo-China. Alompra's third son, the sixth king of the dynasty of 1757, Bhodau Phua, meaning royal grandfather, a brave ruler, though cruel and capricious, founded Amarapura as a new capital in 1783, and obliged



AN AUDIENCE WITH MENG DAN MENG

The King of Burma receiving the leaders of the Mission from the Governor-General of India at Amarapura in 1853.

BURMA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

all the inhabitants of Ava to emigrate thither.

He suppressed revolts in Pegu with bloodthirsty severity, most cruelly persecuted the Buddhist doctrine, and, in 1874, incorporated Arakan, which he had captured by treachery, with his kingdom. Thus upon his death, in 1819, Burma had reached the zenith of its greatness and power.

Trouble with India Phagyi-dau, the grandson and successor of Bhodau, returned to residence in the capital of Ava. He inherited the capricious and irresponsible character of his father without any of his high talent. His exaggerated estimate of his own powers led to the first war with England from 1824 to 1826. By the peace of Yandabo, February 24th, 1826, Burma was deprived of most of its power, compelled to pay an indemnity of £1,000,000, to conclude a commercial treaty, and to receive a British Resident, and was confined to the basin of the Irawaddy: its possessions now hardly extending beyond the delta of that river, including Rangoon. However, the rulers of the country had been taught nothing by the severe punishment which they had received. In 1837 Phagyi-dau, having become totally insane, was deposed and



H. C. White Co.

A SCENE IN MANDALAY

The city of Mandalay was from 1860 to 1885 the capital of the Burmese kingdom and the residence of the king.



H. C. White Co.

BY THE TURTLE POND AT MANDALAY

The turtle is held in great veneration by the Burmese.

placed in confinement. His successor, Tharawadi, who was no less autocratic and short-sighted, declined to recognise the convention of Yandabo. The English missionaries were so badly treated that they were forced to evacuate the country, and the British Resident was withdrawn in 1840 in consequence of the insolent treatment which he had experienced.

In 1845 Tharawadi also went mad, and was deposed by his son Pagan Meng; hostilities, however, still continued. British captains were insulted and payment of the indemnities demanded was refused. Burma was wilfully provoking a new war with England. The war came in 1852. In rapid succession, though at a price of considerable loss,

British Take Lower Burma the British troops captured Martaban on April 5, Rangoon, Bassein, Prome, and finally Pegu on November 21. On December 20, Lord Dalhousie proclaimed a new frontier line declaring Lower Burma, or Pegu, British territory. This was a fatal blow to Burmese independence, as the country was cut off from the coast and from communications by sea, and deprived of its most fruitful rice territory. This peace,

so favourable to England, placed her in complete possession of what had been the east coast of Burma on the Sea of Bengal. The rest of the native kingdom was placed in a position of entire dependency upon British India, the maintenance of good relations with England being thus indispensable. This, however, was a condition impossible of fulfilment by the Burmese rulers.

Pagan Meng was deposed in 1853 and succeeded by Meng dan Meng, a well-meaning ruler, benevolent to his subjects; he was, however, wholly unable to grasp the situation, as is obvious from the fact that eighteen months after the incorporation of Pegu he sent an embassy to Calcutta requesting the restoration of the territory taken from the kingdom. For a long time he declined to sign the convention confirming the loss of Pegu. At the same time, under this king, who removed his capital from Amarapura to Mandalay in 1857, highly profitable relations were begun between Burma and British India. In 1862 Arakan, Martaban, Pegu, and Tenasserim were united into "British Burma" under Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner, and in 1874 Quetta in Malacca was voluntarily ceded by its prince, and united to Tenasserim. In 1871 Italy, and in 1873 France, concluded commercial treaties with Burma, which manifested its interest in a definite connection with Europe by the despatch of ambassadors in 1872, 1874, and 1877.

Meng dan Meng died on October 1st, 1878, and was succeeded by Thebaw, a king of the type of Phagyi dau and Tharawadi. After his accession relations between the British and Burmese Governments became seriously strained. The king signalled the opening of his reign by massacring many of his nearest relatives,

and things came to such a pass that it was no longer possible for the British envoy to remain in Mandalay. The crisis arrived in 1885, when a dispute arose between the king and a British mercantile company, on whom he had inflicted an impossible fine, threatening at the same time to confiscate their property in the event of non-payment. An ultimatum was sent to him by the British Government in October, 1885, and, on his failure to comply with it, preparations were made for the occupation of Mandalay. Within less than a fortnight of the declaration of hostilities, the capital was taken on the

28th of November and the king made prisoner. However, desultory fighting continued for a long time, and it was several years before the dacoits were finally put down and the country pacified. Upper and Lower Burma were made a division of the Indian Empire under a Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1886 the Burmese Shan States were incorporated in British India.



BURMESE MAN AND WOMAN

MALAY PENINSULA

The long tongue of land which curls out on the south-west of Indo-China is the Malay Peninsula. Of this, the north-western portion is part of Tenasserim,

one of the provinces of Burma which was annexed to British India in the time of Lord Amherst. Another portion of the peninsula belongs to Siam. The general title is not unusually restricted to the remaining portion, otherwise described inclusively as Malacca.

The ethnology and early history of the region demand no detailed treatment here. We should merely be repeating what has already been said in the account of the Malay Archipelago. Even its more modern history requires but very brief notice. The value of Malaccan ports from their position on trade routes was recognised as

BURMA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

soon as Europeans arrived in the Indian waters; and Albuquerque himself was prompt to establish a Portuguese settlement at the town of Malacca, which gives its name to the whole territory. When the Dutch displaced the Portuguese in the archipelago, they displaced them also on the peninsula; the petty native states, however, still subsisted. The Dutch possessions followed the regular course during the Napoleonic wars, when they fell into the hands of the British, but were ultimately restored at the peace.

During the British occupation of Java, Sir Stamford Raffles detected the immense potentialities of a station at Singapore, which, owing to his representations, was purchased from the Raja of Johore in 1819. Penang and the present-day Province Wellesley had been similarly acquired in 1785 and 1798.

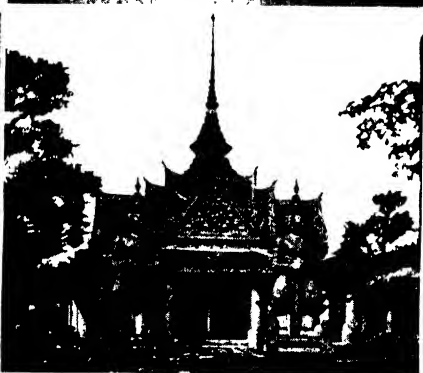
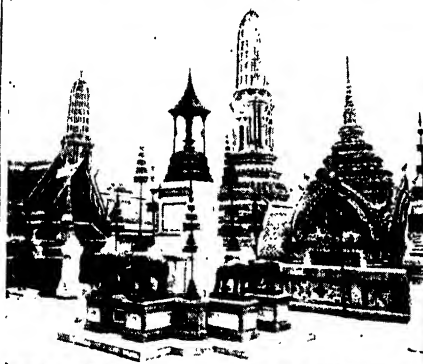
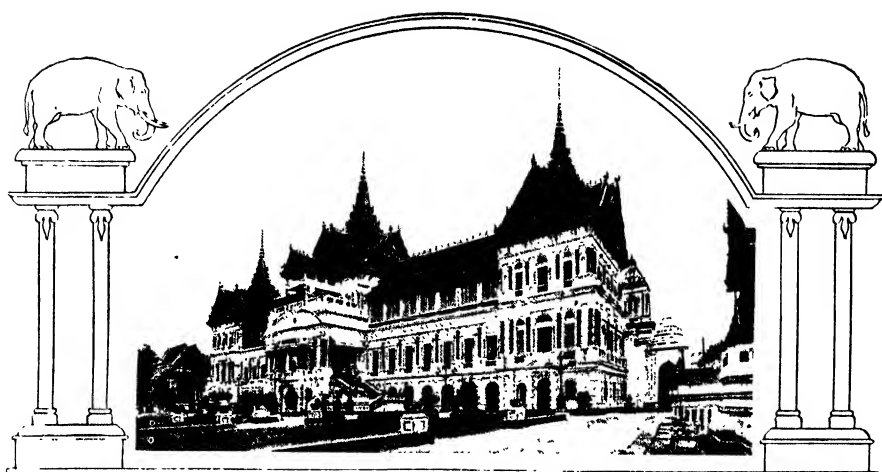
In 1824 the British received the Dutch settlements of Malacca in exchange for those on Sumatra. For the time the "Straits Settlements" remained under the control of the Indian Government, but they were converted into a Crown colony in 1867; and since 1875, the native principalities have all accepted the

position of protectorates in relation to the Government at Singapore. Not many years after its acquisition, that town had become the British capital, in place of Penang, which had previously held that position. So great has its prosperity been, that the population has risen from about 10,000 to over 300,000 at the present day.



KING GEORGE V., WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, VISITING THE
ARAKAN PAGODA

The Arakan Pagoda, the famous shrine at Mandalay, contains a great brass sitting image of Buddha, under a seven-roofed canopy with massive pillars and gorgeous mosaic ceiling.



VIEWS IN THE ROYAL PALACE OF BANGKOK

The picture at the top of the page gives a general view of the royal palace, and the bottom picture on the left is the throne room, which, with its pictures and chandelier, seems to partake of the magnificence of Louis XIV. rather than of a semi-barbaric potentate. The two pictures in the middle are views taken in the palace grounds, many of the buildings in which follow the Italian rather than the Oriental style. The last picture—that on the bottom right—is the Hall of Audience.



CHAMPA, CAMBODIA AND SIAM

IN Central Further India three kingdoms have successively secured predominance: Champa, Cambodia, and Siam. Our knowledge, however, of the early history of Central Indo-China is confined to the most general outlines.

This is especially true of Champa, the oldest of the three states. The earliest intelligible accounts display the Cham as a powerful people. At the time of its greatest prosperity, near the middle of the first century A.D., Champa was about the size of the modern Cambodia, though at different periods it also extended over Cochin China, Annam, and even to Southern Tonquin. At the time of Ptolemy the civilisation was Brahman, early Sanscrit inscriptions covering the period from the third to the eleventh century A.D.; from that date inscriptions are written in Champa, a special dialect strongly influenced by Sanscrit elements. The religion of the country was, as everywhere in Further India, chiefly Siva worship or Lingam; scarce a trace of Buddhism is to be discovered during that period, and it was not until the downfall of the Champa kingdom that Buddhism became more deeply rooted in the district.

Wars with the Chinese, who were extending their supremacy over Tonquin, Annam, and Cochin-China, and driving out the Cham from those districts, occupy the period from the fourth to the tenth centuries of our era. The Champa were also forced to struggle with the Khmers, who had entered the country from the north according to the early traditions of Cambodia, and were settled in the north-east of the Champa kingdom in the days of Ptolemy. As early as the seventh century they pushed their way like a

wedge between the Champa kingdom and the states of Annam and Cochin-China, which were subject to China. We find them in full possession of Brahman civilisation; the earliest written records of the Khmer state of Cambodia are in Sanscrit and belong to the third century; in 626 this inscription mentions a King Isinawarman, whose three predecessors, Rudrawarman, Bhawawarman, and Mahendrawarman, can be inferred from the oldest Buddhist inscription but one, of the year 667: from the first of these kings the list of rulers is continued with but scanty interruption until the year 1108. A reliable eye-witness, the Chinese pilgrim Hsien

Tsang, visited the two states of Cambodia and Champa in the years 631-33, and mentions their towns Dewarawati, Chamapura, and Champapura. At this period Cambodia was a state of equal power to the earlier Champa kingdom. Even then, however, a dangerous movement became perceptible upon the northern frontier. From the Chinese frontier mountains, tribes of the Thai advanced southward to the borders of Cambodia. A branch of these immigrants, the Lao, settled upon the eighteenth degree of latitude in 547, and founded a state with the capital of Labong; at a later period other smaller kingdoms of the Thai were formed. At the outset of the seventh century the Lao—in Chinese annals Ai-Lao—made a vigorous advance upon Cambodia. There, however, their power was broken.

Legend associates the defeat of the Thai with the name of the king, Phra Ruang; the chronology dates from his government, the first year of which, 638 A.D., still forms a chronological starting-point throughout the whole of Central



SIVA, THE DESTROYER
Cambodians are nominally Buddhists, but they really follow a debased Buddhism, and their chief deity is Siva, the Hindu god who is commonly known as the destroyer of life.

Further India. The defeated enemy were absorbed into the local civilisation and adopted the writing and the laws of Cambodia. However, their youthful strength could not thus be permanently constrained; in the year 959 A.D. the Thai freed themselves, as is unanimously related by the early records of Cambodia and Siam. Driven on, perhaps, by the movement of the Khitan, who had invaded China in 937, they pressed on under their king, also known as Phra Ruang, to the south, and founded an independent kingdom at the expense of the Khmer state; this was the nucleus from which was formed the principality of Xieng-Mai about 1250, and the more modern Siam at a somewhat later date. Like a flash in the darkness Kublai Khan, the Chinese Governor of Mangu, burst upon the Thai in 1253-54; the kingdom of Namchao, founded by a Thai tribe, was shattered, and the Sian were driven to their present habitations. The Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya on the river Menam, which extended from Ligor to Wingchau and to the great Lake of Cambodia under the rule of Rāma Khomheng, suffered but little. The Thai of Siam continued their advance, hemming in the Cham and pressing hard upon the Khmer; at the end of the thirteenth century they had already reached the mouth of the Menam. Siam had then practically attained its present extension. The Champa kingdom had dwindled to a small district in the south, and Cambodia had been driven south-eastward. The first period of modern Siamese history begins with King Ramathibodi, who ascended the throne in 1344, and rapidly extended the kingdom by conquest over a large part of Cambodia, and as far as

the Malacca peninsula on the south-west. As the centre of gravity in the kingdom had thus changed, the capital of Chaliang was removed further south in 1350 to Ayuthia, which was erected upon the ruins of the old Daona. Cambodia was again attacked and conquered in the years 1353 and 1357; the newly-founded capital was peopled with the prisoners, and the weakened neighbour kingdom was forced to cede the province of Chantabum to Siam. The successors to the great Phra-Utong were busied with the task of checking their northern neighbours, of restraining the aggression of Champa, which had sunk to the position of a piratical state, of bringing Malacca under the supremacy of Siam, and of punishing a revolt in Cambodia by the complete destruction of the capital town; the Khmer were, conse-

quently, removed to the swampy lowlands on the coast. A number of less important rulers then came to the throne, who had much difficulty in maintaining the power of the empire, and under them came that first contact with the European world which has so deeply influenced the modern history of Indo-China. In 1511 King Borommaraja, while reconquering the revolted province of Malacca, came into contact with the Portuguese, who had occupied the town and fortress of Malacca in the same year; relations profitable to both parties were begun between the Powers, and a commercial treaty was concluded. With this exception

Siam remained for the moment untouched by European influence. The domestic history of the country is characterised by disturbances, quarrels for the succession, and the rule of favourites and women.



KING OF CAMBODIA IN 1863
In 1863, Cambodia became a protectorate of France, and though nominally a monarchy, it is now practically a French province.



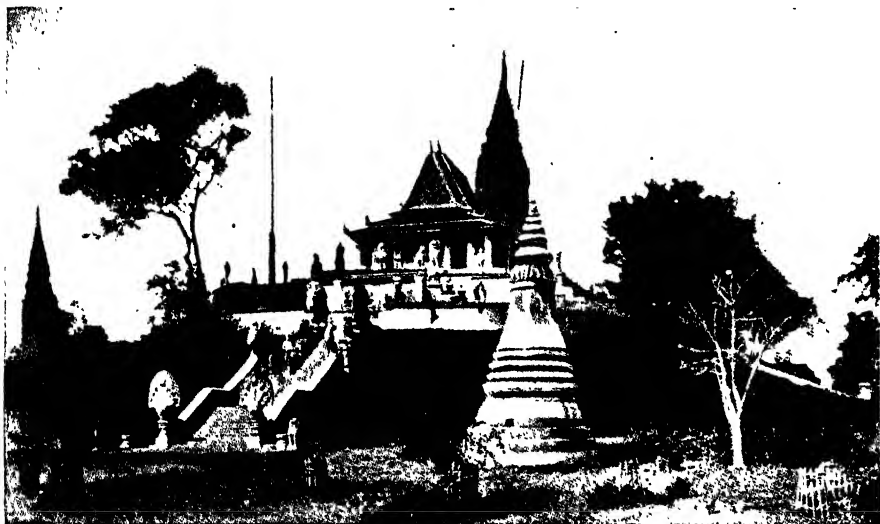
PEASANT WOMAN OF CAMBODIA

CHAMPA, CAMBODIA AND SIAM

So long as peace continued abroad, the weakness of the kingdom passed unnoticed. It collapsed, however, incontinently when the powerful Pegu turned against it after securing the predominance in Burma; King Mentara invaded the country with a large force, and the inhabitants of Cambodia seized the opportunity of joining in the military operations. Notwithstanding a desperate resistance, the capital of Ayuthia surrendered in 1544, and Siam became a tributary vassal state of Pegu. Hardly had the country begun to recover from these disasters, and to think of its lost independence, when a new invasion by Mentara in 1547 checked its aspirations. The capital, defended by

the present day he is honoured as the great national hero of Siam. In 1564 he utterly defeated the forces of Pegu, and in 1566 peopled the somewhat deserted capital with the prisoners. In the north he reduced the Lao under his power in the two following years, and in the year 1569 he secured his recognition by China as the legitimate King of Siam.

The high ambitions of Phra Naret were directed to extending the Siamese power over the whole of Indo-China. His first task was to shatter Pegu, the previous oppressor of his fatherland. For this campaign the King of Cambodia offered his help; but when the Siamese troops had marched to Pegu, he treacherously

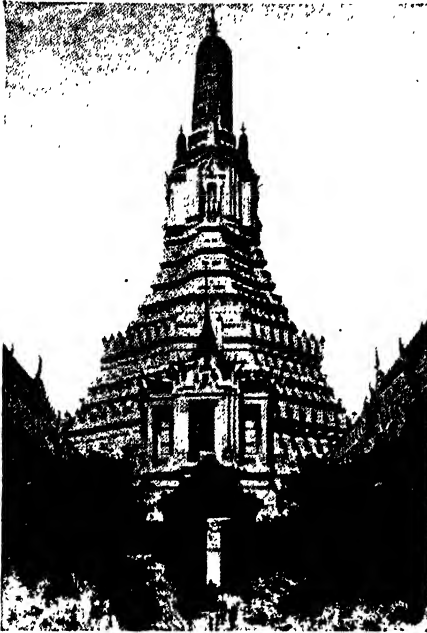


THE PYRAMID AND PAGODA AT PNOM-PENH, THE CAPITAL OF CAMBODIA

Portuguese knights, resisted all efforts at capture, and Mentara returned home without accomplishing his purpose. In 1556, however, Ayuthia was stormed by Chumigren, the successor of Mentara, and almost the whole population was carried into captivity; Siam then became a province of Pegu.

Chumigren was so short-sighted as to set up the brother-in-law of the last King of Siam as Governor of the country; he was a capable man, who transmitted his strong patriotism and love of independence to his highly-gifted son, Phra Naret, who was in power from 1558 to 1593. With him begins the second great popular movement in modern Siamese history; and even at

invaded the undefended land of his ally. He was beaten back, but the war of Phra Naret with Pegu proved long and arduous in consequence, and it was not until 1579 that the struggle ended with the complete subjugation of Pegu to the power of Siam. Vengeance was now taken upon the ruler of Cambodia for his treachery: in 1583 he was defeated and captured, and his capital of Lawek was utterly destroyed. In 1587 the outbreak of disturbances in Pegu and Cambodia necessitated the presence of Phra Naret: when, however, after punishing the instigators of the movement, he proposed in 1593 to conquer the kingdom of Ava, or Burma, his victorious career was suddenly cut short by death.

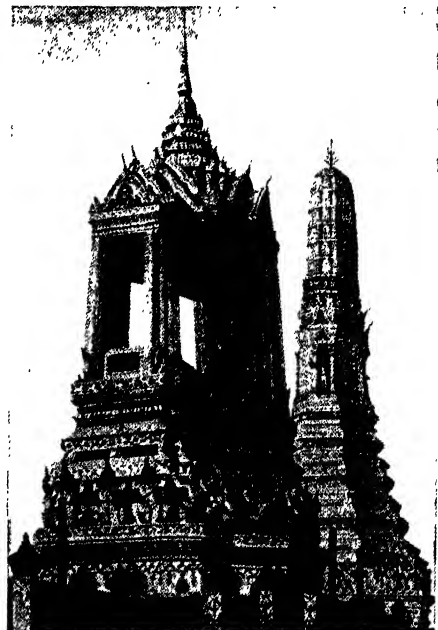


THE GREAT TOWER OF THE PAGODA
OF WAT-CHING AT BANGKOK

The reign of this great king was followed by more than a century and a half of weak rulers, grievous confusion, bloody conflicts about the succession—in 1627 the house of Phra Naret was exterminated, and the Minister, Kalahom, founded a new dynasty under the title of Phra Chau Phra-satthong—revolts among the people in the provinces, especially in 1615, and embarrassments abroad. Only upon one occasion did it appear as if Siam had any chance of advancing to higher prosperity.

In the year 1656 a Venetian adventurer of Cephallenia, by name Constantine Phaulkon—in Siamese, Phra Klang; in French, M. Constance—entered the country. By his cleverness and capacity he gained the favour of the reigning king, Narai, who heaped honours upon him and appointed him to responsible positions, ultimately giving him almost unlimited power in every department of governmental business. Permission was given to the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese, and the French to found trading settlements. Communication was improved by the scientific construction of roads and canals, and the prosperity of the country rapidly increased. The French received special favour from Phaulkon; in 1663

they were allowed to build a Catholic church in Ayathia and to erect a mission under Lamotte Lambert. King Louis XIV. and Pope Clement X. sent an embassy to Siam in 1673 to further the prosperity of Christianity, a friendly movement answered in like manner by Phaulkon in 1684. In 1685, with Chevalier de Chaumont as ambassador, a fleet left France, and stations at Bangkok and Mergui were granted under a convention in 1687; these places the French fortified, but the encroachments of the garrison under the command of Volantz du Bruant and des Farges soon aroused popular animosity. So far-reaching an organisation had been too rapidly initiated; Phaulkon fell a victim to a popular revolt, formed by the mandarins Phra Phet Ratscha, Wisuta Songtong, and others, and was put to death in 1689; the reforms he had introduced were, as far as possible, abolished, the French were expelled in 1690, and the missions and native Christians were subjected to severe oppression. Under the weak rulers who succeeded—Phra Phet Racha, from 1689 to 1700, succeeded by his sons and grandsons—the power of Siam rapidly decayed. Once again the



RICHLY CARVED TOWERS OF THE PAGODA
OF WAT-CHING AT BANGKOK

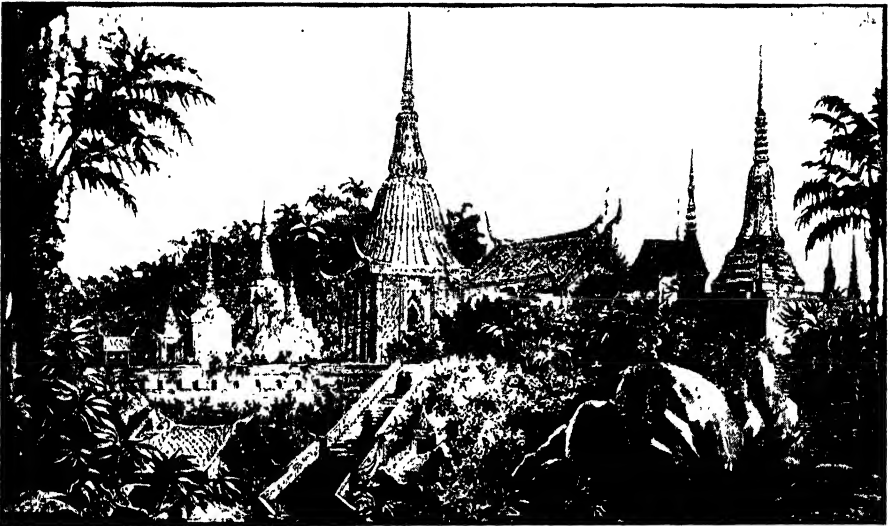
CHAMPA, CAMBODIA AND SIAM

deepest humiliation was to come from the west. In the neighbouring kingdom of Burma, Alompra had led his people from victory to victory, and had overthrown his hereditary enemy of Pega. He now proposed to conquer Siam, but after advancing almost to Ayuthia without meeting resistance, he died suddenly in 1760. However, his successor, Shembuan, again invaded the country in 1766; in 1767 the capital of Siam was captured and burnt, and the king, who was wounded, perished in the flames.

The fall of the capital and the death of the king left the country at the mercy of the conqueror, who, however, placed but a scanty garrison in occupation.

Burmese, who could not forget or forgive the loss of Siam. He became insane, and was murdered in a popular revolt. Cambodia as a separate state loses all importance from this time.

The position of Phaya Tak was taken in 1782 by his Prime Minister, Chakri, the ancestor of the present dynasty. At that period a French bishop, Béhaine, had gained complete influence over the successor to the throne of the neighbouring kingdom of Annam, and France began to interfere more decisively in the domestic affairs of Eastern Indo-China. The growth of European influence and the action of ecclesiastical ambassadors excited the apprehension of the natives:



PAGODA AT MOUNT PHRABAT, SIAM, WHERE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINT IS PRESERVED

Upon the north, where the strength of the Thai was, as ever, concentrated chiefly on their native soil, a Siamese governor was appointed, by name Phaya Tak, a Chinese by birth. He gathered as many men capable of bearing arms as he could, drove back the Burmese, and secured recognition by China after the extinction of the dynasty of 1627. As Ayuthia had been utterly destroyed, the capital was transferred to Bangkok, at the mouth of the Menam, in 1678, which rapidly rose to a great commercial town. This success brought power; in the same year Phaya Tak subdued Cambodia and the smaller southern states and also the Laos in the North; in 1777 he defeated the

in Siam the new king and his successors—Pierusing until 1809; Phendingkang, from 1809 to 1824; Crom Chiat, or Kroma Mom Chit, from 1824 to 1851—manifested their ill-feeling to the foreigners. Embarrassments were constantly placed in the way of the missions and decrees hostile to the Christian religion were repeatedly promulgated. It was not until the years 1840-50 that the French bishop, D. J. B. Pallegoix, to whom the education of the Crown Prince of Siam had been entrusted, succeeded in securing full religious toleration from the prince upon his accession in April, 1851.

Ever since the brilliant career of Phaulkon a certain alarmed astonishment had

been the prevailing spirit with which Siam regarded France. The young ruler, Chou Fa-Mongkut, a member of that branch of the ruling house which had been expelled in 1824, attempted in 1851 to enter into closer relations with the Emperor Napoleon through his ambassadors and under his brother and successor, Somdet Phra Paramindr Maha Mongkut (1852-68), and a commercial treaty was concluded with France in 1856, with Britain in 1855, with Germany in 1862, and with Austria in 1858. Peaceful relations with France continued during the reign of King Paramindr Maha Chulalongkorn, who ascended the throne of Siam at the age of fifteen, on October 1st, 1868, and took the power from the hands of his trusted Minister Chau Phraya Sri Suriyawongse on November 16th, 1873. In 1884 France obtained a protectorate over Annam, and the British secured possession of the whole of Burma in 1886, Siam being the only important state of Further India which retained its independence. On May 8th, 1874, the constitution was reorganised, the legislative power being exercised by the king in concert with the great State Council and the Cabinet of Ministers. With the advance of Great Britain and France to her western and eastern boundaries respectively, Siam became an object of increasing interest to Europe. The two European Powers were actually in contact to the north of Siam on the acquisition by

Britain of the Burmese Shan states of Kyaing Hung and Kyaing Chaing, over which, however, China had claimed a nominal suzerainty.

Both, moreover, cast covetous eyes on the trade of Siam, of which England possessed about ninety per cent., while France held only a very small fraction. The latter Power in particular was anxious to extend her dominions; her colonial party cherished the dream of incorporating the whole of Siam in their empire, and were determined, at any rate, to push their frontier up to the Mekong River. The leading statesmen in both countries were anxious to come to an agreement both about Siam itself and the creation of a buffer state on the north, the

English proposing to cede Kyaing Hung to China and Kyaing Chaing to Siam, with a reversion to themselves in case either China or Siam parted with these states. Negotiations were opened between the French Ambassador in London and the British Government as early as 1880; but though they were broken off and renewed several times, nothing had been settled when hostilities broke out between the French and Siamese early in 1893. Whether rightly or wrongly, the French accused the Siamese of invading Annam, and announced their intention of extending their frontier to the Mekong. After a certain amount of desultory fighting, during which

the French occupied one or two posts on the Mekong, two French gunboats forced their way up to Bangkok, and the French



KING MONGKUT OF SIAM AND HIS QUEEN

This king ruled from 1851 to 1868 and was remarkably progressive; he knew Latin and English.



THE "SECOND" KING OF SIAM
King Mongkut's younger brother was crowned as second king, and held this office until his death, in 1885, when the post was abolished.



Robert Lenz Bangkok



THE ROYAL HOUSE OF SIAM

Group at top shows the late King Chulalongkorn and his sons, in English dress, and he is seen immediately below on the left in official uniform. To the right his eldest son, who succeeded to the throne on October 23rd, 1910. At bottom left is the Queen-Mother, and on right the late King in religious ceremonial costume.
Group by W. & D. Downey, London, present King by Lenz.

Government proceeded to dictate terms to Siam. These they subsequently enforced by a short blockade of the Menam. The principal demand of the French was the cession of all Siamese territory on the left bank of the Mekong, including a great portion of the province of Luang Prabang, and this was eventually embodied in the treaty of peace, which was signed on October 3rd, 1893. Negotiations were at the same time being conducted between England and France with a view to the delimitation of their frontier and the creation of a buffer state to the north. But, unfortunately, these for the time came to nought. France being allowed to incorporate the land east of the Mekong to which Great Britain had a reversion in addition to the Siamese territory proper. In January, 1896, however, the two countries came to an agreement by which they guaranteed the independence of the Menam valley, which contains by far the larger part of the population and trade of Siam, and in 1904 an Anglo-French agreement guaranteed the integrity of Siam, and defined the spheres of France and England.

The chief cause of friction between England and France was thereby removed, though the Mekong alone separates their empires and the north of Siam. The treaty of 1893 has been followed by a more recent one between France and

Siam, by which further territorial concessions have been made to France in the west of the Lower Mekong.

Siam has thus enjoyed peace and has been steadily developing since 1893. Although her territory has been considerably diminished, she has full autonomy and is in a stronger position than she has held for a long time past. By employing European advisers and assistants in nearly all the Government departments, she has made considerable progress in various branches of administration. Her finances have been put on a much more secure basis, and her revenue is gradually increasing, while the corruption that was so prevalent a short time ago has been in great measure put down. The administration of justice and education has advanced steadily, the police force has been reorganised, and a system of provincial gendarmerie has been established. The railways have been gradually

Present Progress in Siam

expanding, in particular the main line to the north, which is destined to connect Bangkok with Chiangmai; but the interior of the country is still largely undeveloped, and when communications are further opened up in the matter of roads, railways, and canals, it will undoubtedly prove quite a rich one. Lower Siam produces excellent rice in increasing quantities, and the teak forests in the north are of great commercial value.



An Amazon Guard



A rope dancer



An actress

SOME OF THE QUAIN TYPES AND COSTUMES OF SIAM

COUNTRIES
OF FURTHER
INDIA—III



TONQUIN,
ANNAM,
COCHIN-
CHINA

TONQUIN, ANNAM AND COCHIN-CHINA

FROM an early period the history of Eastern Further India, which is naturally conjoined to China by the configuration of the continent, has been inseparably bound up with that powerful empire which developed a civilisation at an unusually early period. Early reports speak of an embassy from Tonquin to the Imperial Court in the second millennium before our era, and of the foundation of Chinese dynasties in that district in 214 B.C. and 109 A.D. Chinese civilisation, however, which was bound to expand, did not stop at Tonquin. China had already established herself in Annam and Cochin-China, and had made considerable progress when the Brahman movement began to advance northward from Cambodia. There the earlier civilisation was predominant, and in a large degree determined the nature of the development of Annam. The forerunners of Brahmanism made no great progress, except in Cochin-China, and left but few traces in Annam, and practically none in Tonquin. From that remote epoch when the first dynasties were founded in Tonquin, China for more than a thousand years—until 968—firmly established herself in Eastern Indo-China, though her influence varied with the fortunes of Chinese history at large.

The Chinese Influence in Indo-China

When China proper was in difficulties from internal disturbances, changes of dynasties, or the attack of powerful foes, she exercised little more than a shadowy predominance. Thus during the years 222-618 her powers in Annam were greatly limited, and the local governors availed themselves of the embarrassments of the empire to make themselves almost independent. At other periods China governed Eastern Further India with a firmer hand. Thus in the first half century A.D. revolts were suppressed in Cochin-China—which also made itself independent for a short period in 263—and after the powerful Tang dynasty had gained the Chinese throne

China once again brought the larger part of Annam and Cochin-China into close dependence upon herself.

In the tenth century, when China was again shattered by internal convulsions, the movements for independence in Annam were again victorious, and their success was permanent from the year 968 to 981.

Chinese Dynasty in Annam During that period one of the Chinese governors, by name Li, founded in Annam the dynasty known by his name (1010-1225); Tonquin threw off the Chinese yoke in 1104, as did Cochin-China in 1166. China again reduced the rebellious provinces, but only for a time; the emperor, Kublai Khan, subdued Tonquin and also Annam and Cambodia. However, the two last-named states speedily recovered their independence, and Tonquin drove the Chinese out of the country in 1288.

In the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century China again secured a footing in Eastern Further India: under the Ming dynasty Annam became tributary to China in 1368, and Tonquin with Cochin-China became a Chinese province; then during the years 1418-27 the Nationalist movement in these states became so strong that the Chinese lost all semblance of power. The leader of this movement, Le Lo, was the founder of the Le dynasty, which ruled for a long period in Annam and Tonquin, with the capital town Hanoi, founded in 1427; by embassies and presents of homage, he made a formal recognition of Chinese supremacy, but henceforward China could no longer interfere in the domestic affairs of Annam. The European advance to the east of Further India produced for the moment more important consequences in this district than in the south and west. Since 1511 Portuguese, and afterwards Dutch, factories had been founded, and from 1610 missions and small native Christian congregations existed. The country and its rulers were at first indifferent,

European Advance to Indo-China

寫聖楊中甲光 圖寨北守鎮督提劉



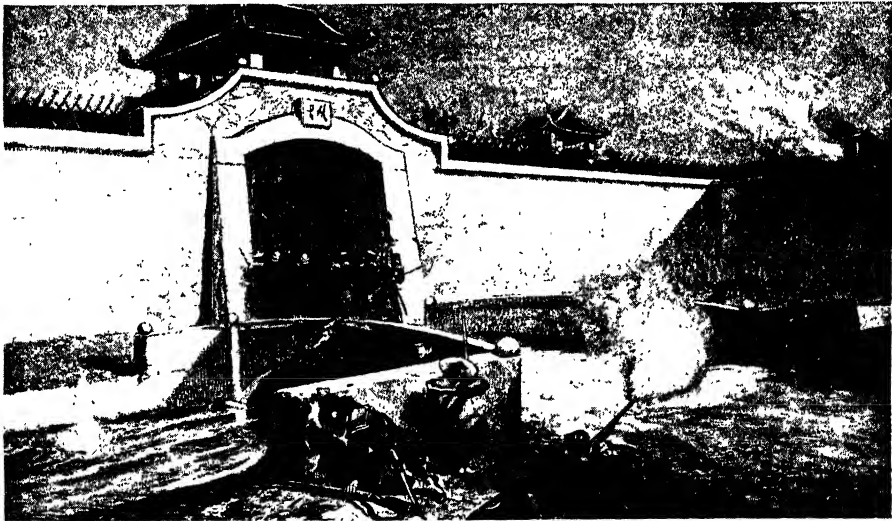
THE FRENCH WAR IN TONQUIN IN 1884: VICTORY OF GENERAL MILLOT AT BACNINH

This spirited picture of the battle, in which 25 Frenchmen were killed, is from a drawing by a Chinese artist.

and afterwards generally hostile to all foreigners: trade ceased almost entirely in the eighteenth century, while the missions and Christian congregations were regarded with suspicion, often bitterly persecuted, and ultimately forced to continue a doubtful existence in secret.

The powerful rulers of the house of Le were succeeded by a succession of weaker princes in the sixteenth century. Under them some parts of Annam became independent in 1558, and the Le dynasty would

have collapsed entirely without the assistance of skilled officials, who became so important that they secured, in 1545, the position of hereditary Minister, much like the Peshwas in the Mahratta States. Nguyen Hoang - Tien Wuong until 1614-- in Cochinchina broke away from these officials, and from the nominal ruler in 1570, and became the ancestor of the present ruler of Annam. His successors increased their kingdom by incorporating the remnants of Champa and of Southern



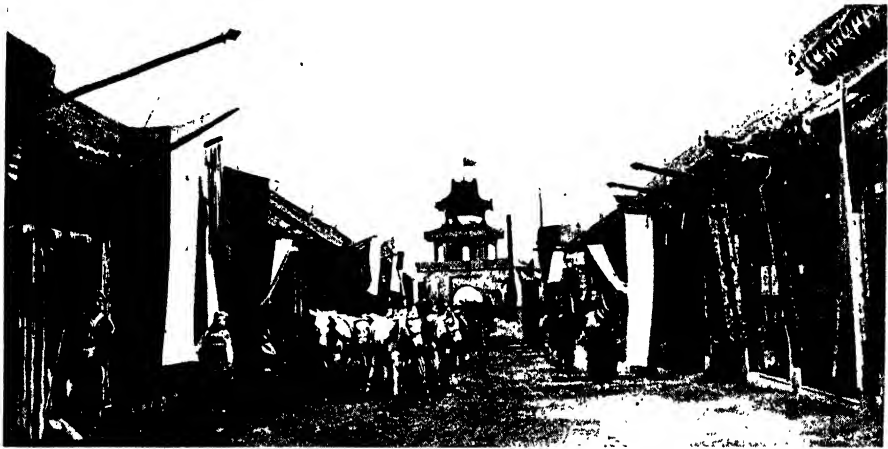
CAPTURE OF HAI-FONG, TONQUIN: AN INCIDENT IN THE FRENCH OPERATIONS OF 1873

TONQUIN, ANNAM AND COCHIN-CHINA

Cambodia—the six provinces of the modern lower Cochin-China—and were resident in Hué. These changes caused a considerable degree of complication in the political affairs of Eastern Indo-China during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. China claimed a formal supremacy, though she exercised no actual interference. The Le dynasty continued to be the nominal rulers of Annam; in reality, however, Annam with Cochin-China and Tonquin had become two separate states, which were often involved in furious struggles against one another. The actual rulers of Annam were the descendants of Nguyen Hoang, and in Tonquin the house of Trigne.

European relations with the country had entirely ceased in the eighteenth

southern portion of the kingdom of his ancestors. He sent his son to France with the bishop in 1787, and on November 18th secured the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance from Louis XVI.; by this arrangement France was to receive the Gulf and the Peninsula of Turon, while Nguyen Angne was to be helped by France to conquer the rest of Annam. The execution of this compact on the part of France was largely hindered by the French Revolution; however, Nguyen Angne, who was supported by the Bishop Adrian, secured the assistance of many French officers, who drilled his troops in European fashion, and conducted the military operations. He was then able between the years 1792 and 1799 to subdue, not only Annam and the Tay Son, but also, in 1802, Tonquin, which



A CHARACTERISTIC SCENE IN HÀNOI, THE CAPITAL CITY OF TONQUIN

century; an English attempt under Catchpole, in 1702, to settle in the island of Pulo Condore came to an end in 1704 with the murder of the settlers by the natives, and the destruction of the factory. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that Annam came closely into connection with France.

A general rising incited by three brothers of low birth, the Tay Son, entirely transformed the political situation of Annam in 1755; the old dynasties of the Le, and the mayors of the palace of the Trigne, entirely disappeared, while the Nguyen family became almost extinct. Only the grandson of the last king of this family, by name Nguyen Angne, escaped to Siam, where he was educated by a French bishop; he then recovered the most

had meanwhile thrown off the rule of the Tay Son and secured the predominance in Cambodia.

The kingdom had long become a mere shadow of that larger empire which had existed at the time of the emigration of the Siam Thais. Since 1583, when Phra Naret had dipped his feet in the blood of its king, who was beheaded before him, the kingdom had been forced to submit to Siam. The misery of the country was increased by continuous disturbances at home and entanglements abroad with Siam, the Laos, and Annam; the kings continually retreated before their powerful neighbour, and finally transferred their capital to Saigon on the coast, which occupied the site of the town known to Arrian as Thinaï. An attempt on the part of



MAN AND WOMAN OF ANNAM

Cambodia to avail itself of the Siamese disasters in the war with the Burmese, Alompra, came to nothing; in 1704 the vassal ruler, Somrath Phra Marai, who was set up by Siam, ceded Battambang and Siemrat to his patron in return. From 1806 onwards the impoverished country paid tribute both to Siam and Annam; it held two seals, one from each of the two neighbouring states, and the kings of Cambodia did homage to each of these Powers.

Thanks to his French auxiliaries, Nguyen Angne proved brilliantly successful, and henceforward to his title of Emperor or King of Annam he added the royal title of "Gia long"—that is, the man favoured by fortune. Once in power, he became suspicious of the foreigners, whose importance he understood better than any other ruler in Further India. While removing his favour, he made no exhibition of open hostility. His Minister of ecclesiastical affairs is said to have had translated into Annamese for the king's benefit, about 1788, a somewhat immoral novel, a fact which throws much light upon the morality and the education prevalent in the court of Annam at that period.

His successor, Minh-mang (1720-1841), was at first tolerant towards foreigners; but the political intrigues of the French and Spanish missionaries roused him to

animosity against the Europeans. In 1833 the missionaries were cruelly persecuted; in 1838 he forbade Europeans to enter his country, and the profession of Christianity was publicly declared a crime as heinous as high treason. In the same year thirty-three French priests fell victims to this decree. Thie utri, 1841-47, the son and successor of Minh-mang, relaxed the persecution by merely imprisoning the missionaries, four of whom were liberated in 1843 upon the threats of the French. Generally speaking, however, the oppression continued, and in 1847 France demanded full religious toleration through Commodore Lapierre, which was granted after the fleet of Annam had been destroyed. In the same year the emperor died.

He was succeeded by his son, Tuduk, who was at first well disposed towards the Christians, and reigned until July 17, 1883. Once again the missionaries interfered in a question as to the succession to the throne, and made the young emperor the furious enemy of foreigners and Christians alike. Severe persecutions broke out in 1848 and 1851. France, who considered herself the Power responsible for the Christians in Asia, ultimately sent out ships and troops in September, 1856.



SAVAGE TYPES OF ANNAM

TONQUIN, ANNAM AND COCHIN-CHINA

Turon was stormed in 1856, but on the morning when the ships sailed away Annam replied with a fresh persecution of the Christians and the murder of the Spanish bishop, Diaz, in 1857.

France now made a vigorous effort in co-operation with Spain. On September 1st, 1858, Commodore Charles Rigault de Genouilly again captured Turon and took the town of Saigon in February, 1859. The plan of campaign was then changed; in 1860 Napoleon III. issued orders to evacuate Annam and to occupy only Cochin-China, the vassal state of Annam. Meanwhile war had broken out with China; operations were thereby hindered, and were not resumed until after the peace of Peking. In the beginning of 1861 Vice-Admiral Page destroyed the fortifications on the banks of the Mekong. Admiral Bonard, who had taken over the command in December, 1861, won a victory on January 19th, 1862, at Monglap, conquered the whole province of Saigon, and captured several important towns in Cambodia. Tuduk was forced to conclude



DUY-TAN, THE BOY KING OF ANNAM, who succeeded to the throne in 1907, on the abdication of his father, Thanh-Tai. The portrait above was taken at his Coronation. A French resident administers the country, and Duy-Tan's sovereignty is quite nominal.



GROUP OF ANNAMESE SOLDIERS

peace on June 15th, at the price of the cession of the three provinces of Saigon, Bienhoa, and Mytho.

Disturbances broke out in December, leading to fresh negotiations, and a definite peace was not concluded until July 15th, 1864. France then returned the above-named provinces, retaining Saigon, and, in spite of the protestations of Siam, undertook a protectorate over Cambodia, a tie which was drawn closer by the convention of June 17th, 1884. The actual ruler is not the king, but the French Resident in Pnom Penh. Fresh outbreaks in Annam necessitated further military operations on the part of France in 1867. The result was the definite loss of those three provinces which now form French Cochin-China.

Meanwhile, a descendant of the Le dynasty, Le Phung, had made himself master of Eastern Tonquin, and of the province of Vac Nigne. However, when Tuduk found himself free to act in 1864, he was cruelly put to death. Even then Tonquin was not pacified. From 1850



War mandarin



A group of soldiers



Civil mandarin

TYPES OF THE SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS OF COCHIN CHINA

the great neighbouring empire in the north had been shaken by the Taipings and it was not until 1865 that the rebels in the southern provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung were overpowered. Many of the rebels fled into the province of Annam under Ua Tsong where under the black flag they disturbed the peace of this much tried country as Landitti and river pirates.

When France established herself in

Annam she had other views than the mere extension of her empire. Reports had long previously been in circulation concerning the fabulous natural wealth of the southern provinces of China and of Yunnan in particular. The British and the French were striving to intercept one another in the race for these treasures. Upon the incorporation of Burma Great Britain gained a waterway enabling her to advance into the immediate neighbourhood



NATIVE VILLAGE AND TYPICAL LANDSCAPE IN COCHIN-CHINA

TONQUIN, ANNAM AND COCHIN-CHINA

of Yunnan. The French were now in possession of the mouth of a great river coming from the north to the Mekong, and proceeded to investigate the possibility of its navigation. For this purpose it proved impracticable. Captain Dontard de Lagrée, from 1866 to 1868, established the fact that the rapids in the immediate neighbourhood of the river mouth formed an impassable obstacle. The Songka, or Red River, in Tonquin offered better prospects. Dupuis, an enterprising Frenchman, fitted out an expedition to this stream at his own expense. In 1870 he advanced up the river in ships as far as Yunnan, and entered into relations with the Chinese mandarins. Hostilities on the part of the Annamese made it necessary to despatch Lieutenant Garnier, in 1873, who, with less than two hundred French troops, subdued in a few months in Tonquin a country populated by a million of inhabitants and twice the size of Belgium.

The French Parliament declined, however, to sanction the results of those successes in Tonquin. The troops were withdrawn. Garnier having been killed on December 31st, 1873, by a treacherous attack of the pirates, and France contented herself with the conclusion of a treaty on March 15th, 1874, obliging Annam to throw open to European trade three additional harbours—Ninh hai at Hai phong, Hanoi, and Thinaï or Qui nhon—to grant full religious tolerance, and to apply to France alone for help in suppressing revolts. A commercial treaty was also concluded on August 31st, which, however, was not kept by Annam in spite of its confirmation by that country.

Annam displayed an unvarying spirit of hostility to France, until that Power lost patience. Hanoi was bombarded in 1882, and the French again advanced into Tonquin, where the pirates caused a great deal of trouble, Major Henri Laurent Rivière being killed by an ambuscade on

May 19th, 1883. By degrees one fortress after another was captured by Rear-Admiral A. A. P. Courbet, including Sontay, which had been occupied by the Chinese. Vao Nigne was also taken by General Charles Theodore Millot in March, 1884. Tuduk, the ruler of Annam, had died in July, 1883, and had been succeeded by his brother, Hiephoa. On August 21st, 1883, by a treaty which was ratified and extended on June 6th, 1884, he was forced to cede further provinces, to recognise the protectorate of France, and to renounce all political connection with other Powers, China included, which had declared in Paris, through the Marquis Tseng in 1882, its refusal to acknowledge the convention of 1874.

In the convention of Tientsin, dated May, 1884, China, which had seriously entertained the project of armed interference in Tonquin, fully recognised the French demands, including the protectorate of Annam and Tonquin. Still she did not withdraw her troops from Langson in Tonquin, and the struggle continued with varying success for some time, the French suffering considerable losses at the hands of the pirates. Ultimately, British mediation brought about the Peace of London on April 4th, 1885—confirmed at Tientsin on June 9th

—whereby China withdrew all her troops from Tonquin and recognised the French protectorate over these states, which she had ruled, or at any rate claimed, for thousands of years. In May, 1886, the power of the pirates, who were no longer supported by China, was finally shattered. Since April 12th, 1888, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin, to which Laos was added in 1893, have formed practically a single protectorate as "French Indo-China." From that date they cease to have an independent existence, and are absorbed in the French colonial dominion.

EMIL SCHMIDT



THE KING OF CAMBODIA IN 1907
King Sisowath, the nominal monarch of Cambodia,
but the virtual vassal of France, in full state dress.



BLESSING VASCO DA GAMA'S EXPEDITION TO THE INDIAN OCEAN

Before the great Portuguese navigator sailed for the South Seas his enterprise was blessed at an imposing ceremony in the Basilica de Santa Maria, the Cathedral of Lisbon, his royal patron gracing the occasion by his presence.

INDIAN OCEAN IN HISTORY

THE DRAMA OF A WORLD OF WATERS AND THE NATIONS ON ITS SHORES

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN EARLY TIMES THE PRIMITIVE MIGRATIONS

OF all parts of the mighty ocean which encircles the earth, none, unless it be the Mediterranean, seems by its position and shape more adapted to play a part in the history of the world than the Indian Ocean. Just as the Mediterranean basin, so important for the course of the history of the human race, parts the immense mass of the Old World on the west and breaks it up into numerous sections, so the Indian Ocean penetrates the same land mass from the south in the shape of an incomparably vaster and crescent-like gulf, having the continents of Africa and Australia on its two sides, while directly opposite its northern extremity lies the giant Asia. In the number, therefore, of the continents surrounding it, the Indian Ocean is inferior to none of the larger sea-basins—neither to its two great companion oceans in the east and west, nor to the diminutive Mediterranean in the north; each of them is bounded by three continents.

The frame in which the Indian Ocean is set shows a rich variety of configuration. Only the west side—the east coast, that is, of Africa—is massy and unbroken, except for the huge island of Madagascar and some groups of coastal islands. By contrast, the eastern and northern coasts appear all the more indented; and yet they are absolutely different in their kind. The east side terminates to the south in the Australian continent, which for long ages was able to pass in lonely tranquillity an existence unknown to history, until modern times finally brought it within the range of politics. But Australia is directly connected on the north with a region that has no parallel on the face of the globe for the rich variety of its configuration—the island world, that is, of Indonesia—the Indian Archipelago. This has been the natural “bridge of nations”

toward the east from the earliest times to the present day.

The northern shore, also, from its bulk, is unique in its conformation. Southern Asia, as indeed the whole continent, is a land of vast distances. Three immense peninsulas, on a scale of size that recurs nowhere else, jut out into the sea, and the ocean penetrates the land in gulfs of corresponding breadth and length which attain the dimensions of fair-sized seas.

The formation seems at first sight almost too colossal to guarantee to the adjoining part of the sea an active rôle. But on this point we must always bear in mind that the two most important offshoots of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, approach to within a short distance of the Mediterranean, the centre of Western civilisation, like two feelers, virtually becoming the eastern continuation of the Mediterranean.

The geometrical axis of the Indian Ocean runs, like that of the other two great oceans, from north to south; it thus follows a direction which at no time and in no place has been strongly marked in the history of mankind. It was by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf that the Mediterranean peoples approached the Indian Ocean. Thence their path lay south-east to Indonesia, or south-west to the coast of Africa. Similarly, then, the historical axis of the Indian Ocean runs in the direction of the circles of latitude. It is therefore parallel to the great routes by which communications have been maintained between Central Asia and Europe on the one hand, and between Oceania and the Malay Archipelago on the other.

The Indian Ocean is, physically, not a true ocean. It is unbounded only in the direction towards the Antarctic, to which it exposes its full breadth. On the north

Limits of the Indian Ocean

it is enclosed like an inland sea. The development, therefore, of oceanic phenomena is one-sided and incomplete ; and thus the farther one goes to the north the more apparent is the transition to the character of an inland sea.

The unbridged and unbroken expanse of the Pacific, and still more that of the Atlantic, have made them both until a quite late epoch, insuperable barriers to mankind. It is only when the means of communication have been highly perfected that, by connecting the nations, they have, to a degree unsuspected before, encouraged the impulse of the human race to expand. The Indian Ocean, from its shape, which is closed on the one side, has never proved a barrier. Its two corner pillars on the south, Australia and South Africa, have never felt the need to form relations one with the other, and for the countries lying to the north it has always been easier to avoid it, or to cross it by hugging the coast or by cautiously creeping from cape to cape. In this way the thoroughfares of the Indian Ocean are strangely unlike those of other seas.

These thoroughfares, so far as they are confined to the sea, resemble chords drawn from point to point of a great semicircle. They cut the circumference of the ocean at the points where the population clusters most densely on the coasts. A regular sheaf of rays issues from Eastern Africa ; one line to Arabia and the Red Sea, a second to India, a third diagonally through the semicircle from Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago. A fourth line connects Ceylon with Indonesia : another, the Indonesian medley of islands with Australia. But far more important than all these is that great chord which intersects the semicircle, almost parallel to the base, between the Red Sea and the Sunda Sea, and thus cuts all other lines. It is chiefly on this route that the history of the Indian Ocean has been made. Both

Ocean Routes That Have Made History

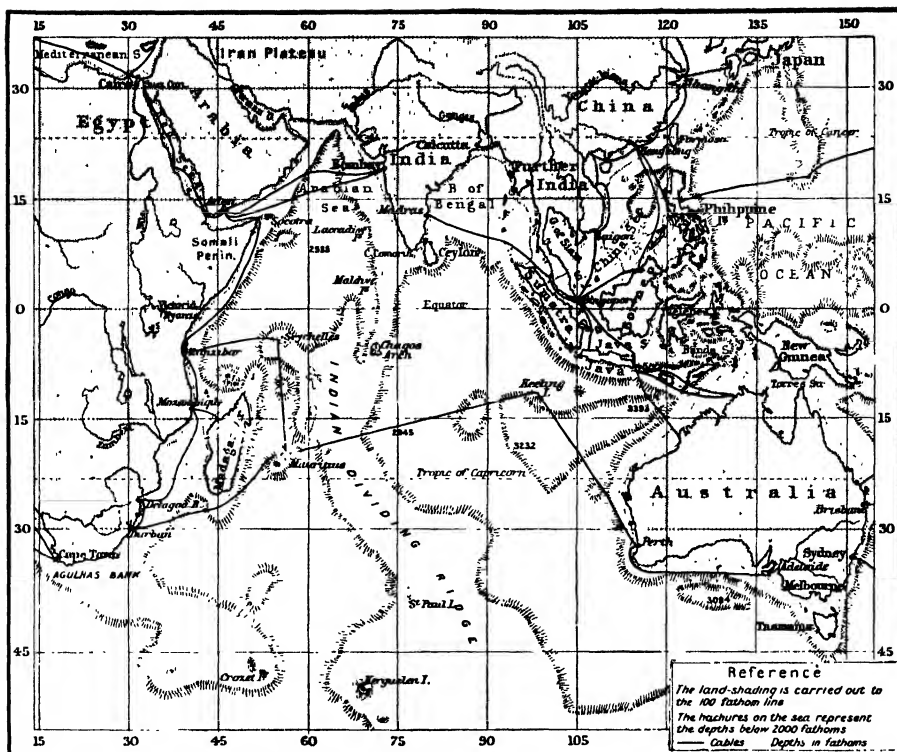
the ancient and the modern world have used this path. The land routes also which border upon this ocean form a comparatively simple system, although they are naturally less subject to general laws than the maritime routes. In Eastern Africa, in Arabia, and in the Malay Archipelago, the chief land routes have followed the coasts : it is only in India and the Malay Peninsula that they strike inland. But there are

many routes of minor importance, and these run in the most diverse directions. This is only what must be expected in countries of such widely different character as those which enclose the Indian Ocean.

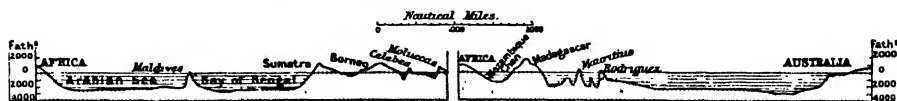
It might be expected that the two deep indentations of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf would make coast routes inconvenient. But this is not the case. Both have entrances so narrow as to be crossed with ease by entire nations and races, and it is easy for the land traveller to pass round the head of either. But in the south the conformation of the land masses is such as to make many parts of them inaccessible. Both Africa and Australia possess a comparatively small coast line, and there are no natural highways to connect the interior of either continent with the sea. The north, however, with the exception of the Arabian peninsula, is somewhat more favourably situated. It is true that the vast peninsula of the Deccan lacks any access to the sea ; but to its base, where India proper lies in its full breadth, the Indus and the Ganges and their enormous river basins form the

best international highways in the world. If fortune had ever smiled on these river basins sufficiently to allow them to be inhabited by energetic peoples, skilled in seamanship, nothing could have hindered them from making India predominant in the politics of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, and impressing Indian civilisation upon the whole of that vast area.

This brings us to the salient point in the history of the Indian Ocean generally. The preliminary conditions to historical greatness are already existent, but the adjacent peoples have shown only local and spasmodic inclinations to make full use of them. The native races of this area have contributed little to history in comparison with the foreigners who at one time and another have invaded it. From millennium to millennium this condition has become worse. The importance of the Indian Ocean has declined, while that of the Atlantic and the Pacific has increased. In these last the white race has triumphed over Nature and the inferiors of its own species ; but in the Indian Ocean white men have met, at the best of times, with only a qualified success. They have found the peoples by which this ocean is bordered too immense and too inert for any permanent conquest.



The sea bottom between the coast and the 100 fathom line is called the 'Continental Shelf'



THE BED OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND CHINA SEA, SHOWING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF

The remote past of the Indian Ocean is wrapped in the same obscurity as that of most parts of the earth's surface. We are tempted to dwell on the enigma in this case because more than one investigator has been inclined to look for the earliest home of primitive man in one part or another of this ocean. But it is idle to speculate when we have no materials for a conclusion. We must rather take as our starting-point the moment when pressure, exerted from the heart of Asia, drove out the inhabitants of its southern coasts to find a refuge and a new home on the ocean. Supposing this expelled people not to have already inhabited Ceylon, it could only diverge from the direction in which it was pushed, as far as this easily accessible island; any further advance

over the surface of the ocean was barred at once by the want of a bridge of islands leading out to it.

On the other hand, the exiles might roam for vast distances toward the south-west or the south-east without let or hindrance, for neither the road to the south-western part of the Old World nor the bridge of islands to the Pacific offered any appreciable obstacles, even for migrating peoples who possessed little knowledge of seamanship. Both paths, indeed, had been trodden by that dark race on its retreat before the wave of Asiatic nations rolling from north to south. Even at the present day we find scanty remnants of it on Ceylon, as in Southern India itself. We find additional traces in Further India or Malacca; indeed, with some certainty,

even in Southern Arabia. But it is far more strongly represented in the Indian Archipelago as far as the Philippines and Melanesia, and even still further in the east. We find it on the largest scale, however, on the continent of Africa, where it forms the chief component element of the population. These migra-

The Early Race Movements

tions gave the dark-skinned peoples hardly any occasion for great achievements in seamanship. The passage to Ceylon was simple enough; and the easterly path with its thickly sown clusters of islands did not require any pretensions to navigation. It is impossible to ascertain whether the early ancestors of the African negroes crossed the ocean on its lateral arms, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, or whether they went round them. Even if the negroes on their march to the new home chose the sea route, the few miles of the passage over those narrow arms of the sea were no more able to turn them into a nation of seafarers than their old homes on the coasts of Asia had served to lure them out on to the open sea. Even in their new home they remained aloof from the ocean and averse from it. Was it the vastness of the spaces in Africa in which they lost themselves, or were nautical skill and love of the sea foreign to the race? The last alternative would seem to be the true one, for at no time and in no place have members of the negro race performed noteworthy feats at sea. In Africa their efforts were exhausted by the occupation of Madagascar, which was close at hand, and of the coast islands from the mainland.

In the island world of Indonesia and Melanesia even the admixture of Malay blood did not raise the dark-skinned man above the level of coasting navigation. We have, therefore, little to do with him in what follows; in the sphere of the Indian Ocean he is as unimportant a factor in the history of the world as we shall afterward find him in the Atlantic Ocean. The lands which he inhabits may still play a part in history; but he has shown little or no ambition to share in the life of the outer world.

In spite of the small historical importance of the black race, its diffusion over the countries round the Indian Ocean is an event of great significance; it creates

in the island realm of South-east Asia the preliminary conditions for those intricate mixtures and blendings the result of which we see in the motley conditions of the population of Indonesia and the Pacific world at the present day. The dark-coloured races have never been numerous enough there to constitute any noticeable check on a wave of nations as it presses on.

Thus, when the Malay stream of nations, giving way before a pressure from north to south, was forced out to the sea from the south-east of the Asiatic continent, it did not touch the zone of Indonesia-Melanesia without influencing the negroid race which it found there; and it did not leave the country without carrying with it the traces of this probably prolonged contact over the entire breadth of the Pacific to the east. The results of this contact vary according to the respective locality and the duration of the reciprocal action. Melanesians and Polynesians are the two ends of the scale: the former is the product of a complete fusion of the two races, the latter seems to have only a negroid tinge. The intermediate steps are numerous and varied - Micronesians, Allurs, and Negritos mark only sharply outlined groups in the medley. Indirectly the Australian may be reckoned in, for, in addition to Polynesian influences, Melanesian are not to be rejected.

The Pacific and the Atlantic have each in their turn contributed to develop these ethnic types. If we retain the customary division of the Malay race into an eastern and a western branch, the classification coincides more or less with the region of the two oceans. But while the eastern branch saw its historical task discharged by the occupation of the vast Pacific world, and made hardly any perceptible advances into the turmoil of the history of mankind, notwithstanding a skill in seamanship which approached the miraculous, the Western Malays, firmly planted on their native soil of Indonesia, and from the very first efficient and able seamen, presented a different picture. Not only did they advance over the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and Madagascar, but in the majority of the homes which they permanently occupied played a part whose significance is far greater than that of their eastern kinsmen and of nearly all the inhabitants of the Indian Ocean.

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN HISTORY

They set foot nowhere on the mainland except in the peninsula of Malacca, and are the true children of the ocean; if they did not succeed in raising themselves to be its acknowledged masters, that is perhaps due less to deficiencies of character and natural ability than to the division and subdivision of their homes over so many islands, and to the position of the Malay Archipelago at the meeting point of two such mighty civilisations as the Chinese and the Indian. It is true that the influence of China was mainly confined to the field of commercial politics; but this only made the influence of India the wider in its day. This latter reacted with quite unprecedented vigour upon the culture and the spiritual life of the Western Archipelago; and, although it could not bring the Malay, who was by

temperament far keener, under the yoke of religious ideas, and thus bind him to the native soil in the way in which the Hindus were bound, still, under the burning rays of Indian philosophy, the political energy of the insular people was more prejudicially influenced than we are ordinarily accustomed to suppose. The modest share of the Indian Ocean in the history of mankind goes back to distant ages, about which we shall probably never be able to express a definite opinion. It is in its length and breadth prehistoric. Long ages must have passed before the historically authenticated relations of the West and the East were formed through the instrumentality of those same Hamitic peoples who formerly had barred the movement from the East to the West.

Duration of Ocean History

THE HISTORIC PERIOD DOWN TO ISLAM

THE Indian Ocean has sent out mighty armies of peoples eastward and westward; but those which went westward have mostly remained strangers to it and kept aloof from the others, in the east, passed rapidly from its dominion. It has certainly created nations; where this task faced it on a large scale, as in the Archipelago and in Australia, it has had to share it with its larger neighbours; while where the task appealed to it on a small scale, as on the coasts of East Africa and on Madagascar, there the result is not commensurate with the dignity and size of the ocean. Again, the political activity of the Indian Ocean has never been prominent. Where growing nations live, as in the western archipelago, on Madagascar, and on the coasts of South and East Arabia, there the great far-reaching empires are wanting; and where these exist, as in the whole of Southern Asia from the Euphrates on the west to the Brahmaputra on the east, there is no nautical efficiency or

Voyages for Trade Purposes

liking for the open sea. What life and movement there has been on the highways of the Indian Ocean is due mainly to commerce. All the nations which ventured out on to the Indian Ocean in times known to history were induced chiefly by commercial objects to make such voyages. The historical rôle of the Indian Ocean must therefore be regarded predominantly from the standpoint of the history of trade. The range

of view is only apparently limited; in reality it discloses prospects of remarkable depth and reveals glimpses of the rise and fall of nations, such as we never find on an equal scale in the far wider and more richly diversified fields of view presented by the two other great oceans.

It is impossible to picture to oneself the historical significance of the Indian Ocean without thinking primarily of the weighty part which the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf have been called on to play within this area. These two north-westerly lateral arms of the ocean are the natural canals and the obvious connecting links between east and west. But even more than the southern approach to the great Mesopotamian plain, whose value would be more clearly realised by us if we possessed greater details about the trade of the Elamites, the ditch-like Red Sea, which reaches close up to the Mediterranean world, has facilitated and maintained this connection. Although in the course of human history there was a long period during which the Red Sea relapsed into a profound tranquillity, yet no proof of its historical value is clearer than the fact that an occurrence so simple as its union with the Mediterranean, which was accomplished between 1859 and 1869, restored to it at one blow its old rôle. Its busy waters even now, when the East has been opened to the widest extent, are the great link of connection between the eastern and the western worlds.

The commerce in the north-west of the Indian Ocean goes back far into remote antiquity. Although the ancient Egyptians, with their invincible predilection for seclusion, never maintained a permanent fleet on the Red Sea, yet they repeatedly tried at the most different periods to bring themselves into direct

History of Ocean Commerce

communication with the countries producing the spices which they used so much and valued so highly—that is to say, with Southern Arabia and the eastern horn of Africa. The last king of the eleventh dynasty, Seanchkara, commissioned Henu to fit out an expedition from Coptos to "Punt": a similar task was entrusted to the fleet of Queen Hathepnut about 1490 B.C. on its voyage south. We must certainly regard the Egyptians as the earliest authenticated navigators of the Red Sea and the adjoining parts of the Indian Ocean. Although those isolated expeditions, and even the fleet maintained by Rameses III. (1200–1168), can hardly have served to point out the way to their Punic successors, they are noteworthy as evidence of a nautical spirit in a people which otherwise was so firmly rooted to its own soil.

The magnet, however, which chiefly attracted navigators into this ocean was the peninsula of India. India and the Indian Ocean are two inseparable ideas, as is shown by the two names. And yet this close relationship holds good only in a limited sense. The peninsula to the south of the Himalayas is by its geographical position fitted to rule the surrounding seas more than any other country which bounds the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless, during the course of its history it has never attained a commanding position, from its own unaided strength, at any rate. Yet the peninsula is not so vast as to hinder the thorough development of its latent strength, represented by an excessively dense

India the Magnet of the Nations

population; and the unfavourable configuration of its coast line is not the cause of the amazing dearth of historical influence. The fault lies simply and solely in the ethnographical conditions of India.

The Indian Aryans never made a permanent habit of navigation. India never felt the need of seeking the outside world; but it always was destined to be the goal for the other nations, by land

as well as by sea. From its vast treasures it has given to the world more than any other country of the earth, but the world has had to fetch these treasures for itself.

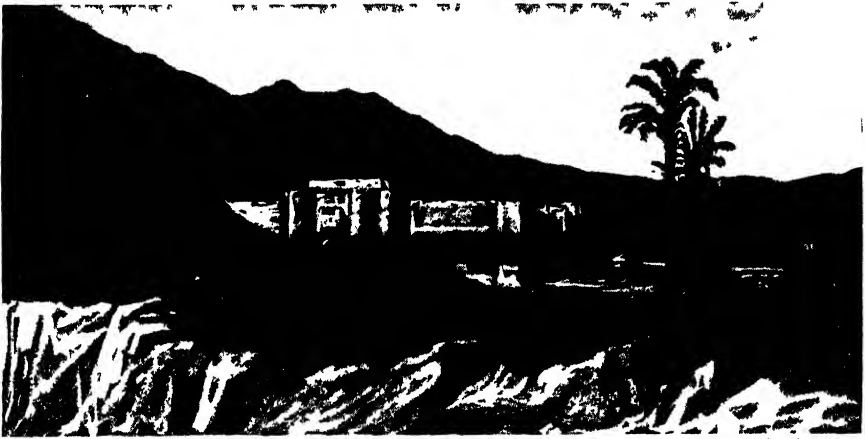
The first attempts at direct maritime communication with India from the west were certainly made by the Phœnicians. Even if we put aside the accounts given by Strabo of their early settlements on the Persian Gulf, and of their emporia on Tylos and Arados, yet their trading voyages on the north-western Indian Ocean go back to the second millennium B.C.; since at the time of the expedition sent by Hiram and Solomon to Ophir from Eziongeber and Elath, the route to that mysterious land of gold was well known and regularly frequented.

The advance of the Hebrews toward the Indian Ocean is, however, more noteworthy from the historical standpoint. Though at that early period, and down to the Babylonian captivity, they were far from being a commercial nation, and though their political fabric was barely consolidated by the end of that millennium, yet under their keen-sighted King

The Hebrews in Indian Ocean History

David they already with set purpose secured Edom, the northern extremity of the Red Sea. The brilliant success which attended the friendly alliance of his son Solomon with Hiram, king of Tyre, owing to the above-mentioned expeditions, was only the natural consequences of David's policy.

There is no better proof of the value which the Hebrews placed on the access to the Indian Ocean than the eagerness with which a whole series of subsequent sovereigns attempted to keep it open. As often as the kingdom of Judah was hard pressed and cut off from the sea, it was always one of the first tasks of its princes to subdue afresh the insubordinate Edomites, or Idumæans, to rebuild the repeatedly destroyed town of Elath, and thus to command the Gulf of Akabah. Judah, humiliated and hemmed in by Sheshonk I., or Shishak, of Egypt during the reign of Rehoboam, showed once more a vigorous expansion in 860 B.C. under Jehoshaphat, who restored Elath and fitted out a new fleet. Then under Jehoram the Idumæans regained their independence, until Uzziah, or Azariah, in the first half of the eighth century, subjugated them for the third time, and rebuilt Elath. Under Ahaz, about 73



THE FORTIFIED CASTLE OF AKABAH NEAR THE VILLAGE OF AKABAH

The castle and village of Akabah are 2½ miles from the head of the Gulf of Akabah and are supposed to be the site of the Elath of Scripture the ancient commercial city whence the Jews carried on their trade with India and the East

the state of Judah on the Indian Ocean piled for ever the Idumaeans henceforth permanently occupied their ancestral homes

The loss by the Hebrew nation of its position on the Indian Ocean marks an important epoch in the history of both. In the history of the development of the policy and civilisation of Judah it signifies the close of the first and only age of united conscious and willing efforts at expansion in the direction of the ocean. Being driven back into the interior Judah was deprived for all succeeding time of the possibility of winning a position in the world as a political unity. For the Indian Ocean however that

forced retreat of the Jewish people meant the conclusion of a period when for the first time a nation to which no seaman-like qualities could be attributed learnt and recognised with full consciousness its own value to the history of the world

With the Phoenicians the case was altogether different. Aiming always at commercial profit without political power they were deterred by no obstacles from opening up new spheres. Never trusting to force for success they were past masters of the art of reaching their goal not by opposing an enemy or a rival but by utilising him. They had made full use of the Hebrews for this end so long as these little held a position on the Gulf



THE ISLAND OF GRAIA IN THE GULF OF AKABAH

The Gulf of Akabah is the eastern bifurcation of the northern end of the Red Sea and is the centre of scenes in sacred history with Mount Sinai 20 miles from its western shore its waters are said to have overwhelmed Pharaoh and his hosts

of Akabah, and they did not hesitate then for a moment, although from a purely political point of view they were not entirely free agents, to lend the Egyptians the support of their commercial policy. The results of this alliance culminated in the celebrated circumnavigation of Africa under Necho II. in 608 B.C.,

Phœnician Voyage Round Africa a feat which throws the most vivid light on the boldness and skill of the Phœnician mariners. The trade, which

in the last six centuries before the beginning of our present era never completely ceased, either on the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf or the adjacent parts of the Indian Ocean, at no time went beyond that stage of transit trade which it had reached at an early time. Transmitted by the most varied nationalities, it remained for that reason insignificant, being carried or from one intermediate station to another. No change was effected in this respect when Darius, son of Hystaspes, completed the canal begun by Rameses II., from the Delta to the Red Sea, or when Ptolemy II., Philadelphos (284-247), restored the work which had meantime fallen into ruin. What difference did it make that Nebuchadnezzar II. founded Teredon at the mouth of the Euphrates, primarily for trading purposes, and improved the channels of the Euphrates and Tigris for navigation by the construction of numerous windings? His improvements were ruined by the rulers of the family of the Achæmenids. Besides this, since one world empire after another enslaved Western Asia as far as the Nile, the Phœnicians had disappeared from the Indian Ocean, thus inflicting a loss to the wholesale commerce which the inhabitants of Southern Arabia, with their still very deficient means of navigation, were, in spite of all their efforts, quite unable to replace. Even the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great, vast

Greek Invasion of India as is its historical importance, did not immediately bear the fruits, so far as maritime trade went, which the conqueror had endeavoured to obtain. Egyptian Alexandria itself developed only some centuries after his death into that which it ought to have become immediately after its foundation—the focus, that is, for the trade between India and the Mediterranean, and consequently the emporium for the combined trade of the

ancient world. But Alexander's own short maritime excursion into the regions of the mouths of the Indus, which symbolised his annexation of the ocean; further, the celebrated expedition of Nearchus from the Indus to the mouths of the Euphrates; then the attempt of the king to open once more the long-neglected route from the Persian Gulf round Arabia; his plan for the circumnavigation of Africa; finally, the improvement which he made in the navigation up to Babylon, and the founding of the port of Charax at the mouth of the Tigris—all this bears eloquent testimony to the importance which Alexander attributed to the Indian Ocean, and to the part which the newly opened-up sea was intended to play in the future schemes of the conqueror. The early death of the monarch brought these plans to an abrupt end.

Nevertheless, the magnificently displayed activity of the Macedonian ruler was not altogether barren of the results which had been expected from it; on the contrary, its subsequent effects drew India and the Indian Ocean out from the gloom of Oriental seclusion into the full light of Hellenistic culture. Babylon, indeed, which, after the removal of the Seleucid capital to Antioch rapidly succumbed to the newly found rival, Seleucia or Ctesiphon, did not become the political, intellectual, or commercial centre of the civilised world at that time. But while, before Alexander, India was known to the Greeks from the meagre accounts of a few travellers, after that brilliant epoch the maritime communication with the East continued uninterruptedly for nearly a thousand years. Favoured by the far-seeing policy of the Ptolemies, which culminated in the construction of the canal to the Pelusiæ arm of the Nile, in the founding of ports on the Red Sea, and in securing the old route to Coptos, the intercourse of the West with India now rose above the stage of transit trade practised for so many centuries: it became direct, and in its still modest dimensions formed the intermediate step to international commerce on a larger scale. The year 30 B.C., when Egypt was proclaimed a Roman province, introduced quite new conditions of communication over the Indian Ocean. The way to India, so rich in treasures, now lay open and free

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN HISTORY

to a nation whose material requirements, in spite of all politic self-restraint, had increased enormously. The Romans therefore made full and comprehensive use of the newly opened road. Yet even under these altered circumstances their intercourse with the East would not have gone far beyond the earlier stage had not the new rulers by the utilisation of the monsoons profitably employed a new power which at once enabled them to renounce for ever the hitherto traditional coasting navigation.

The discovery of this phenomenon, peculiar to the northern Indian Ocean, which was made about the middle of the first century A.D., is ascribed to the Greek navigator Hippalus, after whom, indeed, the south-west monsoon has been called. On the one hand, this for the first time rendered real voyages on the high seas possible, and, on the other hand, the regular alternation of the two opposite winds compelled the traders to adopt a regulated system of navigation, which, besides, was too convenient to be abandoned. In the succeeding period Indian

embassies are no longer a rarity in Rome, and the Arabian Sea was traversed to a degree hitherto unknown. Alexandria also now realised the intentions of its founder. One fact alone filled the hearts of the Roman economists with deep concern—that this brisk trade did not swell the national revenue. Even then the Indian trade displayed the characteristic peculiarity that the exports were not balanced by any imports. Pliny, besides Strabo, makes the observation, and under Tiberius the Senate seriously considered by what measures it could stem the constant outflow of Roman gold to the East.

From the earliest times of which we have any authentic information the Indian Ocean has never served any purpose other than that of being a road to India, the eagerly sought-for goal of the West. As might be expected from the scanty resources, the results were meagre, and they did not become important until coasting navigation was abandoned. From that moment the aspect of the Indian Ocean changed. India ceased to be the goal of navigators and explorers alternately.

Ceylon and the Golden Chersonese, or Malacca, were now reached from the West, and after the second half of the first century A.D. the merchants of the Roman

Empire penetrated as far as Kattigara. Whether we are to identify this place, as Von Richthofen supposes, with Tonquin, or, as others maintain, with Canton, there is no doubt that the Romans who reached Kattigara came into contact with the Chinese. So, for the first time in the period of authenticated history, this people is drawn into the affairs of the Indian Ocean, where it was afterwards to play so prominent a rôle.

The efforts of the Chinese people at sea have already been discussed. Chinese navigation, so far as it touched the Indian Ocean, presents the peculiar feature of always advancing toward the west, until it came into contact with that of the western peoples. This contact is what it required, but it avoided any further progress or overlapping. Accordingly, in the fourteen to eighteen centuries during which we have to consider the Chinese intercourse on the Indian Ocean, that ocean has witnessed a drama such as no other sea can show.

If the western nations limit the area of their voyages, the Chinese, in conformity with their undeniable commercial spirit, follow them with their merchantmen into more western regions; but if enterprising captains of Western Asia or Europe push further toward the east, the son of the Middle Kingdom gives way without demur. This was the case in the first centuries of the relations between West and East, and the dawn of modern times has seen the same course of events.

These movements take place almost rhythmically. They follow one another with a regularity which tempts one to arrange in harmony with them the relations of the Chinese toward the Indian Ocean. The whole character of the Chinese deterred them from navigating it on their own initiative. They required the stimulus given by the circumstance that

the mariners of Western Asia, about the year 250 A.D. at the latest, gradually discontinued voyages to Kattigara and contented themselves with seeking nearer ports. The threatened loss of trade compelled the Chinese to follow the barbarians to the West. In the middle of the fourth century A.D. we find them at Penang in the Malacca Straits. Toward the end of that century they reached for the first time Ceylon, the only point outside

**Indian
Envoys in
Rome**

**Coming
of the
Chinese**

**Chinese
Commercial
Voyages**

the region of their native ocean which had any great attraction for them. In Ceylon, however, they saw the germs of that Buddhist doctrine which exercised the most powerful formative influence on their own civilisation. Not content with this goal, which they again and again strove to reach, they came by the middle

Extent of Chinese Voyages

of the fifth century as far as the Persian Gulf and the town of Hira on the Euphrates: later, we find them, if we may believe Edrisi, even at Aden and other ports of the Red Sea. The expeditions of the Chinese to Persia and Mesopotamia ended about the year 700, while their ships did not withdraw from Ceylon, which, in this interval, had developed into a flourishing emporium between East and West, until the middle of the eighth century.

The seven centuries in which we first notice the pendulum-like oscillations of Chinese maritime enterprise saw considerable changes in the powers of Western Asia, by whom the trade with China was conducted. Here, too, as always in history, the Chinese were the permanent factor. Apart from the people known in later times under the name of the Malays, who, by sharing in the voyages to Ceylon, became important competitors with them in the second period, the Chinese were for the whole time the undisputed bearers of the trade directed toward the West. But in the West there were far-reaching revolutions. There the Greco-Roman trader was being ousted more and more by nations which, although long settled on the borders of the Indian Ocean, had only just turned their attention to sea traffic.

In the first place we must here mention the Indians themselves, who then, perhaps for the first time in the course of their history, so uneventful in foreign policy, ventured to any large extent upon the sea. We may form our own opinions as to their share in the expeditions to Malacca and the Archipelago, but there is no doubt that they did not regard passively the splendid development of Western trade which was taking place at their own gates.

By far the greater part of this trade passed into the hands of Persia, after the powerful dynasty of the Sassanids (227-651) had raised that kingdom to the rank of a great Power. But Persia commanded only one of the two sea routes leading from India to the West—that across the

Persian Gulf. Of this it soon gained absolute possession; and the monopoly remained for a long time in its hands, for neither the Indians nor the vigorous inhabitants of the kingdom of Hira (210-614) had any other route available.

Like the Persian ships themselves, the Indian and Arabian merchantmen sailed to Ceylon, where they received the wares brought there by Chinese junks, more especially silk, cloves, aloes-wood, and sandal-wood, in order to carry them directly across the Persian Gulf. On the other hand, the Persian dominion did not extend, either at the time of the Sassanids or later, over the second route to the West, that of the Red Sea. The traces, therefore, of Rome's former command of the seas were preserved here the longest. The far-famed city of Berenice Troglodytice flourished down to the fourth century; and even in the days of Justinian the ships of the East Roman Empire sailed yearly from Khisma and the ancient Elath to India. Owing to the unusually firm

Strength of Persian Trade

position of the Persians in the Euphrates valley all attempts to break through their monopoly of the maritime trade on this, the shortest, route were always futile. The Red Sea presented itself as the only avenue of approach to the Far East. The small shipping industry of Khisma and Elath was quite unable to meet the immense requirements of the luxurious Byzantine court as well as those of the civilised world of the Mediterranean. Justinian looked for and found allies geographically more favoured in the Ethiopians of the friendly Axumitic kingdom, whose position at the entrance of the Indian Ocean as well as at that of the Red Sea naturally suggested the transit trade.

The attempt, nevertheless, failed. Many Greek merchants, indeed, went down to Adulis, and actually crossed over to India in Ethiopian ships; yet they did not succeed in impairing the Persian monopoly to any appreciable extent. The Persians in the course of centuries had established themselves too firmly in the Indian ports to be ousted by the competition of an unadventurous and uninfluential people from the position which they had laboriously acquired. So far as the Indian Ocean is concerned, the Persians seem rather to have derived fresh strength for further advances from every attack.

FROM MAHOMET TO VASCO DA GAMA

WHAT the western voyage of Columbus was for the Atlantic, or the descent of Balboa and the expedition of Magalhaes for the Pacific, the eastern voyage of Vasco da Gama was for the Indian Ocean—an event, that is, of the most telling importance for all succeeding time. But while those events in the history of the first two oceans are unmatched for their far-reaching influence, the discovery of the way round the Cape does not stand alone in its importance for the Indian Ocean.

The pioneers of Europe found that they had been anticipated by Islam, which in its whole life and being belongs to the Indian Ocean. On a victorious march of incomparable swiftness it bore the flag of the Prophet to the shores of the Atlantic, and it touched the Pacific with its most eastern offshoots: but only in the region of the Indian Ocean did it attain a vigorous and unhindered development of its strength and, more important still, only there was it able to spread itself over the surface of the ocean.

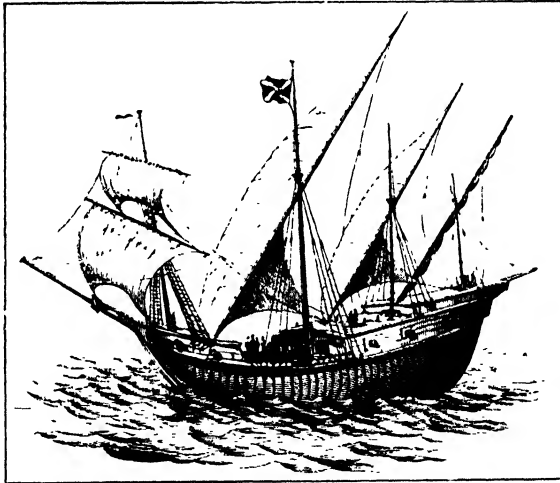
It is not to be assumed that the Arabs sailed the sea for the first time after the Hegira. Such a view is contradicted not only by the migration by sea of the Ge'ez nations of South Arabia to the highlands of Abyssinia, but by the navigation of the peoples of Hira and Aden, and by many other facts. But at no period before Mahomet do we find in them even an inclination to that deliberate oversea policy which is so characteristic of the Arabian world during the whole age of the caliphs and later.

Four years after the Prophet's death the Neo-Persian kingdom lay shattered on the ground, struck down by the powerful

hand of Omar. It seemed almost as if, under the new conditions and in the warlike turmoil of that time, the Indian Ocean would relapse into that state of insignificance from which it had only slowly emerged in the course of the last few centuries; for at this same time, 641, the rest of Nearer Asia and even Egypt fell a victim to the Mohammedans.

The Indian Ocean thus had become an Arabian Sea; from Suez and Massowah on the west as far as the Indus delta on the east its waves, at the time of the Ommeiads and the Abbassids, beat on shores over which the caliphs ruled. In this way the whole commerce of West with East, the world commerce of that

day, lay in the hands of the Arabs alone. For the first time since the Indian Ocean has played a part in the authenticated history of mankind, the appearance of the Arabs on the scene compels the observer to divide his field of view. In addition to the route from west to east, which hitherto has been exclusively treated,



VESSEL OF THE TIME OF VASCO DA GAMA

one of the routes which passes through the northern part of the ocean from north to south now claims serious consideration. We have, in fact, to deal with the encroachment of the Arabs on the coast of East Africa. It is on this particular region that the Arab people has longest asserted its capacity to resist the world powers of modern times.

The expansion of the Arabs toward the East during the age of the Caliphate must still be regarded entirely from the standpoint of the reciprocal relations between Eastern and Western Asia. Possessing a large number of the best

harbours of the Indian Ocean, among them those which commanded the East Indian trade, the Arabs saw themselves compelled to turn their attention more and more to the sea, and primarily to the eastern ocean. We find Arab fleets on the west coasts of India as early as 637; but then it was imperatively necessary to

Arabian Traders in India deprive the Persians, who even after the fall of the Sassanids were a formidable naval power, of the supremacy in the Indian Ocean. The Arabs did not conquer India by the sea route, and failed to drive out of the field the competition of the Persians, in spite of the founding of Basra, or Bassora, and Bagdad, which testifies to their political foresight and their knowledge of the geographical requirements of commerce. For more than two centuries their fleets ploughed the waters of the Indian Ocean in peaceful harmony with the Persian merchantmen. During the first decades of the Caliphate era, this navigation kept to the paths which had been followed from the Sassanid age. It did not go beyond Ceylon; at that time, indeed, the voyages of the Chinese still extended to the Persian Gulf.

About the year 700, Arabs and Persians, encouraged by improvements in ship-building and the knowledge of the compass which they then probably acquired, advanced boldly over the Bay of Bengal and reached the shores of China. In correspondence to this forward movement, and true to their custom of penetrating only so far as was requisite for the maintenance of commercial intercourse, the Chinese at once proceeded to narrow the extent of their voyages more and more.

Although the Chinese held aloof, the Indian Ocean by no means became deserted. For even if the Pacific was closed to the Persians and Arabs in the ensuing period, yet they found in Kalah, on the Strait of Malacca, a place where the trade with the Chinese could be transacted until these latter once more sought out the old route to Ceylon and the ports of Malabar. This renewed advance of the Chinese is the last of their rhythmic movements on the surface of the Indian Ocean. It began in the second half of the thirteenth century, when Kublai Khan gave a great stimulus to navigation. The ponderous junks of the Chinese, just as in the second age, whose

Revival of Chinese Voyages

beginnings lay some 900 years back, once more sailed in large fleets toward the west. Ceylon remained their terminus, as of old, but the powerful and flourishing ports of Calicut and Ormuz became also the objects of their voyages. These were primarily intended for trade, without, however, excluding other enterprises. The Chinese then attempted what they had never previously done on the waters of the Indian Ocean—they actually undertook one voyage of discovery as far as Makdishu, in East Africa, and in the first half of the fifteenth century the monarchs of the Ming dynasty subjugated Ceylon. This was the culminating point of Chinese activity in the Indian Ocean.

By the middle of the fifteenth century China disappeared again from the Indian Ocean, and this time permanently. The attempts repeatedly made by the Chinese during a period of more than one thousand years to remain in touch with the nations of the West bore but little fruit, either for the West or for the East.

On the other hand, the Malay people, which is characterised more than any other in the Eastern Hemisphere by nautical spirit and capacity, began at this time to emerge from its previous obscurity. The voyages which the Malays had undertaken at that early period, when the Chinese for the first time advanced far beyond the Straits of Malacca towards the west, were certainly not the first in their history: but we possess no exact information on the subject. We can, however, trace with tolerable clearness how the Western Archipelago, and Java in particular, early came into certain relations with India. Thither Brahmanism and Buddhism had both found their way.

Malays the Sailors of the East

It was only at the moment when the Malays, from a correct appreciation of the narrowness of their political and economic basis, withdrew from the island-world to the long since abandoned mainland that they acquired strength and opportunity to affect the destinies of their seas. The founding of Singapore from the old empire of Menangkabau in 1160 is in fact the starting-point of their power, which, in the course of the next centuries, extended to a large part of Indonesia, and found its most conspicuous expression in the prosperity of Malacca, founded in 1252, through which for many centuries

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN HISTORY

the whole commerce from west to east passed.

An unkind dispensation ordained that the Malays should not succeed in developing on a larger scale their hereditary nautical abilities. Hardly were they prepared for a more comprehensive oversea policy, when the era dawned which revolutionised all the existing conditions on the Indian Ocean—the era of its opening up by the Europeans from west to east. Even before this, piracy had been greatly esteemed by the Malays, and it became henceforth their almost exclusive occupation; by this involuntary step the Malays relinquished any historical rôle in the higher sense.

Only one feat on a larger scale was performed by the Malays within the limits of the Indian Ocean: this was their settlement of the large island of Madagascar. Thus migration from their original homes in the Indian Archipelago is mainly prehistoric: the dates assigned to it vary between the first and the twelfth centuries A.D. The western coasts of the ocean even at this gloomy period did not share the fate

Settlement of Africa by Arabs of the east side, which continued to be a complete blank so far as history is concerned. Although the Greek traders finally kept aloof, yet the Arabs, who had early sailed from their emporiums in Yemen to the south, did not cease until past the second century A.D. to navigate energetically the east coast of Africa, even far below the equator. Before the advent of the Prophet their voyages were directed exclusively to commercial objects. But fully a century after the Hegira the connection with the south, which was formerly only loose, was drawn tighter: where previously simple factories had existed, one fortified town after another now sprang up. Round these towns were grouped kingdoms, of small size, it is true, but nevertheless able largely to influence and change the nationality and customs, the religion and type, of the settled population. Makdichu and Barawa, Malindi and Mombasa, but especially Kilwa-Kisiwani, which flourished for many years, were the centres of these states, by whose maintenance for fully nine hundred years the Arab nation has given the most brilliant proof of historical strength and permanence.

Down to modern times the shape of the Indian Ocean was completely misrepre-

sented. It was imagined to be an inland sea, a long, narrow channel, which, joining the Red Sea, formed, as it were, a prolongation of the Mediterranean turned toward the south. While the north shore of this marvellous basin is represented by the south coast of Asia, it was supposed that the boundary on the south was supplied by the continent of Africa. The east coast of Africa was twisted round in early maps, and made to run due east and west at its southern extremity, and to join the south of Asia somewhere in the Far East.

This erroneous conception became momentous for the history of mankind when it was perpetuated by Ptolemy, whose cosmographic system was the main source of the geographical knowledge of the early Middle Ages. The Arabs, the direct heirs of the great geographer, adopted without criticism his facts and his blunders, and thus accepted the tradition that the Indian Ocean was an inland sea, although the direction of the Somali and Zanzibar coast must have been familiar to them.

The Indian Ocean in this Ptolemaic shape became important for the history of the human race in two ways. The one part of its rôle ended in the political achievements of the Arabs on the east coast of Africa, of which the extent was perhaps conditioned not only by the causes already mentioned, but also by the very natural desire of the conquerors to keep in touch with the mother country. Apart from these settlements the Indian Ocean is important for the fable of the "Terra Australis," the unknown southern land, with which it was associated. The idea of this continent, mainly derived from Ptolemy, who gave the name of the Ethiopian Australia to the supposed southern shore of his land-girdled Indian Ocean, was taken up by the Arabs, who gave the unknown land the name of the Sendsh coast. Then, partly **Misled by Ptolemy's Mistake** through the agency of the Arabs, partly directly, the myth was adopted into the geography of the scholastics, and at the close of a troublous, but in many respects sterile, period remained as a problem which the Middle Ages had acquired no claim to solve.

Although it was a mere fancy to think of the Indian Ocean as an inland sea, still its influence in history has practically

corresponded to its imagined character. It proved an insuperable barrier between the imperfect civilisations which bordered on it. In early times it was simply avoided by a detour. Later men sailed along the coasts from harbour to harbour or let them drive by the monsoon eastward or westward. The direction of the circles of latitude is almost the only historical axis of the ancient Indian Ocean which comes before us. With the

**Paths
of
Trade**

exception of the voyages to Scandsh and Sofala the whole intercourse takes this direction from the enterprises of the Phoenicians in the second millennium B.C. down past the Greeks and Romans the Persians in the Arab to the last expeditions of the Chinese whose aim was Ceylon in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. One-sided as was this intercourse except for a few journeys undertaken by the Chinese from religious motives and the warlike expeditions of the Arabs against India which stand by themselves it was invariably devoted to purposes of trade. It showed itself important for the development of the civilisation of mankind.

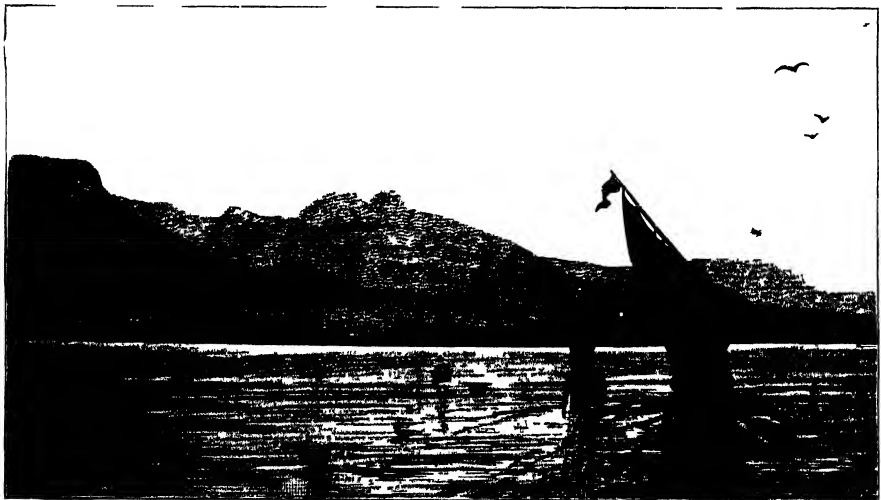
In this exchange of the products of civilisation between the East and the West the latter was always the recipient the former the giver. And for the last third of the period which we have surveyed the exchange was effected merely by the agency of West Asiatic peoples by the

Persians and more particularly by the Arabs. At the moment when the latter swept forward from insignificance into the position of a political and intellectual world power the old direct connection between the sphere of Mediterranean culture and that of South and East Asia was snapped. Whether it is a question of obtaining rare spices dyes or luxuries or of the introduction of the Indian system of numerals or of the widening of the knowledge of medicine and mathematics of geography and astronomy the result is always the same the nation that commands the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf are inevitably the agents. The Indian Ocean after the seventh or eighth century bears the stamp of a purely Asiatic sea with possibly a faint African admixture.

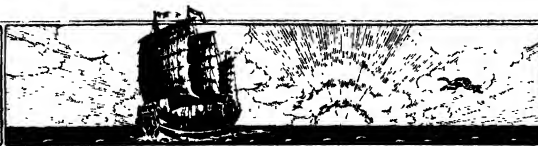
Like the Pacific the Indian Ocean was entirely removed from the field of vision of the western civilised nations. It required to be rediscovered and opened up

**Indian Ocean
Re-discovered
by White Races**

no less than its great and vain neighbours. That the opening up of the two oceans took place about the same time simultaneously also with the lifting of the gloom which rested on the Atlantic was partly the result of accidents but was much more due to the internal development of the western nations. But much of the oceans the work of exploration ran a different course for this diversity the facts of physical geography are responsible



A SCENE ON THE SHORES OF THE RED SEA



THE INDIAN OCEAN IN MODERN TIMES

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

TO the men of to-day the difference between the physical and the historical ocean is no longer familiar. As the waves of the one ocean mingle freely with those of the other, so the currents of world commerce, and also of world history, flow unchecked from one to the other. Both, indeed, move on specially favoured paths, but these paths encircle the whole globe; they cross the sea in the direction which each man chooses, the essential feature of true international commerce.

Four hundred years have sped since this change in the character of the oceans—not in men's ideas about them—was completed; a short span of time compared with the millenniums that preceded. They have brought infinitely much to the Atlantic as well as to the Pacific, to each certainly more than to the Indian Ocean; nevertheless, the sum total of the historical importance of the two former is not greater than that of the latter.

The Era of Oceanic Discovery In their case also, a new era begins with the European voyages of discovery. One is tempted at first sight to say that the opposition of the maritime nations to the white invader has been more determined than that of nations living inland or neglecting the use of the sea. But such a generalisation must be qualified by exceptions so important as to rob it of nearly all its value. It is true that the Aztecs and Peruvians succumbed to the onslaught of the whites still more feebly than the Indians; but China, in spite of many storms, still stands unshaken in any respect. On the other side, the opposition was nowhere slighter than from the Polynesians; the distribution of a sparse population over an immense area from the very first prevented any war being waged. Again, the geographical conditions of India and Indonesia are similar on both the east and west; yet their dealings with the white races have been of the most different description. So far as the Indies are concerned, we must abandon the idea

of treating the ocean as an important influence on the course of history. It is in the facts of religious and political development that we must seek for the reason why, in India proper, native civilisation succumbed to the slightest shock from without, while in Indonesia it found a safe refuge. The Arabs at the time

Allured by India's Riches when Vasco da Gama, after his memorable voyage to Calicut, set foot on the soil of India, represented the dominant religion of the Indian Ocean, and possessed the monopoly of commercial intercourse so far as it connected the Indian world with the West. Not merely did the fabulous prosperity of Cairo and Alexandria, the power of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, of Barcelona and Florence, the splendour, in short, of the Mediterranean world of those times, rise and fall with this trade, but the economic life of Northern Europe as far as Germany and Flanders was materially affected by it. The whole West, indeed, between 1200 and 1500 lay under the spell of the trade with India.

At the moment of the landing of Vasco da Gama, the Arabs recognised the desperate danger which threatened their supremacy. In the succeeding period their resistance to the intruders was more obstinate and lasting than that offered by the natives of India, who were unfamiliar with the sea. Even the Ottoman Turks, who in 1517 by the conquest of Egypt had entered upon the heritage of the Mamelukes, knew perfectly well that Egypt was

The Orient Against the Occident worthless to them unless they possessed complete liberty of movement on the Indian Ocean. This truth was, however, first brought home to them by the Venetians and Genoese, who lost their main source of prosperity with the interruption of the Levantine trade. The attempts, accordingly, of the Turks to regain that liberty of movement were less persistent than would have been desirable in the interests of all the Mediterranean states.

Far from overthrowing the power of the Portuguese, they were unable even to break through the blockade of the Red Sea, which the new-comers maintained for some decades. The Red Sea, therefore, relapsed temporarily into the condition of

The Turk's Destroying Hand

a backwater; at the same time the heavy hand of the Turk, spreading death everywhere, fell on its northern exit.

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century the Indian Ocean by no means served the purpose of a common thoroughfare. The Portuguese for more than a century regarded it as their own sea. For while the famous Bull of Alexander VI., limiting Spanish enterprise to the lands and seas west of the Azores, had been withdrawn in the very year when it was issued, still Portugal and Spain had, within a few years of this abortive attempt at demarcation, come to an agreement in which the principle of the Papal judgment was recognised: and the New World was partitioned between these, the two greatest maritime and colonising Powers of the age, by the tracing of an imaginary frontier to the west of the Cape Verde Islands.

The post-Columbian age did away with this, as with so many other ideas. In colonial history between 1600 and 1850 we hear of no considerable region, except

the sea of Central America, which was more obstinately contested than the border lands and islands of the Indian Ocean. And as it were not enough that the European nations should rush forward to secure for themselves the heritage of Portugal, the Arabs from Maskat stepped vigorously on the scene after 1660, and after eighty years of war wrested once more the central coast of East Africa from the detested European.

This international competition ends at the moment when the political equilibrium was disturbed in favour of England, under whose dominion it was now destined to pass for the whole succeeding period. This disturbance was produced by an event which in its later developments has controlled the whole subsequent history of the ocean and the surrounding countries—the first acquisition of territory in India by Britain. If we bear in mind that from 1498 to past the middle of the eighteenth century the political activity of the European Powers was spent on the founding of mere factory colonies, which could not secure to any of the participating nations a broad economic basis or any supremacy, we may see in Robert Clive's decisive victory at Plassey, on June 23rd, 1757, the beginning of a new era both for India and for the Indian Ocean.

THE BRITISH ASCENDANCY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

THE age which started with the victory of Plassey was inaugurated, first by the Peace of Paris of February 10th, 1763, when that very France, to which a Dupleix had opened out such glittering prospects, renounced for ever the possession of India and consequently the supremacy in the Indian Ocean: and next by the dissolution of the French East India Company in 1770. In this way the only European rival whom England had then to consider was finally driven from the field. England could now look to the realisation of her aim, which was to impress on the Indian Ocean the stamp of a British sea—of a central sea, that is, round which the Asiatic, African, and Australian branches of the British world-empire might cluster. Gigantic as this conception must have appeared to the eighteenth century, yet it was actually realised a hundred years after the withdrawal of the French from India. Immediately before the opening of the

Suez Canal England did not, it is true, possess all the shores of the Indian Ocean; but there was no power which could dispute her supremacy single-handed.

The historical importance of the Indian Ocean culminates during those hundred years from the fact that then it was mainly sought and won for its own sake; it was only after the opening up of East Asia that it sank more and more into the position of a thoroughfare. The activity of its indigenous population, although it was not less vigorous than in the foregoing age, recedes into the background compared with that of the invaders from outside. The theatre of events lay now, as earlier, exclusively on the west coast of the ocean, and it ended in the founding and growth of the sultanate of Zanzibar, the keystone to the fabric of politics and civilisation raised by the Arabs in the Indian Ocean. Hardly was the structure completed, when it cracked in every

Indian Ocean Highway

joint. While the ocean previously had been a remote gulf, with one single approach far down at the Cape, it was brought, through the artificial strait of Suez, far nearer to the section of mankind which required expansion; and in place of the Latin nations, which, dogged as they were, had grown weary from the colonising work of centuries, the fresh and resolute Teutonic races stepped forward. The Moslem bulwark, laboriously reared by the work of a thousand years at the eastern entrance to the Dark Continent, rapidly fell to the ground.

The establishment of her position in India has marked out for Great Britain a definite road by which to maintain communications with her Australian colonies; she must endeavour to protect the approach at all possible points, as well as to command the surface of the adjacent sea. The Portuguese and Dutch, even the French, had already tried to do so. The Portuguese had laid their hands on numerous parts of the west coast of Africa, from Madeira and Arguin in the north as far as Benguela in the south, and had also made bases on the east coast from Sofala to Makdishu and Socotra. The Dutch, with better discernment, made the southern extremities of Africa and India, the Cape of Good Hope (1602 and 1652), and Ceylon (1602-1796) the centre of their system of defence, and at the same time took care to occupy Mauritius (1598-1710) and Delagoa Bay (1721). For France finally the islands, Madagascar and its neighbours, were intended to protect the road to India, at least in the south of the Indian Ocean.

The British were far from following in these steps directly after the beginning of their Indian sovereignty; on the contrary, for decades St. Helena was still reckoned as a sufficient base on the long route round the Cape. Even the first occupation of Cape Colony (1795-1802), which was merely the result of jealousy of the French, had not yet opened the eyes of English Ministers to the value of South Africa for the Indian Ocean; they would hardly otherwise have given it back to the Batavian Republic. It was only the agitation of keen-sighted politicians like Lord Wellesley, who as far back as 1798 had clearly expressed his opinion that India was untenable without the Cape, and still more the attacks on the

British colonial empire executed or planned by Napoleon I., which brought about the resolution to secure it.

Great Britain, therefore, in 1806, rapidly anticipating Napoleon's intention of occupying the Cape, planted her foot once more, and this time finally, on South Africa. This step decided the whole further course of events on the Indian Ocean.

**Britain's
Premier
Position**

Great Britain is now supreme not only at the apex of the great inland sea, but also at the corner pillars at its base. In this way she has not only acquired an impregnable defensive position, but she, beyond all other nations, is in the position to guide the destinies of the Indian Ocean.

Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, which undoubtedly would have attained the desired end had France been a match for England by sea, must be considered as comparatively the most eventful of these operations. But its results were very different from what had been anticipated. It reminded England of the vulnerable point in her position: and from this time British policy was naturally guided by the hope of securing the Red Sea.

Great events cast their shadows before even in the history of the seas. The plan of cutting the isthmus of Suez was mooted during Napoleon's stay in Egypt, and was never again allowed to drop. The repose in which the Red Sea had been left for three hundred years was rudely shattered now that the interest of Europe was concentrated on it. It became apparent that direct communications were to be reopened between the Mediterranean and the Far East. Once more the attention of the colonial Powers was concentrated on the north-west corner of the Indian Ocean. In 1839 the British occupied Aden, the emporium at the entrance of the Red Sea which had flourished in the old days of sailing-ships. At the moment

**Influence
of the
Suez Canal** when the construction of the canal could no longer be prevented, she firmly planted herself on Perim in the straits of Bab el Mandeb in 1857, and almost at the same time included in her dominion the Persian Gulf.

The expedition of Napoleon had shown Great Britain how insecure her Indian possessions were, so soon as France or any other Power set foot in Egypt. Accordingly, after the battle of the Pyramids, on July 21st, 1798, the chief object of her



MAP OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Indian policy was necessarily to prevent such a contingency, or even any political and economic strengthening of the country. There was no difficulty in carrying out this purpose so long as the plan of the Suez Canal was still only in the germ, and the British continued to hold the undisputed sovereignty of the seas which they had won during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

But later, as the plan of the canal assumed more definite shape, and the other Powers, who had gained strength in the interval, once more advanced on the seas, this sovereignty became more difficult, but at the same time more important. Lord Ellenborough was therefore justified in saying that England, if she wished to secure the supremacy of the world, must stand with one foot in India and the other in Egypt. Lord Palmerston privately informed Count Ferdinand de Lesseps that if England was allowed to occupy Egypt permanently with an army and to superintend the traffic in the canal, he and England would be willing to aid the enterprise in every way; but it was found possible to complete the canal in 1869 without this great concession. British policy, however, soon found the means of making the canal a source of strength instead of weakness to her Colonial Empire. In 1875, Lord Beaconsfield seized the opportunity of the Khedive Ismail's pecuniary embarrassments to purchase his shares in the canal. The rebellion of Arabi Pasha afforded an unexpected opportunity of taking a still further step. Half against the will of the Ministry of the moment, the British crushed the revolt and, in 1882, effected the occupation of Egypt. The great problem was thus solved; the way to the Indian Ocean as well as to the Pacific had become a British road. But at the same time the occupation of the old country of the Pharaohs brought Great Britain face to face with a new task, that of flanking the Indian Ocean by an Africa which should be British from Cape Town to the Nile.

The opening of the new waterway brought with it also a mass of new results for mankind in general and for the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in particular. This latter now not only developed itself into one of the most crowded thoroughfares, but awoke slowly to a new life of its own, which in its most vigorous form stirred the Italians to oversea expansion.

THE INDIAN OCEAN IN MODERN TIMES

But still more wide were the effects of the completion of the Suez Canal on the Indian Ocean and the commerce of the world. The numerous routes which ran from the Cape of Good Hope to the north and north-west were suddenly deserted, except by a few sailing-ships. On the other hand, the few routes which traversed the new commercial highway in the first years after its opening have been multiplied and differentiated; there are, at the present day, numbers of trunk lines which converge upon Port Said and diverge again from Aden eastward.

provinces must naturally have forced itself upon men's minds, especially since between them, on the south coast of the Gulf of Aden, on the Zambesi, on the Nyassa, and in the important Zanzibar Archipelago, at the same time or a little later, opportunities were offered for the expansion of the British power. The magnificent idea of an Africa which, on its eastern side at all events, shall be British from the Cape to the mouths of the Nile loses some of its audacity under these circumstances; but it has been keenly taken up, and has already ap-



PORT SAID AT THE MEDITERRANEAN ENTRANCE OF THE SUEZ CANAL

Inset is a portrait of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the distinguished Frenchman, to whom we owe the great artificial waterway that shortens the road to India and the East. Photo of De Lesseps by Elliot & Fry.

The opening up of Australia and Madagascar has done something to restore the importance of the older routes. But old and new alike have the Pacific for their ultimate objective. The Indian Ocean at the present day has again become an anteroom to its larger neighbour.

Great Britain endeavoured in other ways to retrieve the losses which she had thus sustained. In 1866 she acquired British East Africa, a territory precisely equidistant between Cape Colony and Egypt. The idea of a junction of these three

proached its realisation. This idea played its part in causing the masters of Egypt to give Mahdism its well-deserved quietus on September 2nd, 1898, before Omdurman. In realising it, the British have crushed the Matabele empire, and have moved their frontiers far beyond the Zambesi to the north. For its sake they are constructing through Africa a railroad system which not only testifies to economic sagacity, but by means of its northern branches—the Nile Valley and the Uganda railways—makes England independent of

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf in the event of these being blocked by a hostile fleet. In fact, combined with other motives, it led also to the defeat of the Boers. The Boers, it is true, were more African than the negroes, since they have struggled, like these at least, to reach the sea, and so far could not disturb Great Britain by sea; but as a land power she was bound to remain defective on the Indian Ocean so long as the Boer states existed.

During the last thirty or fifty years the north and north-west of the Indian Ocean have also attained an increased importance as the thoroughfare to the East at the moment when East Asia, violently roused from its lengthened seclusion, was opened to the enterprise of the European. Here, too, Britain was victorious. At the first dawn of this period—1824—she laid her grasp upon the Straits of Malacca, with Singapore, Malacca, and Pulo Penang. Since that time the Indian Ocean, so far as it comes into the question of modern world commerce, bears in that part, notwithstanding the extensive possessions of the Dutch, a British stamp.

In conclusion, the last act of this drama lies mostly in the womb of time. It brings us into contact with a nation which has often occupied our attention on the Pacific, but which apparently has no right to meet

us here—the Russians. And yet their appearance on the Pacific implies their movement toward the Indian Ocean. If Russia wishes not to be stifled in the enormous expanse of her Asiatic possessions, if she wishes to guide the unwieldy mass, she must force a way to the nearest sea; her East Asiatic coast is in every respect insufficient, and, above all, too remote. Hence comes that onward movement, during the last decades, toward the south, towards Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, which in our days so often assumes tangible form in the question of the Western Asiatic railways and of a Russian harbour on that gulf. The British have here a far more difficult position than anywhere else on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. In the Archipelago the power of Holland is broken up over infinite islands great and small; in East Africa England's colonial possessions lie firmly riveted round and behind the territories of the Portuguese, Germans, and Italians. But here she sees herself confined between the sea and an antagonist whose ponderous mass presses slowly, but with irresistible power, toward the south. For the moment, the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 has recognised the British position; but it may be that a struggle is only deferred.

KARL WEULE



Photochrome Co.

THE SUEZ CANAL WHERE IT OPENS INTO THE GREAT BITTER LAKE



CENTRAL ASIA

TURKESTAN, TIBET, AFGHANISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

THE COUNTRIES AND THE PEOPLES

NATURE OF THE LAND

IN comparatively recent times the vast highlands of Asia, with their glittering ramparts of eternal snow, their pasture grounds, their bleak deserts and verdant oases, were regarded with awe by the civilised nations of Europe. It seemed that science, in harmony with the religion and the myths of so many peoples, had succeeded in demonstrating by almost irrefragable proofs that Central Asia was the primitive home of mankind, the cradle whence even our own forefathers were sent out in the pride of youth to find eventually a new home in Europe, while other brothers of our race descended into India, that sun-steeped land of marvels. The truth is still to seek, but it has been shown that Central Asia possesses, so far as we know, no better claim than many other regions of the earth to be considered the cradle of the human race. But Central Asia deserves,

Asia the Fountain of Civilisation even at the present day, the most serious attention of scientific inquirers. Around this citadel of the world lay clustered in a wide semicircle the ancient countries of civilisation. Babylonia, China, and India; even the beginnings of Egyptian culture point to Asia. All who believe in a common fountain-head of these higher civilisations must look for it in Middle Asia, or must assume that the germs of higher forms of

life were carried through that region in consequence of migrations or of trading expeditions.

Central Asia is the most continental region of the world. In a geographical sense Middle or Central Asia comprises the self-contained interior of Asia; in a historical sense Siberia and the plains of Western Asia and Europe form an appendage of this vast expanse. Central Asia, in the more restricted sense, is the arid plateau, without any outlet, which is divided by immense chains of mountains stretching from east to west into distinct regions—Tibet, Turkestan, and Mongolia.

But this bleak and desolate region has not remained unaltered in the course of thousands of years. In the Tertiary Period, which perhaps saw man develop into the most distinctive form of living creature on the earth, a sea was rolling where now the barren wastes of the Gobi desert and the basin of the Tarim extend: new mountains were upraised and mighty masses subsided. When the sea disappeared, and Central Asia acquired its present configuration, a long time must have elapsed before the land was changed into the sterile steppe which we know at the present day. The Ice Age, which filled Siberia with immense glaciers, hardly affected that transformation. The



THE GREAT MOUNTAINS OF TIBET: "THE ROOF OF THE WORLD"

The illustration conveys some idea of the grandeur of Tibet's scenery; in the distance is a permanent barrier of ice-bound mountain tops high in the region of eternal snows, and in the foreground is a natural stone Hindu temple.

inhabitants of Central Asia, therefore, at the close of the Glacial Period, which must provisionally form the starting-point of historical investigation in this field, were still living in a comparatively well-watered and favoured region, which later became by slow degrees mere steppe and desert. On the other hand, the elevated character of the country has not changed; and this produces even in the southern parts a temperate and almost cold climate, and has in this way exercised a lasting influence on the inhabitants.

Central Asia in the restricted sense is partly bounded, partly intersected, by numerous chains of mountains, which by their trend from east to west are of great importance for the character and history of the country, and divide it into several distinct sections. On the south, the immense wall of the Himalayas divides the cold plateau of Tibet so sharply from the sultry plains of India that the two countries, notwithstanding their close proximity, have exercised little influence on each other and have never entered into close political relations. Farther to the north the Kuen Lun, with its offshoots, divides Tibet from

the desolate plain of the Tarim, which in its turn is cut off on the north by the Tian Shan. All three ranges meet toward the west in an immense group of mountains, the centre of which is formed by the Pamirs, so that on this side Central Asia is quite separated from the Turanian lowlands.

Even the rest of the high plateau of Central Asia, the Gobi desert with the surrounding steppes, is bounded by a vast circle of mountain ranges, of which the most important are the Altai on the west, and the Sayansk and Yablonoi Mountains on the north. Beyond the Altai stretch the lowlands of Siberia, which are separated from the plains of Eastern Europe only by the Ural range. On the north-east, however, a chaos of mountains bars the way and fills up the greater part of Eastern Siberia. In this direction, therefore, the migratory spirit of Central Asiatic tribes found least scope. The mountain ranges on the west were never any permanent check on the movements of the nomads, who found in the plains of Turkestan and Western Siberia room for expansion and growth of power. Toward the south the Himalayas blocked

The Great Mountain Chains

CENTRAL ASIA: THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLES

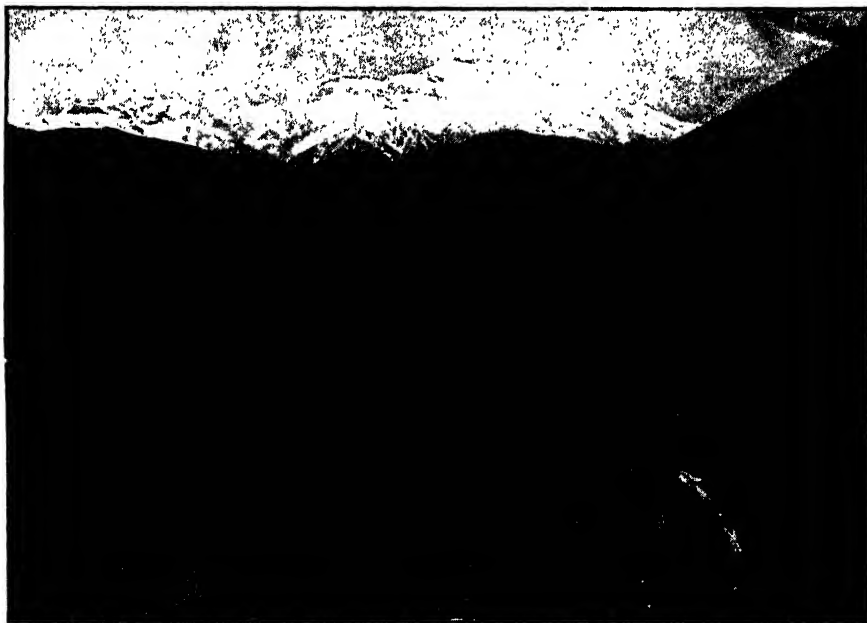
their advance; but on the east, China, although partially protected by highlands, lay open to the attacks of the peoples of the steppes.

Thus the trend due east and west, which characterises the lie of the mountain ranges, is clearly noticeable in the migratory movements of the nations.

It is thus a most significant fact that the chain of the Kuen Lun, which runs right through the heart of Central Asia, stretches with its offshoots and parallel ranges, the Altyn Tagh and Nanshan, as far as the middle Hoangho—that is to say, into the most fertile districts of China. Along these lines of mountains, especially on the north side, extends a strip of fertile and more or less well-watered land, which enables the husbandman to make a home there and opens a road to the basin of the Tarim through the horrors of the desert. The importance of this district, the modern province of Kansu, for the civilisation and history of the country is incalculable. It was here that the persevering and stolid Chinaman first waged war with the nomads, built a rampart of fortified towns and agricultural colonies

across the pasture lands of the unruly Central Asiatics, and thus discovered the key to the political supremacy over the whole interior of Asia; but this road must have been taken in far earlier times by those who first brought the manners and customs of the West and East into contact, even if the people which first introduced civilisation into China did not follow that course in their migration. An advance to Tibet or to Northern Siberia was difficult or impossible for the nomad hordes of Central Asia; their movements, from economic reasons, had to be directed mainly eastward or westward; they followed, therefore, the same paths as trade. It was not until a late period that Buddhism by its pilgrimages produced in Central Asia an important movement from north to south. If the history of the surrounding countries is unintelligible without a clear knowledge of Central Asia and its peoples, that of the region of the steppes in the interior of Asia is still more so without reference to the civilised countries which border it, to China on the east, the area

The Paths of Early Settlement



A TYPICAL SCENE IN BARREN AND INHOSPITABLE TIBET

Sterility and ruggedness are the chief characteristics of a great part of Tibet, the mountains barring passage and the soil supporting with difficulty the sparse animal life that tries to win sustenance from its vegetation.

of Mediterranean civilisation on the west, and India on the south.

India, which was repeatedly overrun by hordes of Central Asiatic nomads, for a long period exercised little influence generally on the steppe region, and almost none politically, since the barrier of the Himalayas was a deterrent from military

**Religion
Stronger than
Warfare**

enterprises, and, apart from this, the natural features of Tibet offered no attraction to a conqueror. The attempt made in 1337 by Mohammed Shah Tughlak to push on victoriously from India to China was foiled by the Himalayas and was not subsequently imitated. But here, as in so many cases, the spirit has been mightier than the sword. Northern India, that great seminary of religious and philosophic thought, gradually made its influence felt in Central Asia, and by Buddhist propaganda revolutionised the lives and opinions of the nomads. It was, of course, a case of scattered seeds, which were carried across the mountains and struck root independently, and we must not imagine any permanent union of Indian philosophy with the nomad culture of the steppes.

China stood in a quite different position towards Central Asia. The highlands of Western China offered, it is true, some protection against the inroads of the nomads; but it did not always prove sufficient. The policy, which the Chinese often adopted, of playing off the nomads one against the other, and of settling various tribes as border-guards within the natural ramparts of the empire, sometimes led to the result that these guardians asserted their independence or made common cause with their kinsmen of Central Asia. The weapons with which China fought the peoples of the steppes

**Victory
of China's
Culture**

were, at all times, not so much the warlike spirit of her sons or the inaccessibility of the country as the highly advanced civilisation which rendered it possible for an extremely dense population to live on the fertile soil. The country might submit, partially or altogether, but the bands of the conquerors soon disappeared among the overwhelming numbers of the conquered, and their barbarian strength could not withstand the example of a higher

culture. The civilised countries of Western Asia were better protected than China against the tide of restless nomads. Between the Caspian Sea and the Himalayas rise the mountains of Chorasan and Afghanistan. Eastward of these, the fertile districts of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, where agricultural colonies and fortified towns could grow up, formed a vanguard of civilisation. But between the Caspian and the Black Sea the Caucasus rises like a bulwark built for the purpose, and cuts off Western Asia from the steppes of Southern Russia, that ancient arena of nomadic hordes. So long as the natural boundaries were maintained, the fertile plains of Western Asia were safe from the raids and invasions of the nomads. But the people of Iran, which guarded civilisation there, succumbed at length to the attack. The nomads found homes to their liking in the steppes which abound in Iran, Syria, and Asia Minor, and consequently preserved their individuality far longer than in China, and were only partially absorbed by the peoples they had conquered.

**Central
Asiatic
Influence**

We have thus an explanation of the great difference between East and West. China was never more than nominally subject to the nomads, and it finally crippled their power by a systematic colonisation of the steppes; while the ancient civilisation of Western Asia sank beneath the repeated onslaught of the nomad horsemen, and the country became for a long time an appendage of Central Asia.

Europe, the eastern steppes of which merge into those of South-west Siberia without any well-defined boundaries, was never able to ward off the attacks made from Central Asia. The Huns advanced to the Atlantic, the Avars and Magyars invaded France, the Mongols reached Eastern Germany, and the Ottoman wave spent itself against the walls of Vienna. Europe still harbours in the Magyars, the Turks, and numerous Finnish and Mongolian tribes the remnants of these inhabitants of the heart of Asia. Western Europe, however, with its moist climate, its deficiency in wide tracts of pasture ground, and its national strength and civilisation, suffered no permanent injury, but was able to accept the inheritance of West Asiatic culture.

PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA



NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY OF THE KHAIBAR PASS



WIVES OF A TARTAR GOVERNOR



A WOMAN OF YARKAND



A CAMP OF NOMADS ON A MOUNTAIN PLATEAU IN TIBET



MONGOLS OF THE GOBI DESERT



WEALTHY MONGOL TRADER



TARTAR TRADING-WOMEN FROM THE PLAINS OF TIBET



KIRGHIZ NOMADS: 1, FAMILY OF A SULTAN; 2, WEDDING PARTY



INDOOR AND OUTDOOR COSTUMES OF LADIES OF KABUL



TAJIKS, PERSIAN-SPEAKING VILLAGERS OF EASTERN AFGHANISTAN



GILZAI CHIEFTAIN WITH TRIBESMEN AND HAZARA PEASANTS OF GHAZNI

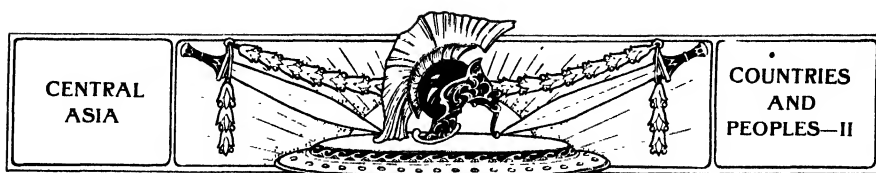


BALUCHIS, A PEOPLE OF MIXED ARYAN AND TARTAR DESCENT

Fifth



PREDATORY TRIBESMEN OF THE BOLAN PASS IN BALUCHISTAN



THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

IF we suppose that the original home of mankind lay somewhere in the south-east of Asia, as the discovery of the supposed "missing link" by E. Dubois in Java in 1892 rendered probable, then the rest of the globe may have been early populated from this source. But we cannot speak definitely on this point. It has been shown that man was a contemporary of the mammoth in Siberia. An attempt at a connected historical account must start provisionally with the end of the Glacial Period, since from that time onward no extensive changes of climate or of the earth's surface have taken place. The increasing desiccation of Central Asia is, for instance, important in itself, but cannot be compared with the stupendous phenomenon of the Ice Age.

Two main types, which recur in Europe, are represented among the peoples of Central Asia and Siberia in varying combinations. There is a dolichocephalic, or long-skulled, race, which was perhaps originally allied to the negro, but has acquired in the north a light complexion and partly also fair hair, and a short-skulled or brachycephalic race, also comparatively light-complexioned, whose purest representatives we may at present find among the Mongols and Northern Chinese. Besides these, a pigmy race may have been sparsely distributed, as prehistoric discoveries in Europe and early accounts from China and Japan attest; but this gradually disappeared among the others, and attained no importance for civilisation. The relation of the long-headed tribes to the short-headed has become all the more important. At the present day the short head is predominant in Central Asia; but that is a result which has been preceded by many stages of evolution.

According to all appearances, long-headed races filled the North of Europe and Asia at the close of the Ice Age, and they certainly predominated in both continents, with the exception of certain

regions of Central Asia. The remnants of these dolichocephalic peoples in Asia are probably the Ainos in Yezo and Saghalin, the Yenissei-Ostiaks who have preserved their ancient tongue in the midst of tribes speaking a Mongolian and Finno-Ugrian language, and other fragments of nationalities in Siberia.

Distribution of the Early Races In the south the long-heads are again predominant in the mixed population of Tibet. Many of these primitive dolichocephalic nations have developed in Northern Europe, and partly in Northern Asia, under the influence of the climate, into fair-haired and blue-eyed men; among the Siberians and the inhabitants of Central Asia large numbers of these can still be found. Probably long heads and also a dark skin are the peculiarities common to primitive man.

Granted that the fair-skinned races were developed under the influence of the climate, the short-headed race is perhaps a variety which is explicable by the relaxation of the struggle for existence which growing civilisation induced. We may find parallels in the domestic animals, in which the same fundamental cause leads to all sorts of changes—to gigantic or diminutive growth, to wool-like hair or different coloured hair, and so on. A short-headed race developed in Asia in early times, and in the course of history occupied the greater part of that continent as well as large districts of Europe. Innermost Asia may possibly have been the primitive home of this race. It cannot at present be definitely settled whether it

The Home of Primitive Mankind grew up in Tibet, or in Mongolia, or, lastly, farther west in Turkestan and even Iran. The beginnings of a higher civilisation seem to start from this race. The first gleam of credible historical knowledge shows to us in the west and east of Asia, in Babylonia and China respectively, a brachycephalic people as the representatives of civilisations which are so closely related in their main features that they

suggest with almost overwhelming force a former connection between these peoples, or, at least, their manners and customs. That civilisation was based on agriculture by means of the plough, and on stock-breeding; that is, on the same foundation as our modern farming. These are by no means obvious achievements which must

Civilisation and Early Husbandry

necessarily have been made by every progressive people. The contrary is proved by the instance of the civilised nations of America, who were ignorant of the plough or beasts of draught, and adhered to the use of the mattock, although in other respects their husbandry stood on a high level. In Eastern as well as Western Asia wheat was originally the chief cereal.

Even stock-breeding, which at first was almost exclusively cattle-breeding, shows similar features in both regions. In ancient Babylonia, as in China even to-day, cattle were used exclusively for drawing burdens and for food, and no use was made of their milk. In this respect the two civilised peoples are sharply differentiated from the nomads, who later interrupted the connection between East and West, for the existence of the wandering herdsman depended mainly on the milk of his herds. Horse-breeding appears to have been already practised at the time when the two civilisations were still in contact or arose in a common original home. Here, again, a peculiarity appears. The horse is not ridden, but is used only for draught, and nothing is known of the value of mare's milk, the favourite drink of the Scythians and Mongols.

Another peculiarity common to both the ancient civilised peoples is their acquaintance with copper and bronze, so that we may regard the short-headed races as inventors of metal-working. This fact is important for Europe. There also short-headed tribes, following the range of the Alps, migrated in early times from the East, and spread the knowledge of casting bronze as far as Britain. Another similar stream of civilisation reached Southern Siberia, where the rich copper mines and gold mines of the Altai favoured the growth of a peculiar bronze culture.

Supposing that the original home of civilisation did not lie in Central Asia, still the union of the two most ancient

civilisations must somehow have been produced by this region.

This much, therefore, can be stated with tolerable certainty, that an ancient civilisation depending on agriculture, stock-breeding, and the knowledge of bronze, whose representatives were peoples of a short-headed race, developed in Central Asia or its western frontiers. Under the influence of this civilisation the population increased, so that emigration and colonisation were possible in various directions. In this way tribes of the northern as well as of the southern long-headed race may have been influenced and won over to this higher civilisation. This first period ends roughly with the close of the fourth millennium B.C.

The view that agriculture is older than nomadism contradicts the traditional idea which makes the stages of subsistence by natural products, of cattle-breeding, and of agriculture, follow one after another as regular steps in development. But this theory, which so long stood in the way of a sound comprehension of the most ancient questions of civilisation, is now no longer accepted. The

The First Domestication of Animals

oldest agricultural peoples, who broke up the ground with the plough, were also the first cattle-breeders. This does not imply that men tamed oxen and horses from the very first with the conscious intention of using them as beasts of draught. Comparative ethnology teaches us that even now primitive peoples, who tame all sorts of animals, first do so to make pets or companions of them before they think of turning the animals to any profitable use. This does not exclude the possibility that religious conceptions may have first prompted them to domesticate animals.

So long as the breeding of cattle and subsequently of horses continued to be closely bound up with agriculture, and so long as the milk of the female animals was not used there could be no idea of nomadism. It was the use of milk that first enabled whole nations to depend on the possession of flocks and herds for their existence, without reducing their stock by excessive slaughtering. This food first made the arid tracts of steppe habitable and actual sources of prosperity and power. But the nature of their homes and pastures forces these people to make continual and systematic migrations, and thus stamps on the whole sphere of

CENTRAL ASIA—THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

their material civilisation a trait of mobility and uncertainty, while it marks their character with a mixture of unrest and aggressiveness which from time to time recurs prominently in history. This new economic form of nomadism cannot have arisen suddenly; it assumes the breeding of such animals as secrete a continuous and large quantity of milk. This is, again, a result of long custom; for the female animals of themselves give only as much milk as is necessary for the early nourishment of their young ones, after which time the supply dries up.

The laborious and tedious breeding of milk-giving breeds of cows and soon afterwards of mares, was not accomplished by the short-headed civilised nations—among whom the Chinese to the present day despise milk—but apparently by long-headed tribes. We now see Aryan-speaking nomads in the north and Semitic-speaking nomads in the south appear on the scene as economic and political powers. The civilisation of China still remained uninfluenced by them; from which it seems to follow that nomadism originated

The Rise of Early Nomadism

on the steppes of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, not in Central Asia. In Babylonia, the old empire of Sumerian civilisation had been overthrown by Semitic nomads before the year 3000 B.C. After that date the conquerors and conquered gradually amalgamated and appeared next in history as Babylonians. Other Semites as migratory herdsmen kept to that way of life, of which the oldest narratives in the Bible draw so pleasing a picture.

Still more momentous was the first appearance in history of the Aryan nomads. The old dispute as to the origin of the Aryans cannot be answered, because the whole problem has been put so wrongly. Two totally distinct questions have been jumbled together—namely, what was the origin of the blond, or at least light-coloured, dolichocephalic peoples, the majority of whom now employ Aryan dialects, and what was the starting-point of the Aryan language? Of the first question we have already spoken. The fair-skinned, dolichocephalic peoples are a race of men which has developed under the influence of the cool climate out of the long-headed tribes originally spread over the whole of Europe and the greater part of Asia. The original Aryan language, on the other hand, may have begun, as

some good linguists maintain, in the lowlands of Eastern Europe. It is easy to draw the inference that precisely this beginning of a nomadic way of life, and the necessary migrations, go far to explain the extraordinary dissemination of Aryan dialects.

The great historical events with which the Aryan nomads appear on the scene are the conquest and the Aryanisation of Iran and India. The wave of nations may have rolled in the third millennium B.C. from Eastern Europe over the Turanian steppe to the south and have first flooded Eastern Iran, until an outlet was made through the valley of Kabul, through which a part of the Aryans flowed into India.

A large number of the nomads remained behind in the steppes of Eastern Europe and Western Siberia, where they were known to the earliest Greek authorities as Scythians. Probably all the nomad tribes of the great lowlands of Asia and Europe were comprised under the name "Scythians" in the wider sense, and among them probably were represented peoples speaking a non-Aryan language.

The Scythians long showed no wish to penetrate into the mountainous civilised country of the Balkan peninsula, or to push on over the Caucasus into the region of the Assyrio-Babylonian civilisation. Iran was protected by their own kinsmen, who gradually settled there. On the other hand, they certainly spread widely toward the east, perhaps beyond the Altai, where other tribes gradually imitated them in their way of life. Numerous blond nomads are found at a subsequent period in West-Central Asia.

The horse was employed at first by the nomads to draw their waggons, until they acquired the art of riding, and by that means enormously increased their mobility.

It cannot yet be decided with complete certainty whether the Aryans of India on their migrations were acquainted with riding. It is indisputable that the Scythians by Homeric times were a nation of horsemen. The nomad tribes became acquainted with iron at a later period than the settled civilised nations. The Iranian Massagetae in the modern Turkestan, when they fought their battles against the Persians in the time of Cyrus, were familiar with only copper and gold.

Wave of Nomad Migration

Place of the Horse in History

Both these metals were obtained from the mines in the Altai, and probably also from the old mining district of the Caucasus. The great Aryan migrations completely interrupted the connection between the old civilisations of the East and West, if such connection still existed. The Chinese nation has continued its independent development, although it has by no means remained quite stiff and impervious to external influences. Any stimulus that reached China later on the long and dangerous road through the nomad regions of Central Asia, or by sea round Further India, was far too weak to produce deep results. The Chinese nation had to concentrate all its energies on external policy, to keep off the nomads who thronged round its frontiers, or to absorb them, and finally to separate them and pacify them by a well-devised system of throwing out agricultural colonies.

The men with whom the Chinese had to struggle were not migratory herdsmen of Aryan language, but members of the short-headed race or the Mongolian stock, as it is called, after a victorious people which appeared late on the scene. The earliest history of China records nothing as yet of struggles with nomads, but only of the conquest of the forces of Nature and at most of collisions with aborigines, who were at the early hunting stage. However incredible and indefinite in detail these earliest traditions may be, yet the absence of all accounts of nomad invasions, which subsequently were every-day occurrences, and could hardly have been forgotten in an artificial construction of history, is a very significant feature.

It cannot yet be shown whether the nomads of Central Asia had a Bronze Age of a duration worth mentioning, or whether they passed immediately from the Stone

Age to the Iron Age. The latter alternative is more probable in the case of most tribes of Central Asia, apart from the old Bronze region in Southern Siberia and its adjoining districts. In Central Asia itself the growth of nomadism with its warlike propensities and its mobility greatly favoured the mixture of nationalities. We find a proof of this in the language. While in earlier times the Aryan language spread in the west under the influence of nomad

life, at a later period the Mongolian and Finnish-Ugrian group of languages prevailed in Central Asia and far in the direction of Siberia and Europe. The characteristics of the boundless plains, in which the nations combine and blend like clouds of dust, are reflected in the facts of history. In the gorges of the few mountains a people may possibly preserve its individuality. But any nations that have developed without disturbance for a time will at last inevitably be dislodged, destroyed, and absorbed in another nationality, only to share with this in its turn a similar fate. Small tribes carry others along with them, increase like an avalanche, and finally give their name to an enormous nationality composed of most heterogeneous elements. Peoples before whom the world trembled burst like soap-bubbles, and disappear from the pages of history without leaving a trace behind.

The result is that the population of Central Asia becomes more and more homogeneous from the point of view of language and ethnology, and that the national names designate less and less distinct groups of humanity.

Fusion of Races in Central Asia New differences are created only by the degree of civilisation and by the mixture with other races on the edge of the steppe region of Central Asia. Such racial mixtures were naturally formed first where the Aryan nomads adjoined the Mongolian, and where subsequently Iranian agriculturists gained a footing on the pasture lands of Turkestan. The Aryan race lost much ground here from the point of view of language, but from that of anthropology it exercised great influence on the Mongolian peoples. The old long-skulled race is often mixed with the Mongolian in Siberia. On the other hand, the linguistic affinity of the Mongols with the Tibetans and with the inhabitants of Further India has nothing to do with these more recent occurrences, but may point to a very early connection, which cannot for the moment be more accurately determined. A significant trace of this connection is the name of heaven and the god of heaven—Chinese, *tien*, Bureyatic, *tengri*, Altaic, *tengere*, which crops up as *tangaroa* in Polynesia, and was clearly brought there by the Malayan wave of nations from Southern Asia. HEINRICH SCHURTZ.



EARLY HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

ANCIENT TURKESTAN AND THE EARLY NOMADS

THE nation of Mongolian nomads which first formed a constitutional unit, and harassed Eastern Asia for many centuries, were known to Chinese authorities as the Hiung nu. The similarity of this name with that of the Huns, who later flooded Europe and heralded the great migration of nations, has long been noticed, and Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800), the first real student of the history of Central Asia, declared the Huns to be kinsmen or descendants of the Hiung nu. This conjecture has in recent times been corroborated by convincing proofs. We may therefore designate the old Hiung nu by the indisputably more correct name of Huns. They appear in the Indian epics as Huna, in the Avesta as Hunavo, in Greek accounts as Phunoi and Unoi. Linguistically the nation was most akin to the later Turks. The kingdom of the Huns

The First Hun Kingdom

was formed in the modern Mongolia about 1200 B.C., apparently under the influence of a Chinese exile of high rank, who created out of the scattered hordes the beginnings of constitutional unity on the model of his own country. In the preceding century some of these hordes had made inroads on China, but were unable to achieve great results. After the unification of the Huns, and especially after the beginning of the Chau dynasty in China in 1122 B.C., which marks the beginning of the Chinese feudal system, the danger became greater. The scantiness of our sources of information prevents us from deciding whether any connection existed between the wars against the nomads and the growth of the feudal system of partitioning the land.

The first ruler of the Chau dynasty, Wu Wang, had still maintained friendly relations with the Huns, who certainly feared the power of the empire, which had gained fresh strength under his government, and tried to buy his goodwill

by presents. As the imperial power decayed, the attacks were renewed with increased vigour. Northern Shansi was laid waste in 910. Some decades later the Huns must have been driven out from the heart of Shansi, where they had established themselves, by an army under

Invasion of China by the Huns

the personal command of the emperor. There was a recurrence of similar events. There was apparently pasture land enough in China at that time to attract the nomads to a long sojourn, just as afterwards small hordes of nomads frequently settled in the interior of China.

About 700 B.C. the Huns advanced to Shantung; in 650 B.C. they devastated Pechili, and there was a succession of attacks on the country, disintegrated by feudalism, and incapable of any combined resistance, until at last the ruler of the Chin Empire, known as Shih Huang-ti (246-210 B.C.), once more transformed, in 220 B.C., China into a real united state, enormously increased his power by the conquest of Southern China, and proceeded to take prompt and decided steps against the nomads. A powerful army drove out the Huns from the country of Ordo within the northern bend of the Hoang-ho, which was an important position as the rendezvous for nomad invaders. The new possessions were protected by military colonies, and China proper was defended against the attacks of predatory hordes by the

The Great Wall of China

gigantic rampart of the Great Wall. Portions of the Great Wall already existed on the frontiers of some earlier feudal states. Shih Huang-ti connected them so as to form a continuous line of defence, which stretched from the shore of the Yellow Sea to the port of Kansu; if it had been kept in repair and efficiently defended, it would certainly have checked the inroads of the Huns. During the

first period it served its purpose to some extent. It was due to the Great Wall that the attacks of the Huns were now directed against another quarter, and remote regions of Asia indirectly felt the mighty shock. But the chaotic condition into which China relapsed immediately after the death of Shih Huang-ti soon spoilt

Growth of Hun Power

the purpose of the stupendous erection. It was then that the power of the Huns was acquiring new strength under vigorous leaders. Our first comparatively accurate account of the constitution of the Huns dates from the period subsequent to the death of Shih Huang-ti. The eyes of the Chinese were then turned with anxious attention to the increasing power of their nomad neighbours.

The new growth of the Hun Empire began under the rule of Mete, whose father, Tuman or Deuman, had already extended his power from Northern Mongolia to Kansu. Mete, who would have been excluded from the legitimate succession, murdered his father with the help of a devoted army, and was soon able to reanimate the old warlike spirit of his people. He found the territory of the Huns shut in by powerful neighbours on two sides. On the east the Tunglut or Wu hwan, Tungusian tribes akin to the Koreans, had founded a powerful realm and felt themselves so superior to the Huns that they took advantage of the usurpation to claim a high price for their neutrality. On the south-west, on the Altyn in Tagh, were settled the Yue-tshi, a nomad people of Tibetan stock, who were the connecting link of the trade of China and the West, and were perhaps identical with the old Issedones. The Tunglut, deceived by the apparent compliance of Mete, were first attacked and dispersed in 209 B.C.; they withdrew to the highlands of modern Manchuria. A part of the Sien-pé Tartars, or Tungusians, a people living further to the

Neighbours of the Early Huns

the attacks of the Huns, migrated to Korea and Japan. On the east the sea fixed an impassable limit to further shiftings of the position of nations; but on the west, where the Huns now hurled themselves against the Yue-tshi, the movement had room to spread more widely. The Yue-tshi first retreated before the advance of their assailants only into more remote regions

of their own country, to the basin of the Tarim, in 177 B.C. After the death of Mete, in 170, they attempted to recover their old territory, but suffered a second crushing defeat from his successor, which produced a division of the nation in 165 B.C. The smaller part found homes south of the Nanshan range; but the bulk of the people, the "Great Yue-tshi," did not turn southward, but followed the natural trend of the country westward. Driven out from the Tarim basin, they crossed the Tianshan Mountains and sought refuge in the pasture lands on the confines of Europe and Asia, the old arena of the Scythian nomads. On the Issik-kul they came across a shepherd people of Iranian stock, the She, who were compelled to fly before the overwhelming invasion into Ferghana.

Meanwhile the Huns had succeeded in conquering a part of North-west China and East Siberia. The vanquished tribes were not dislodged or made tributary, but to some degree absorbed, since the women were distributed among the conquerors, and the young men were enrolled

Domestic Life of The Huns

in the army. In their life and customs the Huns appear as a people who depended for their existence on cattle-breeding, hunting, and to some extent agriculture, but gave the fullest play to their warlike propensities. The place of honour was given to the young and efficient warriors, and old age was despised. No one was reckoned to have reached full manhood until he had slain at least one foe. The method of fighting which afterward decided the battles of the Western Huns and Mongols—the charge of mounted archers, the feigned flight, and the storm of arrows which laid low the unsuspecting pursuer—was already developed among the ancient Huns, as well as the division of the army into two wings. This military system was maintained in times of peace also. The ruler, or *Shenyu*, who to some degree commanded the centre, had two supreme officials, the Tuchi, or Duchi, under him, one of whom was over the eastern, the other over the western, wing or division of the army and the country. The trend from west to east in the geographical configuration of Asia is again recognisable in this arrangement, which was also adopted by the later great nomad empires. The Tuchi and a number of other high officials could be chosen only



A VIEW ON "THE ROOF OF THE WORLD." CHARACTERISTIC SCENERY IN THE PAMIR MOUNTAINS, CENTRAL ASIA

from the kinsmen of the Shenyu, who, with some few other families, had the virtual government of the empire in their hands.

After the death of Mete, in 170 B.C., the power of the Huns increased at first. The Yue-tshi were completely beaten, and the Usun, one of the fair-haired nomad tribes of Central Asia, were driven from their homes in Kansu to the west, where, following on the steps of the Yue-tshi, they caused these latter to fly before them from the Issik-Kul farther southward. The sphere of the Mongolian language and race was thus considerably extended by the Huns. The growing power of the Hun empire was most dangerous to China, the frontiers of which were perpetually ravaged, and seemed still more threatened, since the Tibetan nomads, who were settled in the western mountains, now began to form alliances with the Huns, and to undertake their raids on a mutual understanding.

It was of no use merely to repel these attacks. If the Chinese wished to free themselves from their oppressors, they were compelled to advance along the old road from Kansu to the Tarim basin, take up strong positions there, separate the southern nomad countries from the northern, and at the same time obtain possession of the indispensable bases and halting-places of the Hun armies to the south of the desert of Gobi. In this way the Western trade also, which had previously depended for its prosperity on the caprice of the nomads, was certain to come under the influences of China. The energetic Emperor Wu Ti (140-87) staked everything on the execution of this colossal plan, entered into alliances with the Yue-tshi and Usun, by this means threatened the Huns in the rear, and finally forced them by successful engagements to retire to the north of Mongolia in 120 B.C. The first step in the advance westward thus taken, and a new era inaugurated in the foreign policy of China.

The Hun empire still maintained its position in the north for some time, and even considerably extended its power toward the west, but the old sovereignty was a thing of the past. The attacks on the neighbouring peoples and disputes for the crown began to disorganise the

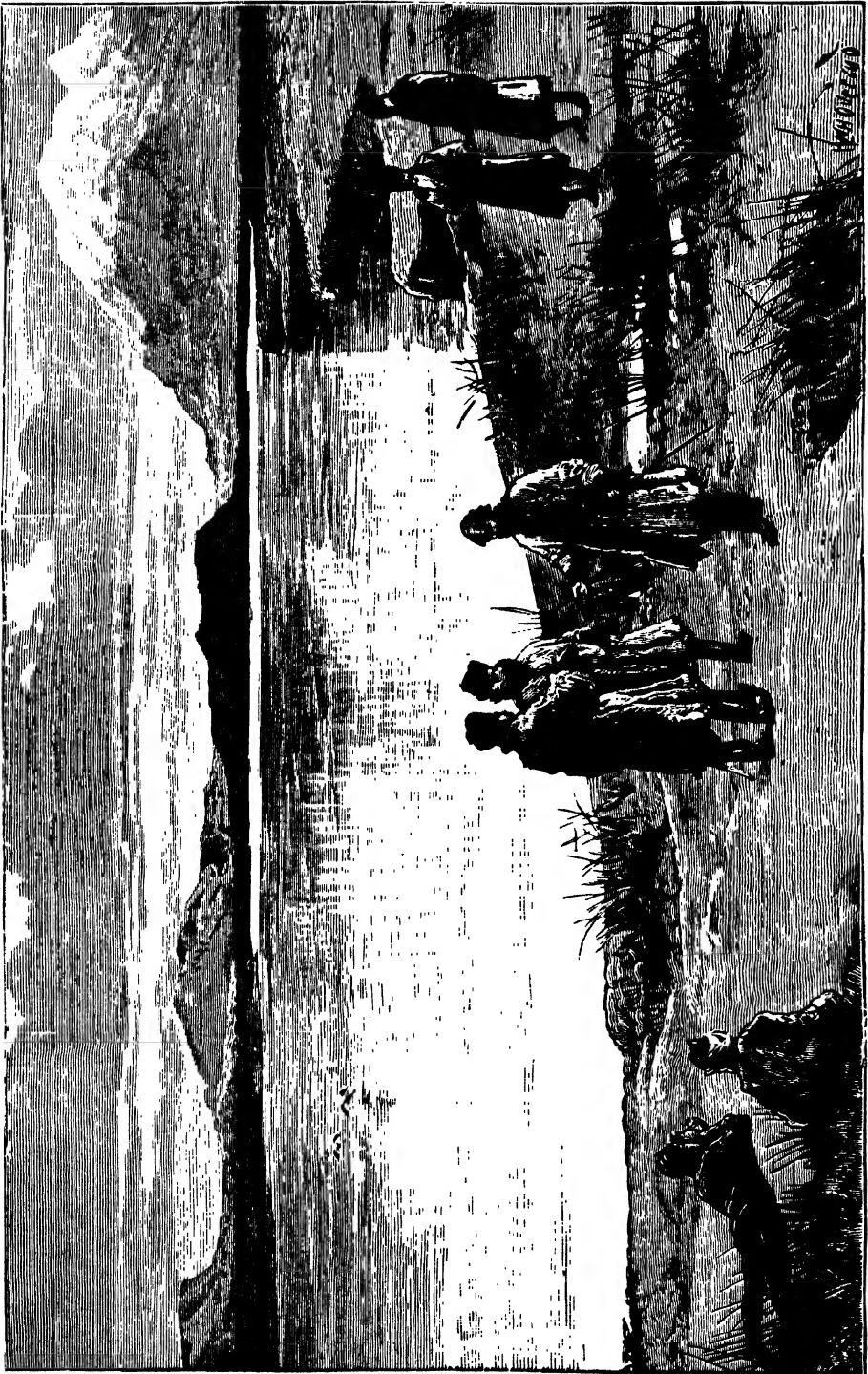
constitution, until finally, about 50 B.C., the empire broke up into a southern and a northern part, of which the first recognised the Chinese suzerainty, while the northern still maintained its independence.

Transitory successes could no longer check the fall of the Hun power, for the Chinese could now play off the southern Huns successfully against the northern Huns, and instigate other nomad tribes against the northern empire, which was encircled by enemies. The northern Hun empire finally, in 84 A.D., succumbed to the attacks, in which even Siberian tribes, and especially the Sien pē Tartars, formerly the victims of the Huns, but now grown strong enough for a new conflict, took part. Some of the Huns fled westward, where they were destined yet to attain great prosperity; the rest were scattered, or were absorbed in the Sien pē, who now possessed the greater portion of Mongolia.

The southern Huns held out longer, at one time as subjects and allies of the Chinese, at another as their opponents, or as supporters of pretenders to the throne.

But after 142 A.D. there was an end to the southern empire of the Huns, though not to the influence of the people on the destinies of China. The Huns, who had familiarised themselves with the Chinese civilisation, gradually began to exert a political influence, and finally emperors of Hun origin for a time sat on the throne of the Celestial Empire, or on those of the fragments into which it broke up. But they no longer ruled as nomad princes; they had become genuine Chinese in act and thought.

The nomadic element in the west of Central Asia was of earlier origin than that in the east, and large migrations of nomad peoples had taken place far earlier there than elsewhere. Some thousand years before the founding of the empire of the Huns, migratory tribes of Aryans had occupied Iran and India. But there the movements met with a certain check. The Iranians did not succeed in penetrating westward into the lowlands of Babylonia; on the contrary, they saw themselves restricted to their new home, and by the influence of the inhabitants who had settled before them, as well as of the ancient civilisation of the country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, they were gradually brought



ON THE GREAT RIVER OF WEST-CENTRAL ASIA: THE OXUS, OR AMU DARIA, LOOKING EAST, NEAR KHOJAILI

over to a settled life, without immediately losing the warlike virtues of their old pastoral existence.

The mixed Iranian people, which was formed from the Aryan immigrants and the aboriginal population, thus became a bulwark of Western Asia against any further inroads of nomads. The shock of

Checking the Wave of Invasion

invading hordes was checked by the resistance of a people clinging more closely to the soil. The Iranians were not pushed further toward Western Asia by vast bodies of men pressing after them, but the great movement of the nations came to a stop. When the Medes and the Persians obtained the sovereignty over the whole of Western Asia, they were already under the spell of the existing Western civilisation, and were unable to give any Iranian character to the newly conquered countries.

It thus follows that the Aryan nomads of Western Asia generally are hardly spoken of for more than a thousand years. The Assyrio-Babylonian records know nothing of them, and no news of them has reached the Chinese. There were, no doubt, numerous battles and movements of nations, but these last were not on the imposing scale of the migration to India and Iran. The arrival of brachycephalic nomad tribes in Central Asia proper must gradually have made its influence felt, with the effect that the Scythian hordes—nomads of Aryan stock—which had pushed far toward the east, were partly absorbed, partly driven back upon the west, where the shocks of their attack continued, wave upon wave.

The last consequence of the mightiest onslaught was the invasion of Asia Minor by the Cimmerians about the year 700 B.C. These were a nomad people of Thracian stock, who pastured their flocks north of the Danube. After them pressed on the Scythians, who again were expelled by the Sarmatians. The first cause of the

Asia Minor the Arena of Race Conflict

movement may perhaps be attributed to the westward advance of the Huns, who had long since founded an empire, and clearly pressed on not only against China, but also toward the west. The Cimmerians threatened Assyria from Asia Minor and Armenia, and by so doing came into contact with the Medes, who were pressing on from the east.

The period of more certain history, which begins with the founding of the

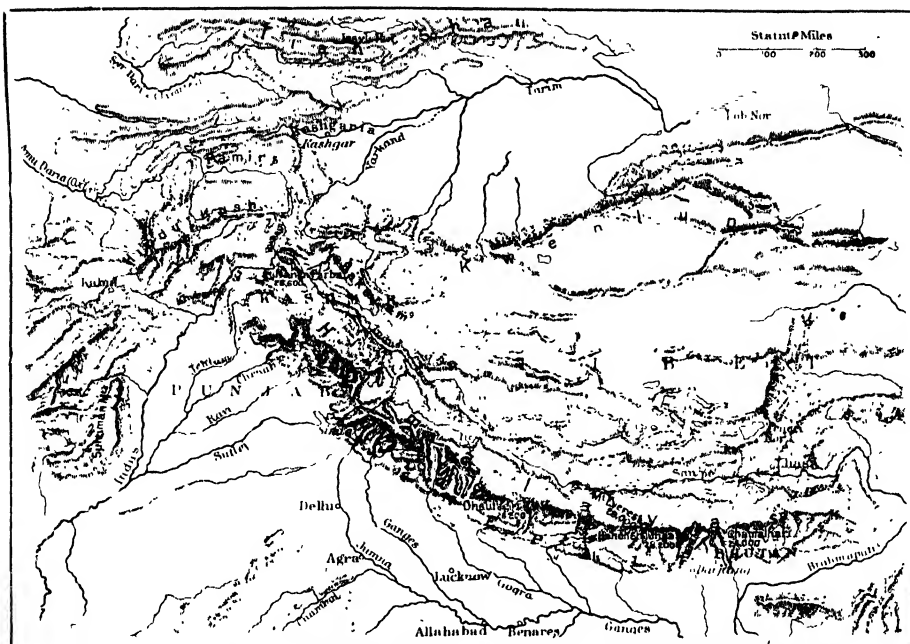
Medo-Persian Empire, shows us at once the settled Iranians at war with the nomads. An incorrect idea, which is explained by the failure of the Greek historians to understand the conditions of Persia, and Eastern Persia in particular, represents the Persians as the aggressors, who coveted the territory of the nomad herdsmen. In reality, the half mythical expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae in 530 B.C., and the well-authenticated march of Darius against the Scythians in 515 B.C., were only attempts to attack the ever-restless neighbours in their own country, and by this means to secure the frontiers. The expedition of Darius in particular was probably based on the plan of attacking the nomad tribes by a sweeping flank movement, and of thus preventing their retreat and finally subjugating them.

The Persian Empire was too short-lived to complete so colossal an undertaking, which would have required the dogged patience of the Chinese. The attempt of Darius, which effectively secured the lower line of the Danube for the Persians, was not repeated. The Scythians, on the

Brief Life of Persian Empire

other hand, realised the weak points in the Persian Empire, as is proved by their somewhat later plan of attacking Persian territory by way of the Caucasian isthmus, for which they tried to obtain the aid of the Spartans, who were intended to make a simultaneous invasion of Asia Minor.

The system of colonisation, which alone promised permanent results, seems to have been prosecuted all the more vigorously from Eastern Iran, and the fact that the majority of the nomads were of Iranian stock, like the Persians, facilitated the movement. It is probable that in quite early times on the Oxus and Jaxartes—that is to say, in Bactria and Sogdiana—states possessing an Iranian civilisation were developed, which were afterward politically united with Persia, although they can hardly have remained in permanent and complete dependence. By the expedition of Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. they were more closely united with the new world-empire of that monarch, and the foundation was laid for a Greco-Iranian civilised state, the Bactrian Empire, which was developed in the Seleucid period about 250 B.C. and showed a considerable vitality. This empire, like the ancient Iranian Bactria, was a bulwark against the onset of the nomads. It



THE GREAT MOUNTAIN SYSTEMS IN AND AROUND TIBET

showed itself a match for the migratory Iranian tribes, and it was only the impact of a non-Aryan shepherd people from Central Asia that for the first time shook once more the strong rampart which guarded Western Asia and India. This new tide of nations, which set in about 100 B.C., was certainly, even if indirectly, due to the Huns.

The nomad tribe of the U-sun had abandoned its home on the borders of China and had retreated westward away from the sphere of the power of the Huns, as related above. Since it followed the roads which led away along the Tian Shan and finally crossed that range, it reached the Issik-Kul, where the Yue-tshi, its predecessors on the same path, had won homes for themselves. These latter were now compelled to give way: but they did not again advance westward, where warlike Scythian tribes barred the way, but turned southward against the Bactrian Empire, the internal disruption of which would have been well known to them as neighbours. The result was that Northern Bactria, the country on the Oxus and Jaxartes, fell easily into their hands, while the rest of the Greek state south of the Hindu Kush maintained its position for the time.

The Parthian kingdom, which successfully undertook the defence of the frontiers against the nomads, had grown up since 250 B.C. in Western and Central Iran. But if Iran was closed to the Yue-tshi, they did not allow the road to India, which from all time had possessed a magic attraction for every conquering people, to be permanently blocked. The southern part of the Bactrian Empire stood for some hundred years more. Then, about 25 B.C., Kozulo Kadphises, who had reunited the Yue-tshi after their division into five clans, subdued the modern Afghanistan. This immediately opened the road to the Indian possessions of the Bactrian Empire.

About the year 10 A.D. Kozulo's successor, Huemo Kadphises, or Kadaphes, advanced into North-western India, and thus laid the foundation of the Indo-Scythian Empire. The Yue-tshi now appear in history as Indo-Scythians. They have frequently been confused at a later date with the White Huns, or Ephtalites, with whom they are absolutely unconnected. Undeniably, the fact that Bactria as far as the borders of Central Asia was then united with large portions of India under one rule did much to make Indian influence, especially the Buddhism

then flourishing in India, felt far away northward. India generally entered into closer and more direct relations with Central Asia. Fifty years after the founding of the Indo-Scythian Empire the Buddhist propaganda had already reached China. This empire of the Yue-tshi showed a stubborn vitality, and broke

Relations of India with Central Asia

up only in the year 579 A.D. A large part of Central Asia first acquires importance for the history and culture of mankind on the appearance of nomad peoples, and as the fountain-head of a disintegrating force; on the other hand, the Tarim basin, which is also called East Turkestan or High Tartary, claims the attention of the historian much earlier and in another sense. By far the greater part of the plain lying between the Tian Shan, the Pamirs, and the Kuen Lun is emphatically a region of steppe and desert. But the mountain streams, the largest of which unite in the River Tarim and the Lob Nor, create a series of fertile oases, which support a considerable permanent population, and form a chain of trading posts along the foot of the mountains. In all probability the oases were more numerous in early times, and the intermediate barren stretches less desolate. The Tarim basin could thus form in ancient days the bridge between the civilisation of Eastern and Western Asia, even if it was not an international highway, and saw at the same time a higher civilisation develop in its fertile regions. The key to many problems of the prehistoric period lies under the burning sands of Eastern Turkestan.

The ancient trade communications through the Tarim basin are certainly to be regarded as a relic of the former connection with civilisation, which was maintained notwithstanding the increasing poverty of the soil and the appearance of barbarous nomad tribes. The nomad, as such, is not inclined to amass the heavy goods which the town merchant stores in his vaults. His chief wealth lies in his flocks and herds, which again depend for their numbers on the possession of the requisite pasture land. Even in the Tarim basin the real traders were thus always to be found among the settled inhabitants of the oases.

The earliest recorded trade which passed through the Tarim basin and brought Eastern and Western Asia into some sort

of communication was the silk trade. The breeding of silkworms, if Chinese tradition does not err, was practised by that people from very ancient times. The Chinese themselves seem to have attached no especial importance to the silk trade with the West, as is shown by the silence of the ancient accounts. The trade accordingly must have been conducted chiefly by foreigners, who were eager to obtain in exchange the highly valued product of China, while it was long a matter of indifference to the Chinese, who were aware that they could very well dispense with the goods received in return.

The imagination of the West was all the more excited by the mysterious Eastern land which produced the costly silk, and attempts to gain further information were made from early times. Herodotus was able to refer to a book of travels, which did not indeed throw light on China itself, but only on the route of the silk trade and the condition of things in the valley of Tarim; this was the Arimaspeia of the Aristeas, which appeared in the seventh century B.C., soon after the Cimmerian

The Home of the Silk Trade

irruption. This narrative, notwithstanding its romantic dress, was probably based on actual explorations and travels. The Issedones, whom Aristeas professes to have reached, were an actual people, and their homes probably lay in the Tarim basin. The western neighbours of the Issedones were the Massagetae—that is, the Iranian nomads, who pastured their herds in Western Turkestan. The name of the Issedones may be of Iranian origin, and have been given to the people, who styled themselves otherwise, by the merchants, who were mainly Iramans. We thus see why Chinese records do not mention the name.

The Issedones were probably a branch of the Tibetan stock, which once spread further northward than now. They are possibly identical with, or at least allied to, the later Yue-tshi, who were expelled by the Huns from their homes in the Tarim basin. But the population of that region can hardly have been homogeneous at the time of Aristeas. The Tibetan Issedones, who are occasionally called Scythians, were far more probably a nomad people, who exercised sovereignty over the country of the oases; but the remnants of the representatives of an earlier civilisation may well have settled



ON THE GREAT TRADE ROUTE OF CENTRAL ASIA

The long commercial highway of Central Asia running right across the southern part of Western Turkestan and through the Tarim basin in Eastern Turkestan is a road unparalleled for its length and difficulties. It has changed its course many times in history as robber nomads gained supremacy in the various districts and a laborious and difficult route has always been preferred to the best road if the latter involved risk of robberies, exorbitant tolls, and other vexatious imposts.

in these oases, precisely as in modern times the towns of Eastern Turkestan are inhabited by a very mixed population. Long-skulled Iranians, who came into the country as traders, or immigrated as agriculturists, may well have mixed here in early times with the permanently settled short-skulled inhabitants and with the

Battles of the Nomads

tribes of the Tibetan nomads. The Arimaspes, a warlike tribe of nomads who seem to have made frequent inroads into the Tarim basin, are mentioned by Aristeas as northern neighbours of the Issedones. By this title he undoubtedly means the Huns, whom we have already seen as invaders of China. In the second century B.C. they also fundamentally altered the conditions of Eastern Turkestan by driving the Yue-tshi westward. The settled population of the oases probably was little influenced by these movements. Aristeas gives noteworthy accounts of the battles of the Arimaspes with the "griffins," the guardians of the gold, who lived to the north of them. These "griffins" are certainly the nations on the Altai, the representatives of the old bronze culture of Southern Siberia, and the builders of those tombs in which great quantities of gold ornaments have recently been found.

Thus the picture of the activity of the warlike nation of the ancient Huns, that leaven of the nomad peoples, is complete on every side. On the east the indelible sons of the desert continually advanced against the rich plains of China; on the south they directed their raids against the representatives of the transit trade of Central Asia, the Tibetan nomads, and the inhabitants of the oases in the Tarim basin; and on the north they harassed the industrious tribes of the Altai with their expeditions. The great Hun campaign, which finally convulsed Europe to its centre, was only a

Preludes to the Shock of Europe

gigantic continuation of these earlier struggles for power and booty. While Aristeas has exhaustively described the Issedones and Arimaspes, he appears to confound the Chinese with the Hyperboreans, the peaceful people on the uttermost border of the world; at any rate, his account of the Hyperboreans as reported by Herodotus almost coincides with the later descriptions of the Seres. The towns and trading settlements in

the Tarim basin, which Aristeas mentions, can partially be identified with still existing modern localities. This is impossible in the case of many, as may be concluded from the great number of towns buried beneath the sand which have been recently explored by Sven Hedin. Further aids toward identification are supplied by the accounts of the Macedonian merchant Maës, or Titianus, who enables us to fix the stations on the East Asiatic trade route in the first century A.D. This road led from Samarkand to Ferghana, whence the "Stone Tower" and the valley of the Kisil Su were reached, at the entrance of which an important trading town lay in the territory of Kasia. This was certainly the modern Kashgar, for which natural advantages of situation have secured uninterruptedly since ancient times a foremost position among the cities of the Tarim basin. The "Scythian Issedon" may be represented by the modern Kuchar, the most important mart of the Turkish tribes settled to the north in the Tian Shan; Asmura may be the present Hami. The first Chinese trading

Ancient Towns Under Modern Names

town in the district of Kansu which was reached by the caravans coming from the west, the modern Su chau, is identified with the ancient Drosache.

The larger centres of trade, from a political point of view, enjoyed certainly some share of independence, although they did not venture on any very stringent measures against the nomads from fear of interruption to commerce. The different vicissitudes in the relations of the nomads to the dwellers in the country and the towns will have been repeated on a small scale in the Tarim basin; at one time brute force, at another the refinements of civilisation, gained the day. The connection with India, the beginnings of which are obscure, was of great importance to this civilisation. In this way Eastern Turkestan became the bridge on which Indian manners and customs, and, above all, Indian religion, passed both to China and the rest of Central Asia, in order, in course of time, to work great revolutions in the character and habits of the Central Asiatic peoples.

The trade which moved on the long commercial highway of Central Asia, a road unparalleled for its length and difficulties, could not always be prosecuted with unvarying uniformity. External

CENTRAL ASIA—ANCIENT TURKESTAN

influences and internal commotions produced the inevitable result that the traffic became brisker at one time, and at another flagged or almost died away, and that the character of the trade altered. In fact, so far as we can survey the conditions generally, we see continual changes occurring. The routes along which the main bulk of trade passes are changed, the customs of commerce are altered; and finally even the wares which East and West exchange are not always the same, but new ones are added to the old.

It is quite in accordance with the nature of commercial intercourse that it always seeks out paths for itself along the line of least resistance. A somewhat difficult and laborious route is preferred to the best road, if the latter involves risk and cost from repeated robberies, exorbitant tolls,

tshi, who possibly are to be identified with the Issedones, the Huns had the northern highway through the Tarim basin in their power, while in the south Tibetan nomads, the Khiang, commanded the roads. It appears from the account furnished in the year 122 B.C. by Chang-kien to his emperor, Wu Ti, after an inquiry into the roads leading to the west and the possibilities of trade, that traffic then went quite in the south through Szechuen and Tsaidam to the southern border of the Tarim basin, while in the north the Huns and in the centre the Khiang barred the roads. These unfavourable conditions largely contributed to the result that the Chinese abandoned their former policy of indifference toward the peoples of the steppe.

Chinese Commercial Enquiry



GENERAL VIEW OF KASHGAR, THE CAPITAL OF EASTERN TURKESTAN

The old town of Kashgar, which dates from 1513, is surrounded by a high clay wall; the new town, of which the above is a view, is also surrounded by massive clay walls and dates from 1838. The population is about 50,000.

and other vexatious imposts. In Central Asia, where, on the one hand, different routes were available for the trade between Eastern and Western Asia, and, on the other hand, the nomads were always ready to plunder the merchants directly by brigandage or indirectly by tolls, commerce clearly changed its roads more frequently than the extant accounts give us to understand. The supremacy of the Huns in the north doubtless largely contributed toward the result that the northern routes were deserted and the traffic restricted to the roads in the Tarim basin. The wars of the Arimaspes with the Issedones may well have partly aimed at securing to the former the monopoly of trade. After the expulsion of the Yue-

Shifting of the Paths of Commerce

There must also have been changes in the customs of trade. Over vast distances trade can be prosecuted in two ways: either one tribe hands on the goods to another by a system of frontier trade, until they finally reach their farthest destination after various exchanges, or the members of one or more peoples adopt the carrying trade as a profession and traverse the whole distance with their wares. It is, of course, conceivable that for part of the distance caravan trade was usual, and for the other transit trade. On the Central Asiatic routes both methods may have been popular, according to circumstances. The transit trade is, however, certainly older than the caravan system on a large scale. Whether it actually in places, as early Western accounts report, took the simple form of

"dumb trade," or whether customs had been ascribed to the half mythical Seres which were observed elsewhere in intercourse with primitive nations, can no longer be ascertained.

It is in accordance with the whole attitude of China to the outer world that the Chinese did not engage in the carrying trade until late, while, on the contrary, the merchants of Iranian stock were continually exerting themselves to obtain the caravan trade over the whole distance. The opponents of the direct traffic between east and west were naturally the nomads; above all, the Huns, who preferred to make the roads a desert rather than to lose the high profits obtainable from the transit trade. The laboriousness and insecurity of the traffic produced the result that large emporia grew up in different places, which served also as markets for the surrounding tribes: such were Samarkand in Western and Kashgar in Eastern Turkestan.

China, as we have seen, originally had little need for commerce with the outer world. Foreigners came to the Middle Kingdom in order to purchase the valued Chinese wares, but the Chinese themselves were quite satisfied to take in exchange all kinds of foreign products, with which they could easily dispense in case of need. The state of affairs could not permanently remain so favourable for China. The constant large exportations inevitably led to the growth of a sort of export industry: that is to say, silk, lacquer, etc., were produced in greater quantities than the home Chinese market required.

If the export trade suddenly stopped, the consequences to China were serious. Besides this, China became gradually accustomed to certain foreign commodities, with which it could not dispense, especially to the spices, drugs, etc., of India and Arabia. Thus any dislocation of trade was severely felt. Such a result ensued when the Huns overthrew the Yue-tshi and barred the valley of the Tarim, while uncivilised Tibetan hordes rendered the roads dangerous in the south. It was an intolerable situation that the Huns should be able to cut off trade communications entirely or to cripple them by excessively high tolls, and the Chinese were inevitably driven to reprisals so soon as an energetic ruler governed them.

**Importance
of China's
Export Trade**

Other considerations prompted an advance into the basin of the Tarim. It was recognised in China that the menacing growth of the power of the nomads could be checked only by the occupation of a strong position in their rear and the division of the steppe region into two sections by a strongly fortified military road. Even in this case the old trade route through the Tarim basin suggested itself as the natural line of direction for the advance, while the trading towns naturally formed suitable bases of operations.

The Emperor Wu Ti, about 125 B.C., tried, therefore, to reopen the trade route of Central Asia, and at the same time to crush the enormously increased power of the Huns. An effort was made to gain for this object the alliance of the hereditary enemies of the Huns, the Yue-tshi, who had just conquered Northern Bactria and Sogdiana, and thus were masters of the western extremity of the Tarim roads. Wu Ti sent to them his general, Chang kien; but, being taken prisoner on the way by the Huns, he did not reach the Yue-tshi until ten years later, and returned to China

after an absence of thirteen years. He had been unable to accomplish his chief object of concluding an alliance with the Yue-tshi and arranging a combined attack on the Huns, since the successes of the Yue-tshi in Bactria had given a new, and for China an unfavourable, turn to the future policy of that people. In compensation he brought back to China a store of information about the Western countries and India. The consequent attempts of Wu Ti to establish communications with India through Tibet were a failure. On the other hand, the war against the Huns was now vigorously prosecuted, and the old trade road was intentionally made the base of operations. The Yumen Pass was occupied and secured by military colonies, while the power of the Huns was weakened by repeated blows and ousted from the Tarim basin. Trade revived, but with the difference that now even Chinese caravans and embassies went westward and there formed political connections, especially with the people of the An-hsi or Ansi, probably the Parthians. The most easterly point of the Parthian Empire appears then to have been Margiana, or Merv, the Mu lu of Chinese accounts. The Chinese, therefore, certainly advanced so far. Many petty states of the Tarim basin,

**Wars to
Reopen
Trade**

CENTRAL ASIA—ANCIENT TURKESTAN

and possibly of the countries lying farther to the west, entered into closer political union with the east, and partially recognised the suzerainty of China. It was not, however, before the year 108 B.C. that the immediate possessions of China were extended to the Lob Nor—that is to say, to the eastern boundary of the basin of the Tarim—and secured by fortifications. Chinese troops later advanced to Kashgar in 101 B.C. But the dominion of China in the Tarim basin was never firmly established, although alliances were frequently concluded with the Usun against the Huns. The power of the latter was still too strong to allow the petty states of Eastern Turkestan and the Uigurians any permanent connection with China. The

deposed the new sovereign, who, rightly or not, was accused of cruel tyranny, and put him to death. A Chinese army then appeared, killed the usurper in turn, and placed on the throne a new monarch, approved by China, who appears also to have asserted his power. The influence of China in the Tarim valley gradually diminished. At the beginning of the first century A.D. the power of Yarkand grew so strong that its king, in 33 A.D., claimed the suzerainty of the entire basin of the Tarim, after his request to be recognised by China as Governor of Eastern Turkestan had been refused. The prayers of the other oppressed minor states and the commercial blockade maintained by the king of Yarkand ought to have forced



AN UNDERGROUND WATER-MILL NEAR BOKHARA IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN

influence of the Huns on the valley of the Tarim and the Western trade rose or fell according to their successes or reverses in their struggle with China.

But the other nomad tribes of Central Asia also interfered in the affairs of those parts. The childless sovereign of the small kingdom of Yarkand had destined a son of the king of the Usun to succeed him. The inhabitants of Yarkand, after the death of their monarch, with the consent of the Chinese Emperor Hsuan Ti, summoned this prince from China, where he was being educated, and in 64 B.C. placed him on the throne, thus hoping to secure for themselves the protection of the Usun and of the Chinese. But the brother of the late king, with the help of the Huns,

Shi Tsu to take vigorous action. The war with Yarkand, however, was left mainly to the Huns, who harassed the new kingdom in the Tarim basin for decades, with varying success.

The second great advance of the Chinese towards the West did not begin until 72 A.D. The wish to open up communications with the West was then stimulated by the introduction of the Buddhist teaching, which had entered China through the Tarim basin. A deputation which Ming Ti, the second emperor of the later or Eastern Han dynasty, had himself sent to the Yue-tshi had returned in 65 A.D., and brought back detailed information about Buddhism. The emperor, in consequence, was induced to erect a statue of Buddha

in his capital, and to show peculiar favour to the new doctrine, without, however, giving it preference over the doctrines of Confucius. The chief cause, however, of the renewed advance westward was doubtless the circumstance that the South Huns

United Action by the Two Hun Nations

had once more combined with the North Huns to block the traffic, and had completely disorganised the sufficiently unsatisfactory conditions already existing in the Tarim basin. Various Chinese armies marched against the Huns in the year 72, one of which, under the command of the general Pan Chau, followed the old trade route to the Tarim basin. The appearance of this renowned commander and diplomatist immediately secured the victory of Chinese influence among the petty states, which had all suffered under the insecurity of trade and the military policy of the Huns.

This time the Chinese were not content with the easily-acquired spoil. They had heard, meanwhile, that a mighty empire of Ta-tsin, the Roman world-empire, lay in the west. The remarkable magnetic force exercised on each other by great states, which lies at the root of their conditions of existence and compels them gradually to absorb all petty intervening states and to form a well-defined frontier, began to assert its power here, although its complete triumph was prevented by the immensity of the distance to be traversed. The Chinese never obtained accurate knowledge of the Roman Empire. Probably they were partly acquainted with the eastern half only, and thought Antioch the capital of the Empire. The name Fu lin for the Roman Empire, which subsequently occurs, seems to be derived from Bethlehem, and thus to point to the Christian faith of the later Romans.

The campaign of Pan Chau, which took him nearly to the confines of Roman influence, dates some decades after the conquest of the Tarim basin. Pan Chau crossed the range of mountains to the west, traversed the territory of the Yue-tshi, and finally, in 102 A.D., reached the Caspian Sea, whence he sent explorers further to the west in order to prepare for an attack on the Roman Empire. The unfavourable report, however, which he received and his advanced age forced him to return to China, where he died shortly after.

The political importance of his conquest was considerable, but could hardly be lasting. The numerous petty states, which, at the sight of his army, had sought the protection of China, had no choice but to make terms with their other powerful neighbours, now that China ceased to lend them assistance. The revenue from tribute, gifts, and tolls which China drew from the western countries was far from being sufficient to cover the great outgoings. And the traditional Chinese policy, which would hear nothing of any expansion of the old boundaries and attached little importance to the promotion of trade, now reasserted itself. There was, as early as 120 A.D., a feeling in favour of abandoning all possessions beyond the Yumen Pass, and it was due to the advice of a son of Pan Chau that the military road, at least as far as the Tarim basin, was retained. The disorders which soon afterward broke out in China completely checked any vigorous foreign policy, while maritime commerce diminished the importance of the overland trade. The petty states in the Tarim basin for many years subsequently led a quiet existence, influenced by India more than by China.

Decay of Chinese Influence



SAND MOUNTAINS NEAR THE OASIS OF SA-CHAN IN CHINESE TURKESIAN



TURKESTAN IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES AND THE RISE AND FALL OF THE NOMAD NATIONS

THE advance of the Chinese toward the West, in spite of the bold plan of Pan Chau to attack the Roman Empire, inflicted no injury upon civilisation, but, on the whole, was beneficial to it. Far more momentous was the turn of events when the nomad hordes of Central Asia sought an outlet in Western Asia and Europe. Northern India had already fallen into the hands of the Yue-tshi, and the hour was approaching when a great part of Europe also would tremble beneath the scourge of the yellow races of the steppes. The main body of the Huns, when their star had set in Mongolia, hurled themselves against the civilised nations of the West. The consequences which the onslaught of the Huns, and, in close connection with it, the advance of other Asiatic nomads, had for Europe, do not come into the history of Central Asia: but it is worth our while to glance at the development of

Progress Before the Hun Exodus

Asiatic affairs up to the emigration of the Huns. The western civilised world had long escaped any dangerous attacks from the nomad peoples of Asia and Europe, perhaps because the nomads of East Europe became gradually more settled and paid more attention to agriculture. The Alani, who are identical with the Aorsi of earlier accounts, seem to have been the most influential nation. Probably this is to be regarded only as a collective name for the nomad tribes, who occupied the region from the Black Sea to the Sea of Aral, and were composed partly of the remains of Irano-Scythians, partly of Ural-Altaians. The proper bearers of the name were settled in the first century B.C. to the north of the Caucasus, where they fought against Pompey in the year 65 B.C.; they then spread themselves further over the steppe, and appear to have ruled, for a time at least, over most of the nomad tribes of the region of Pontus and the Caspian. There were frequent but unimportant contests with the Romans. According to Chinese records, a part of the country of the Alani

belonged for a time to Sogdiana, a fact which argues armed complications on that frontier. Attacks through the Caucasian gate on Persian and Roman territory occurred several times, but there was no immense migration until the advance of the Western Huns. The first

The First March of Hun Nomads

march of Hun nomads towards the West took place about the middle of the first century B.C., when the Hun empire was thrown into the most violent confusion by internal seditions. Several rulers tried simultaneously to usurp the power, and waged bitter war on each other. When at last one of the pretenders, Huhanyé, appeared to be victorious, his own brother, the "Viceroy of the East," rose against him. This Chichi, as he now called himself, expelled his brother from the capital, but then turned to the west; and since he could not hold the whole empire, founded an independent power, which he gradually extended further westward. The circumstance that a prince in Sogdiana called in his help against the Usun enabled him to transfer the seat of his power to the region of the Sea of Aral. Part of the Alani in that district were perhaps already subject to the Huns. The wars with the Chinese in the Tarim basin ended with the death of Chichi, in 36 B.C., and greatly weakened the Hun power.

Their power did not revive until, in the year 90 A.D., another Hun prince with a large part of his people marched westward and joined the earlier emigrants. This migration was due to the complete collapse of the empire of the Eastern Huns. In both of these migrations it was the most warlike and strongest part of the population which turned westward. The West Huns, therefore, were the picked men of their traditionally war-loving and adventurous race. Their people can hardly have remained unmixed during its migrations, but it probably incorporated the bravest

men from the conquered tribes. In this way a new nationality might well be developed, whose thirst for wars would prove fateful for even distant regions, so soon as an occasion should arise when this concentrated energy could find an outlet. The Chinese, after the advantages gained in the west by the advance of Pan

Conflict Between Huns and Chinese

Chau had been mostly relinquished, had, at the beginning of the second century A.D., to face new contests with the Huns and their Uigurian allies in the Tarim basin. After the middle of the century the West Huns disappear from the horizon of the Chinese, a fact which suggests that the warlike nomads, finally renouncing any plans for the reconquest of their old homes in Mongolia, turned their attention in other directions. For two centuries more they seem to have been content with minor hostilities, until at last, in 350 A.D., the avalanche began to roll. The Huns attacked the Alani first, killed their king, and brought the people partly under their power, and partly forced them in panic further to the west. The great steppe of Eastern Europe and Siberia was thus opened to the Huns and the direction of their further advance suggested. That the storm of conquest did not sweep down on Persia, the fertile plains of which certainly aroused the greed of the marauders, was due to the awe with which the still powerful Neo-Persian empire of the Sassanids inspired the nomads.

The appearance of the Huns would not have had nearly so great an influence on Europe had it not been that the Roman Empire was already beginning to decay and that the Germanic races were in confusion and disorder. The convulsions which shook Europe when the Huns, under the leadership of Balamir, in 375, invaded the Danubian countries do not concern the history of Asia. It is unlikely that all the Huns and Alani took

The Huns Convulse Europe

part in the movement toward the west; on the contrary, the Hun supremacy was still maintained in the region of Pontus and the Caspian. For when, after the death of Attila, in 453, their European empire broke up, the rest of the people withdrew once more to the east, and found a refuge there in the old homes of the Huns and Alani. The sovereignty of those regions devolved on Attila's favourite son Irnach. In the

sixth century the empire gradually disintegrated into petty states, whose princes frequently interfered in the wars between Persia and Byzantium, or took up arms against each other. In 558 an army of Huns advanced to the gates of Constantinople. As the power of the Huns broke up, the separate elements of which this heterogeneous nation of warriors was composed recovered individual importance, until finally even the name of Huns disappeared from history.

The same fate befell another very mixed branch of the Hun nation, the White Huns, or Hephthalites, who had firmly planted themselves in the modern Khiva and, after 420, made vigorous attacks on Persia. The Sassanid king, Peroz, fell in battle against them in 484. The year 531 saw the last fights with these Huns, some of whom were destined to reappear under a new name and mixed with other nations as Kharismians.

After the disruption of the great Hun Empire in Central Asia and the retreat of most of the Huns to the west, the major part of Mongolia had fallen to the Sien pē, since the Chinese had neither the wish nor the power to hold the immense region of the steppes. This Tungusian nation came originally from the modern Manchuria, and, by its advance to the west, during which it probably absorbed the remnants of the Huns and other inhabitants of the steppes, it introduced a new ingredient into the hotch-potch of nations in the pasture-lands of Mongolia. Like all nomad peoples the Sien pē broke up into a number of petty states, which usually had their own political systems, but were occasionally united under an energetic ruler, and then constituted a formidable power, which soon made its influence felt in China and the Tarim basin.

Some such rapid rise of the Sien pē occurred about 150 A.D., when Tin shih huai placed himself at the head of one of their tribes and soon extended his power far over the adjacent peoples. This new nomad empire was hardly inferior in size to the earlier Hun empire, and comprised roughly the same countries, because then, as formerly, the line of least resistance lay due east and west. Even the division of their gigantic territory into a central kingdom with an eastern and a western province was once more adopted by the Sien pē.

CENTRAL ASIA—MEDIÆVAL TURKESTAN

Since it was virtually the personality of the ruler which kept the empire together, the power of the Sien pē was considerably diminished by the death of their first prince, in 100, and would certainly have given way to the influence of China had not this danger been averted by the overthrow of the Han dynasty in China in 220, and by the disorders which subsequently ensued. The Sien pē were thus able to realise for a moment the great ambition of the ruling nomad tribes—namely, to bring under their control the Western trade. Like the Huns before them, they had, for this purpose, to come to terms with the Tibetan nomads in the south of the Tarim basin.

During the civil wars in China several hordes of the Sien pē found a welcome opportunity of migrating into that country, where they either served as mercenaries or founded independent states. The most powerful of these tribes were the To ba. Between 338 and 376 the house of To ba ruled the state of Tai in Northern Shansi. In 386 Kuei, who belonged to that dynasty, founded there the Northern Wei, which expanded farther and farther over Northern China, until it practically covered the

also a member of the house of To ba, Governor of Hohsi after 394, declared himself King of Hsi ping in 397, and formed the state of Nan Liang, which was



A KURD OF TURKESTAN



KALMUCK WOMEN OF TURKESTAN

same area as the Wei of the Three Kingdoms. In 534 Pei Wei broke up into the Eastern Tung and the Western Wei, which were overthrown in 550 and 557. Wu ku,

conquered in 414 by the prince of Hsi Chin. The To ba had soon become Chinese in life and thought, and they were forced to confront their kinsmen, the nomads of the steppes, entirely in the spirit of the traditional policy of China.

The condition of Mongolia had changed in the course of time. The empire of the Sien pē crumbled away after the strongest and most numerous hordes had migrated to China, and its place was taken by a new one under the rule of the Yen Yen, a mixed people, which apparently had incorporated fragments of primitive Siberian peoples, but linguistically belonged to the Turko-Tartar race. In the early stages of their history the Yen Yen appear to have acquired so invidious a reputation for barbarity and vice that they aroused disgust even among their nomad neighbours, who certainly were not fastidious in this respect. The emperors of the Wei dynasty long held this refractory people in check. The Yen Yen ultimately established their power at the close of the fourth century by the subjugation of the industrious tribes of the Altai range; they proceeded further to the west and obtained possession of the Central Asiatic trade

routes, and extended their influence over Mongolia as far as the frontiers of Korea. The ruler to whom they owed this rapid rise was Talun. From the name of his successor, Tataru, is said to be derived the designation "Tartars," which in time has become usual for the peoples of the Turko-Mongolian stock. The To ba in

Struggles for Trade Routes

Northern China soon saw themselves involved in arduous wars with the new nomad empire, but in the end proved fully a match for it. After the Yen Yen, in 425 and on many subsequent occasions, had received heavy reverses in their attacks on China, and had been pursued into their own territory, the Pei Wei, according to the time-honoured Chinese policy, extended their influence once more along the old trade route to the west, and thus sapped the very foundations of the opposition of the nomads. Alliances with the two other empires, into which China was then divided, those of the Sung and the Liang, brought little advantage to the Yen Yen; they were repeatedly defeated, and were unable to regain the command of the trade routes, although in the year 471 they reduced the kingdoms of Kashgar and Khotan to great straits. The Yen Yen were not completely overthrown by the Chinese. It was not until the middle of the sixth century that their kingdom, weakened by internal dissensions, fell before the onslaught of the Turks. A great part of the people followed the example of the Huns and fled to the west. The Avars, who soon afterward appeared as conquerors in East Europe, are probably identical with the Yen Yen. Like the remnants of the Yen Yen in Central Asia, the Avars finally disappeared altogether, or were absorbed by the other nations.

When we see these nomad empires attaining such gigantic size and then completely disappearing, we may easily forget that Central Asia was not exclusively a region where wandering hordes fed their flocks and herds, but that it offered homes and food to more or less settled peoples. It has already been shown how flourishing and comparatively civilised settlements developed in the Tarim basin, owing to its favourable position for the trade between East and West, and became the centres of small states. But there were trade routes even further north which led

to the west, and at the foot of the mountains lay districts which were adapted for agriculture. Still further away towered the Altai, with its rich mines, the focus of a primitive civilisation, which, in spite of countless raids by nomads, was still vigorous.

It is certain that numerous towns and permanently settled nations were to be found from the Tian Shan to the Altai. Political power, however, lay mostly in the hands of the nomads, who stamped their character on the constitution of the country, and thus do not appear even in the earliest records as true disseminators of culture. The Uigurians were long the most important nation of this region; they formed the nucleus of the nine Oghuz, or hordes, to which the Tongra, Sukit, Adiz, Sap, etc., belonged. A distinction was made between a northern branch of the Uigurians, which was settled on the Selenga and subsequently spread to the sources of the Yenissei, and a southern branch in the south and east of the Tian Shan. While the northern Uigurians, called by the Chinese Kao che, or Thin le,

Rise of Mixed Civilisations

did not attain any high degree of civilisation, the southern Uigurians, whose country was touched or traversed by the most important trade routes from west to east, were not unaffected by the civilised nations. A remarkable mixture of civilisations, which had a momentous influence on the life of the other nomad peoples, was developed in the towns of the southern Uigurians.

The supremacy of the Yen Yen in Mongolia was broken by the Turks, a nation which significantly became powerful on the Altai. The Turks, it is true, do not belong at all to the old representatives of civilisation of Yenissean stock on the Altai; they were genuine nomads of Mongolian descent, probably one of those fragments of the great Hun people, which gradually increased again in numbers and importance. But the mineral wealth of the Altai doubtless furnished a source of power, which they knew how to use, whether they themselves mined and smelted, or entrusted this work to their subjects, the old settled inhabitants.

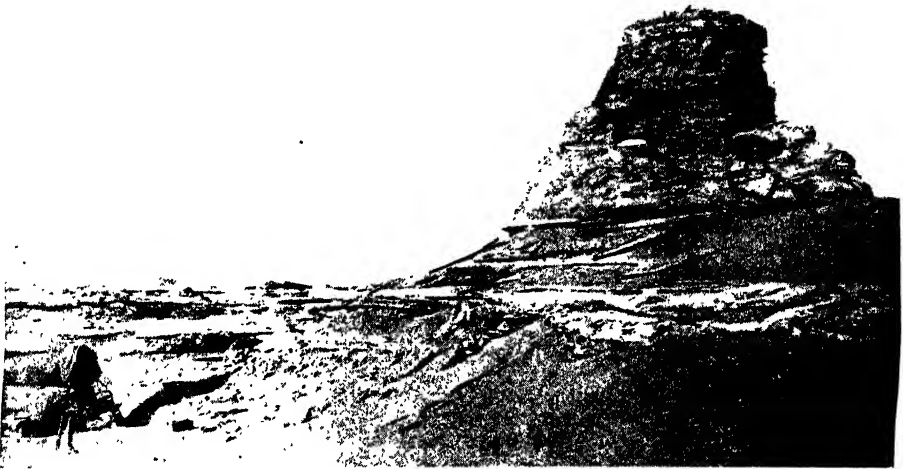
The term "our smiths" which the Yen Yen applied to the Turks on the outbreak of the war, was probably only a deliberate taunt, and not in accordance with facts. It must be observed, however, that among

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the nomads of Central Asia the trade of the smith was held in high esteem, quite otherwise than, for example, among the nomad tribes of North Africa; and that in Mongolian tradition even the legendary national hero, Genghis Khan, appears as a smith. At any rate, the superior armament of breastplates, helmets, swords, and lances, and the marvellous "singing arrows," rendered possible by the rich mines, contributed greatly toward securing for the originally not very numerous Turks the victory over their opponents.

The national legend of the Turks traces the descent of the nation from a boy whom a she-wolf suckled. This tradition,

the northern Uigurians with the Yen Yen offered to the Turks a welcome opportunity of further advances. At the first contest of the two peoples, in 490, the Turks made no movement, but when, in the year 536, a Uigurian army marched eastward, and in so doing touched Turkish territory, the ruling chief of the Turks, Tu myn, attacked and conquered them, and incorporated into his people the whole tribe of 50,000 Yurtes. The ease with which this amalgamation was effected betokens the close affinity which existed between the peoples on the boundless steppes of Central Asia. Tu myn was now in a position to defy the Yen Yen, whose power had long



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REMNANT OF A PERISHED CIVILISATION IN THE SAND WASTES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Dr. Sven Hedin's excavations have thrown a flood of light upon the former prosperity of the Tarim basin. Where there are now wastes of sand, which can be traversed with difficulty by riding animals, once stood waving fields, green forests, and smiling villages. Under this clay ruin Dr. Hedin found cart-wheels, coins, and domestic vessels.

which recalls the story of Romulus and Remus, refers, like it, to totemistic customs, for a golden wolf-head was the badge of Turkish warriors. The scanty Chinese accounts represent the Turks as a branch of the Aschin Huns, who, after their expulsion from China by the Wei dynasty, placed themselves under the protection of the Yen Yen, and were allotted in 439 settlements on the southern slopes of the Altai. Few traces of Chinese civilisation seem to have been retained by them; on the other hand, they appear to have acquired some culture from the Uigurians, to which fact the adoption of the Uigurian script points. The feuds of

been tottering, and he did so after the prince of the Yen Yen had contemptuously rejected him as a suitor for the hand of one of his daughters. In the year 552 the overthrow of the empire of the Yen Yen was complete, and the Turks now assumed the headship of the Central Asiatic nomads, whose conditions on the whole were little altered by this change of rulers.

Since the traditional policy of aggression against China was rendered hopeless by the now firmly-consolidated power of that state, the Turks turned toward the west, along the road which the Huns had pointed out to all succeeding peoples;

even Uigurjan armies had penetrated to the Volga in 463. Their first success was the subjugation of Sogdiana, where the descendants of the Yue-tshi still maintained their supremacy, and an advance had been made toward the Tarim basin. By the year 437 nine states existed in Sogdiana which were ruled by princes of the dynasty of the Can-wu.

Campaigns of the Nomad Turks The most important of them was Sumarkand. In Tashkent, Ferghana, and Kharismia other dynasties occupied the thrones. The conquest of Sogdiana, the petty states of which, however, had hardly disappeared, gave the Turkish conquerors an interest in the Western trade, especially in the export of silk from Sogdiana, which was then hindered by the Persians, probably because in Persia itself the breeding of silkworms was a prevalent industry, and also because silk was obtained from China by the sea route. The attempt to win the desired object from the Persians by diplomacy led to a long series of hostile complications.

The Turks then, in 569, determined to enter into direct communication with the Byzantines, who must have been equally interested in breaking the Persian trading monopoly. A Turkish embassy arrived at Constantinople, in consequence of which Zimarch went to the capital of the Turkish Great Khan in the Altai with a commission from Justin II., the Byzantine Emperor. We possess his detailed account of the journey, and of the battles of the Turks against the "White Huns" and the Persians, at some of which he was present. We learn from him also that the west of the Tarim basin then fell into the power of the Turks. Later, the Byzantines also, in spite of their cautious policy, were hard pressed by the Turks, since with the period of the Turkish power generally a fresh flood of Central Asiatic tribes poured over Western Asia and Europe. The Khazars,

Turks in Touch with Byzantium who advanced in 626 to East Europe, were a detached fragment of the Turkish nation. As might be expected, attacks were made on China so soon as any opportunity presented itself.

China now adopted her successful policy of sowing seeds of dissension among the nomads. The Turkish Empire, like the earlier empires, split up into three portions, an eastern and a western province, which were governed by a viceroy, and the

centre, which, both in peace and war, was under the command of the supreme ruler. The Chinese, about the year 600, succeeded in weakening permanently the power of the Turks by dividing the empire into an eastern and a western part.

In the year 630 the Chinese armies won a brilliant victory over the eastern Turks, in which the khan, Kin Li, was captured; thus Chinese influence was again extended to Sogdiana. The eastern empire then broke up into a number of weak and petty states; but part of the Turks migrated to China, where settlements were assigned to them in order that they might serve as a frontier guard against other nomad tribes. The people, which had not forgotten its old fame, became in Chinese territory once more so strong that, in 681, under Qutluq, it was able to shake off the Chinese rule and spread its influence over Mongolia. The power of the Turks grew still stronger under Me chun, the brother and successor of Qutluq, who skillfully availed himself of the disputes for the Chinese throne. Once more the Turkish Empire became a mighty power. Even

Turks Again in the Ascendant the western Turks seem temporarily to have been subjugated, and the Turkish supremacy was re-established in Sogdiana, where the petty states of the Yue-tshi still existed.

After Me chun's death, Kultegin, the commander of the army, a nephew of the dead man, murdered the lawful heir, his cousin, and placed his own brother Me ki lien on the throne. We have accurate accounts of these events from the inscriptions on the grave-pillars of Orkhon. The east Turkish Empire still kept its position as a formidable power. But its decline began, and the end was produced by a coalition of the Uigurians and Chinese in the year 745. From that date the Turks almost disappear from the history of Central Asia. The fall of the Turkish power was hastened by the advance of the Arabs, who in the meantime had conquered Persia and penetrated to Sogdiana, where some of the princes sought help from the Turks and fought with chequered success against their new oppressors. In 712 the Arabs won a brilliant victory over the allied Sogdians and Turks, the latter probably being led by Kultegin. In the year 730, however, they met with a severe defeat at Samarkand from the same antagonists. The necessity of defending

CENTRAL ASIA—MEDIÆVAL TURKESTAN

themselves on different sides certainly helped to effect the rapid fall of the east Turkish Empire.

The western Turks, soon after their separation from the eastern empire, had been forced to acknowledge a sort of suzerainty of Persia. In 620, however, they felt themselves strong enough to extend their empire—which must have lain between the Altai and the Sea of Aral and to invade Persia and Sogdiana. Turkish mercenaries or allies played a momentous part in the contests for the Persian throne at that time. All the conquered territory, indeed, was very loosely united, as is invariably the case with nomad empires, and when occasion offered it was the more easily broken up again, since the nomad is never so closely attached to his country as the agriculturist. Instances occur where entire nations crossed the

Turks in Western Asia

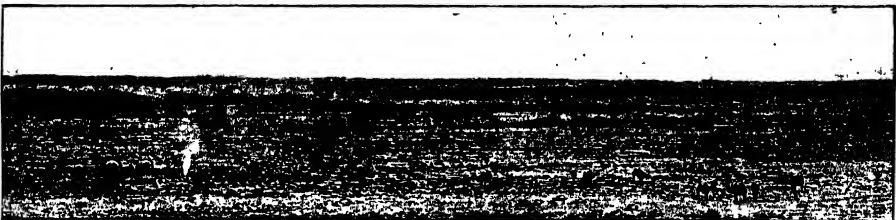
steppes of Central Asia in their fullest extent, in order to escape the yoke of a hated conqueror and to seek protection perhaps on the Chinese frontier. The western Turks then had command of the northern trade routes of Central Asia so far as they passed through the Uigurian country. Since the Chinese favoured the southern roads through the Tarim basin, Turks and Uigurians combined and, in 630, invaded the petty states of that district, attacked Hami, which was occupied by the Chinese, and thus compelled China to act on the defensive. These disorders lasted for a long time, but finally ended in favour of the Chinese. Soon afterwards the advance of the Arabs through Persia was felt by the western Turks, while the Chinese armies pressed on threateningly from the east. The result was the almost complete fall of the power of the western Turks, whose inheritance passed for a short period to the Tibetans, who had become powerful in the interval.

It was not until the year 700 that the empire revived, only to find itself soon afterwards entangled in bitter wars with the Arabs. It was more affected by remarkable factions at the court and within

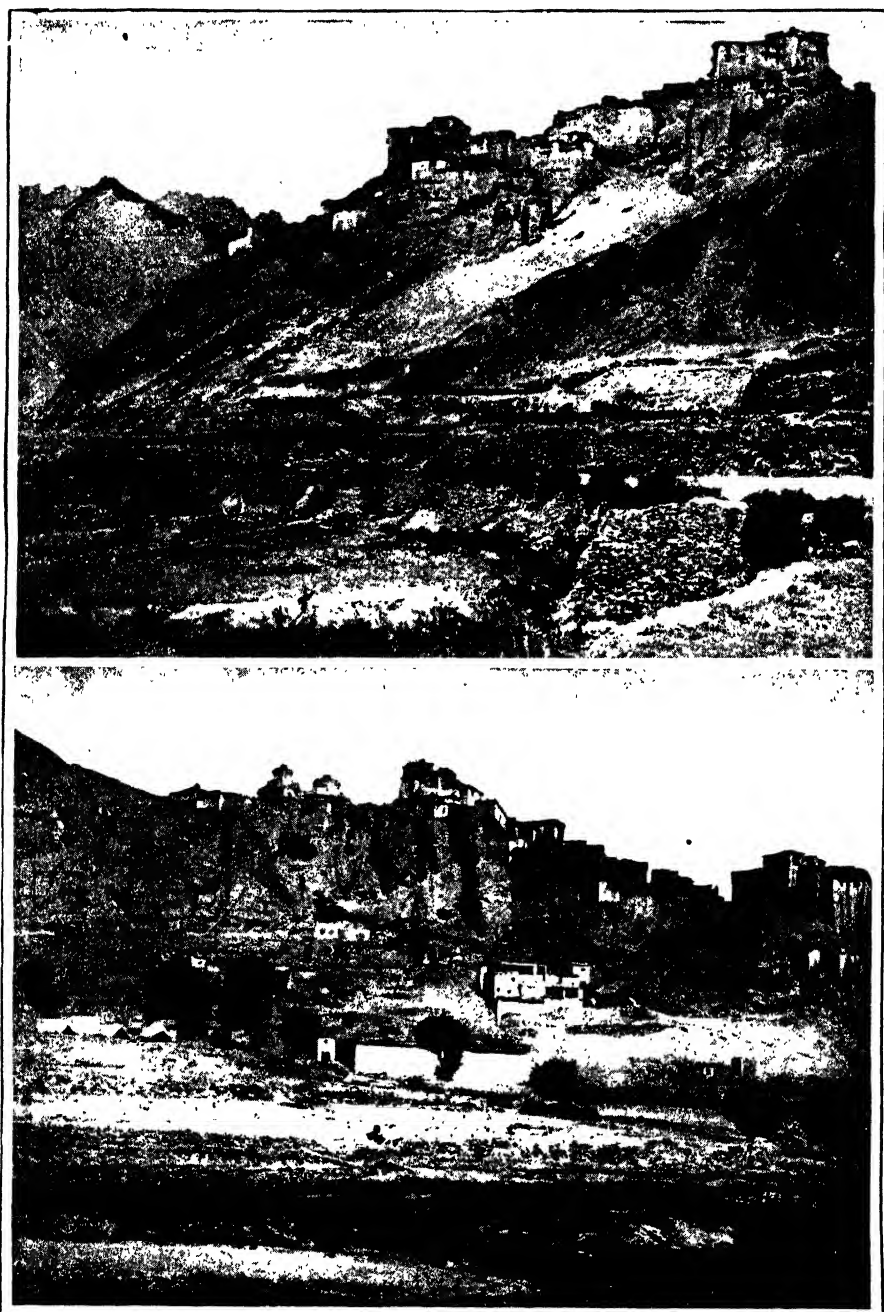
The Turks and Arabs at War the tribal federation, the true cause of which, whether ethnic, social, or political, cannot be discovered. There was a black and a yellow party, which often fought furiously together, and put forward their own candidates whenever the succession to the throne was disputed. The complete overthrow of the empire was effected in 760 by the Qarluk, a tribe of the Turko-Mongolian race living to the west of the Altai range. The remnants appear in later history as Ghuzes.

In Central Asia the place of the Turks as the dominant people was taken by the nomad Uigurians, who were then called Hoei He. Their chief opponents were the Kirghiz in South-western Siberia, who now for the first time came forward as a powerful people and tried to enter into direct relations with China. In alliance with the Chinese they shattered the Uigurian supremacy in the year 830. The question at issue seems once more to have been the command of the trading communications with the west. The Kirghuz then appeared as the connecting agents, who conducted Arabian caravans to China with armed escorts through the hostile Uigurian territory. The Kirghiz never founded an empire of equal extent with that of the Huns or Turks. The Uigurian empire was always restricted to a limited area.

Later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the nation of the Khitan, which was mainly of Tungusian stock, extended its rule from Manchuria over a large part of the steppes of Central Asia, until the Mongols founded a new world-empire in that region.



ON THE GOBI DESERT, WHICH THE CHINESE APTLY TERM 'THE SEA OF SAND.'



TWO VIEWS OF A CHARACTERISTIC TIBETAN TOWN OF ANCIENT DATE

These views of a Tibetan town show the general practice of building the Lamaite monasteries upon the crests of the ridges, while on the face of the hill-side are the cave-like dwellings in which the peasant laity find their homes.



RISE AND FALL OF THE OLD EMPIRE OF TIBET

TIBET for a long period was little affected by the enormous revolutions that convulsed Central Asia, and in any case it was only its frontier that felt them. These frontier tribes of Tibet were formerly further removed from the centre. On the south, the Himalayas always formed a strong barrier, but to the north Tibetans were settled as far as the Tarim basin, and even a great part of South-eastern China was filled with Tibetan tribes, which were only gradually absorbed by the Chinese population. Tibet proper lay completely off the main track. The routes of trade and culture did not traverse the country; and the desolate plateau, scorched by intolerable summer heats and lashed by winter snowstorms, did not allure the neighbouring nomads to daring raids, which might at least have interrupted the stereotyped monotony of existence, and have created movement and life. The achievements of civilisation were slow in permeating this region, and it was long before the seeds of progress sprang up from the barren ground.

The Slow Advance of Tibet

Originally all Tibetan peoples must have lived that life of mere hunters which appears to be the lowest grade of human existence. Tibet, in spite of its desolation, was adapted for this mode of life. However poor it might be in edible wild plants, it teemed with beasts of the chase, which even now cover the country in immense herds. The agricultural life, which originated with the short-skulled race, was followed only in the advanced posts of the Tibetan people, where they settled in the Tarim basin on the trading route, and found in the oases suitable tracts of country at their disposal. The reason why it did not spread further toward Tibet is mainly that the only districts at all adapted for agriculture lay far to the south, in the upper valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Indus. Any germs of culture that developed in these southern tracts were brought from India, and, naturally, not until the Aryan inhabitants of India had created a civilisa-

tion of their own. This circumstance helps to explain the slow advance of civilisation in Tibet as well as the far-reaching influence of India on what was once purely a Central Asiatic region.

What the inhabitants of Northern and Central Tibet derived from Central Asia was not the old agricultural life, but the newer social economy of the nomad tribes. It must remain a moot point whether Tibetans were in this mere recipients, or whether by the domestication of the yak they did not materially add to the number of useful animals. The wild yak is spread so far to the north that a tribe of Turko-Mongolian or even Aryan race may have made the first attempts at breeding them. In any case, the waggon was hardly known in Tibet as a means of transport, but animals, and especially the yak, were exclusively used to carry burdens. The introduction of nomadic habits gave the Tibetans, especially those of the north, a greater mobility, allowed an increase of population, and gradually taught them the warlike, marauding life peculiar to all nomads. It would seem that the bow also, which is not the national weapon in Tibet, was introduced from the north.

The Tibetan tribes may have waged little wars on each other, and also on the nomad peoples of Mongolian race living to the north, but no historically important struggles took place until the growing power of Tibet sought its booty among the settled nations. The roads to the south and west were completely barred, but, in compensation, the great commercial route on the north, with its trading stations and oases, was exposed to attack, and on the north-east the riches of China itself presented a goal for profitable raids. In Mongolia the mighty empire of the Huns had already been formed out of small tribes, which combined for such marauding expeditions. In Tibet, where the conditions were far less favourable, the political unification

Lessons in Social Progress

Growing Power of Tibet

of the separate hordes began far later and was less successful. Occasionally, indeed, some frontier tribes had an opportunity of interfering in the internal affairs of China. A doubtful account states that Tibetan auxiliaries appeared in the Chinese service in 1123 B.C., but

Growth of Political Unity

no large empire appears to have been formed until the advent of Buddhism, which, with its proselytising power, levelled the barriers between rival tribes, and first stimulated national union.

The Tibetan history, the Book of the Kings, which appeared only comparatively late under the influence of Chinese models, contains a legendary account of the prehistoric period, which, naturally, is untrustworthy in its details, but shows the sources from which the Tibetans themselves derived their civilisation. According to this there appeared, in the first century B.C., in the country to the south of the modern Lhasa, a marvellously endowed child, whom the wild natives soon regarded as their heaven-sent leader. This child, an invention clearly on the model of the infant Dalai-Lamas of a later age, was a direct descendant of Buddha. He founded a kingdom, the subjects of which were gradually raised by his successors to higher grades of culture, precisely in the way in which Chinese legend traces the progress of civilisation. Under the seventh monarch, in the second century A.D., smelting, the use of the plough, and irrigation were discovered. In the fifth century the fields were enclosed, articles of clothing were made from leather, and walnut-trees were planted. Soon afterward the yak was crossed with the ox, and mules were bred.

Although the legend does not acknowledge any direct introduction of Indian civilisation into Tibet, still the fact that the centre of culture lay in the vicinity of the Indian frontier, and that the genealogy of the royal house was traced

Civilisation Inspired by India

from Buddha, points unmistakably to this source. The widening dissemination of Buddhist doctrine in India had fired a missionary zeal there, which brought the new faith, and in its train a higher civilisation, over the dreaded barrier of the Himalayan snows. From the West, also, where the Buddhist doctrine spread as far as the Tarim basin, Tibet felt the same influence, and when the new faith

struck root even in China, Tibet, as the connecting link between China and Central Asia on the one side, and India on the other, suddenly acquired a new importance; and finally, after the decay of Buddhism in the Indian mother country, Tibet became the peculiar home and sanctuary of the northern worshippers of Buddha.

While in Southern Tibet a small civilised state gradually developed, which depended for its power and prosperity on agriculture, the northern nomads had also begun to organise themselves, and in so doing may have been influenced by the example of the neighbouring Chinese constitution, and of the nomad kingdoms in Central Asia. The north-eastern tribes, called by the Chinese Ti, played, on a small scale, in the first century after the Christian era, the rôle of the Central Asiatics, since they figured at one time as enemies, at another as allies, of the Chinese kingdoms and their claimants. Tibetan chieftains even appear as rulers of small Chinese states in the same way as Hun and Turkish princes usurped the

Rise of Tibetan Empire

thrones of the isolated kingdoms. The Khiang, who lived to the south-east of the Tarim basin and menaced trade communications with the west, were another branch of the Tibetan race. No real empire was established until, in the course of the sixth century B.C., the civilised state in the south brought the northern nomads also under its influence. A power was created which had a large share in the further political development of Central Asia. Almost impregnable in its own country, it held a menacing position on the south-west frontier of China and on the trade routes which crossed the Tarim basin. The shifting fortunes of the Turkish empires offered ample opportunities of interference.

The empire first aroused the attention of the Chinese in the year 589. With what deliberate purpose the Tibetan rulers endeavoured to advance their civilisation by Indian influence is shown by the embassy to India in 632, which resulted in a more accurate knowledge of the Buddhist religion and in the invention of a script formed after the Indian model. Even then Lhasa was the capital of the empire and the locus of religious life. The relations of the new empire

with China were friendly at first ; but very soon the pretext for war was given by an incident of a kind not unusual in the history of Central Asiatic kingdoms : the request of the Tibetan monarch for the hand of a Chinese princess was insultingly refused. Since, however, the king obtained his wish in the end, the campaign cannot have resulted so favourably for the Chinese as their historians would have us believe. But the Tibetan preferred to turn his arms for the future against the Tarim basin, where there was a state of anarchy which offered greater prospects of successful conquest ; and by the year 680 the power of Tibet extended as far as the Tian Shan. A combined attack of the Chinese and Turks in 692 had indeed the momentary effect of driving back the Tibetans ; but they returned to the attack, and pressed on in 715 as far as Ferghana, after they had concluded an alliance with the Arabs. During the whole of the eighth century Tibet remained the leading power in the south of Central Asia, and a formidable enemy of China,

Tibet at the Height of Its Power

the capital of which was actually stormed and plundered by the Tibetans in the year 763. It was not until 820 that a permanent peace was concluded between Tibet and China, and a pillar with an inscription was erected in Lhasa to commemorate the event.

In the course of the ninth century the power of Tibet rapidly diminished. The Ugurians seized the borderland on the north, and Hsia successfully took over the duty of guarding the frontier against the decaying empire. This kingdom—more accurately Hsi Hsia, or Western Hsia—had been formed in 884 at the time of the Tang dynasty, on the upper course of the Hoang-ho. The royal house was descended from the Toba dynasty of Pei Wē, which had been destroyed in North China in 557 ; but Tangutes, near kinsmen of the Tibetans, formed the picked warriors of the people. In 1032 the state made itself completely independent of the northern Sung dynasty, which ruled in Southern China, and subsequently maintained its position, since it allied itself at one time with the Sung, at another with the Khitan, and later with the Kin, who were supreme in Northern China. The independent position of the

country was outwardly demonstrated—and this is a feature which frequently recurs in Central Asia—by the invention of a new script, which was mainly based on the ancient Chinese signs. We have only brief records of the wars of the Hsia kingdom. An invasion by the Tibetans, in

Enervating Influence of Buddhism

1076, ended in their precipitate retreat, the result, it is said, of a superstitious panic which seized the army. In 1227, the Hsia kingdom was annihilated by the Mongols. The fall of the political power of Tibet must be ultimately traced to the fact that Buddhism then permeated the country, crippled the secular power, and effected a thorough spiritual revolution in the minds of the people. Buddhism soon assumed a peculiar character in that isolated land. The priests of Tibet showed little appreciation of the more subtle theological and philosophical disputes and doctrines of their Indian or Chinese co-religionists. But all the more important was the influence of the originally Shamanistic national religion, which exalted the Buddhist clergy and monks into magicians and ascribed to them all the various arts of a degraded mysticism. This is the explanation of the commanding position which the Buddhist priesthood was able to acquire in Tibet, and of the chaos of superstitious ideas which gradually spread thence over Central Asia.

After the end of the ninth century Tibet led a quiet existence, which in no respect excited the attention of its neighbours. In the year 1015 alone an armed quarrel with China caused a short interruption of this tranquillity. Relations with China had again slightly improved the culture of the country. After the entry of the Chinese princess already mentioned, the knowledge had been acquired of making wine from rice or barley, of erecting water-mills, and of weaving stuffs. Chinese artisans also had come into the country, and the sons of the best families were frequently sent to China to be educated. Tibetan civilisation, which had been at first entirely subject to Indian influence, took more and more a Chinese stamp, until finally the storm of the Mongols swept over the land of Tibet, and brought the country into a still more intimate political union with China.

Under the Heel of China



LAMAS WORSHIPPING BEFORE THE HOLY OF HOLIES IN A TIBETAN TEMPLE

The monastery of Kum-Bum, in Tibet, once the residence of the Dalai-Lama, was founded in 1360, and now contains some three thousand monks. Before the Holy of Holies are six cloth-covered columns, each of which has on its upper part a "skirt" of pleated cloth and the floor is covered with prayer-boards. These, having been in constant use for centuries, have been worn into deep grooves by the lamas doing penance. Before worshipping, the lama removes his outer garments and his shoes, then he bows, and throws himself prostrate on the praying-boards. The lama wearing the "Roman" helmet is of a higher caste than the others, and carries a prayer-bell in one hand.



EARLY CIVILISATION OF CENTRAL ASIA

THE example of Tibet shows how closely the progress of civilisation is connected with religious propaganda, and how the wish to spread their own peculiar creed can be the chief cause why members of a more highly civilised people venture to be the apostles of culture in the most remote and most uninviting regions of the world. But this is not a unique phenomenon in Central Asia. However greatly the trade between East and West promoted the civilisation of Central Asia, it cannot be disputed that the most strenuous work in the cause of culture was done by those who, as preachers of the different world-religions, penetrated into the heart of Asia, or marched toward the east on the great commercial roads. Religious zeal alone created that endurance and self-denial which all must possess who attempt to sow in backward nations the seeds of a higher culture and of nobler modes of life. It is an important fact

Results of Mission Work

that, among the civilised countries which border upon Central Asia, China alone produced no world-religion, properly so-called, and sent out no missionaries apart from Buddhists. In consequence of this, the Chinese never succeeded in firmly attaching the Central Asiatics to themselves until they finally found, in their encouragement of the Buddhist teaching, an inestimable aid in taming the wild nomad hordes.

The original "religion" of the Central Asiatics was doubtless that simple mysticism which, under various forms, is to be found in all primitive peoples. The chief duties of the wizard priests, who are revered as possessors of mystic powers, consist in averting evil influences and in healing diseases. That belief in one supreme divinity, which is usually found in such cases, has only a subordinate significance and has little influence on the spiritual life. The characteristic form of lower mysticism among the Northern and Central Asiatics is Shamanism. The shaman, or sorcerer, works himself up to a frenzy by beating a drum or by other

similar methods, and then enters into communication with the spirit world, about the nature of which very different ideas, partly influenced by the civilised religions, prevail among the various nations. Even where a higher form of religion has already penetrated, Shamanism usually remains for a long time as a popular national custom; in fact, it stamps a peculiar local character on these religions.

In the eyes of the nomads of Central Asia, all priests were a kind of shamans, from whom cures, prophecies, and miracles might be expected. This led to perverted forms of the original religious doctrines, from which neither Buddhists nor Nestorians were exempt.

Every higher form of religion is based on written records and has its sacred books. It thus follows that writing, the first great step towards culture, spreads most quickly in the train of a religious propaganda. Art also follows in the steps of religion. Images of deities and saints, or temples erected in their honour, form part of the indispensable equipment of the missionaries, and announce the victory of the new doctrine. It is thus conceivable that the position of Central Asia between important spheres of civilisation and foci of religious doctrines must certainly have led to a marvellous mixture of influences, among which the original racial characteristics were still discernible.

We must not forget in this connection that the oases of Central Asia were themselves the sites of an ancient civilisation, but that this civilisation, after the

Oases as Sites of Ancient Civilisation

irruption of warlike nomad peoples, rested on so narrow a foundation that it could not have made any continuous progress without the stimulating example of other civilisations. The blending of religions and civilisations was accelerated by the fact that rival doctrines did not make their appearances successively, but that the majority of them began to strike root in Central Asia side by side, during the centuries preceding and following the

Christian Era. Buddhism appeared the earliest on the scene, and also exercised the greatest influence on Central Asia. Zoroastrian sun-worship was not vigorously disseminated until 250 A.D., when, under the Sassanids, its priests were stimulated to undertake the work of missionaries by the renaissance of Iranian life and thought; but concurrently Christianity began to enlist supporters. Neither of these religions was completely victorious until finally Islam gained the supremacy in one part of that region, while Buddhism, disseminated from Tibet, held the field in the east. The earlier Buddhism of Eastern Turkestan, which was directly connected with India, entirely disappeared.

We are tolerably well informed from literary sources as to the religious conditions of Central Asia. Our knowledge has been widened by recent archaeological investigations in Central Asia, which have yielded a rich harvest of results, notably in the Tarim basin, and give us a vivid idea of the influence exercised by the various civilisations and doctrines. The British excavations in the western valley of the Tarim have brought to light, in addition to Indo-Buddhist, Chinese, and Persian antiquities and inscriptions, rude copper images, which probably served Shamanistic purposes, and may have come from the old civilised province of the Altai, where Shamanism exists even at the present day.

The importance of Buddhism for the west of Central Asia was felt chiefly before the Mongol period. The activity of Buddhist missionaries outside the confines of India could not be vigorously exerted until the new religion had taken firm root in its native country. The period of the great Asoka of Magadha (263-226 B.C.) marks both the victory of Buddhism in Northern India and the extension of the political and religious influences toward the north-west. Kashmir, the bridge to Central Asia, recognised the suzerainty of Asoka. Even though Buddhism was unable to gain a firm footing there, and was driven to wage frequent struggles with remnants of the old native snake-worship and a repressed Brahmanism, still access had been obtained to the civilised oases of the Tarim basin, where the new religion quickly found ready acceptance.

In externals this Buddhism was, it must be admitted, no result of purely Indian culture. In the first place, the Iranians had encroached upon India and left traces of their nationality on the manners and customs of the people; but after the age of Alexander the Great an offshoot of Hellenistic civilisation existed in Bactria, which exercised an effective influence on art and culture both in the Tarim basin and in North-western India. Where the missionary zeal of Buddhism appeared at this time, it was accompanied and permeated by the elements of Greek art. This Greco-Buddhist art and culture of North-west India found a new home in the Tarim basin. Here, too, the difference between the more ancient western form of Buddhism and the more modern eastern form, which took its shape in Tibet, is clearly defined. Generally speaking, Indians of pure race preached the new faith, and their labours led naturally enough to a wide diffusion of the Indian language, since a knowledge of Sanscrit was necessary for the comprehension of the sacred books. A large non-religious

immigration also probably took place. The influence of India apparently first made itself felt in Khotan, where a son of Asoka is said to have founded a dynasty. Khotan, owing to its geographical position, has generally formed the connecting link between Central Asia and India, and shows in its civilisation abundant traces of Indian influences. A large number of Buddhist shrines and monasteries were to be found in Khotan. The densely populated oasis, helped by its religious importance, repeatedly obtained great power, although it could not keep it permanently, since, as the gate to the trade route from India and the southern road from the West to the East, it appeared a valuable prize to all conquering tribes of Central Asia. From Khotan Buddhism spread further over the Tarim basin and its northern boundary. The clearest proof of this is found in the numerous cave temples constructed on the Indian model, as well as in the products of Greco-Buddhist art, which modern explorations have brought to light, especially in the western part of Eastern Turkestan. It was certainly the settled portions of the nation, which were steeped in the ancient civilisation, that most eagerly adopted this higher form of religion. The nomads were

Rivalry of Four Religions

Connecting Link with India

Foreign Missions of Buddhism



ASSEMBLING OF THE GUESTS AT A NESTORIAN WEDDING PARTY

The Nestorians were the first Christian sect to make headway among the nations of Asia, and at one time they attained considerable importance, but, cut off from their headquarters, they and their doctrines became degraded.

less satisfied with it. The counsellor of a Turkish prince candidly stated his opinion that neither the building of towns nor of Buddhist temples was advantageous to the nomads, since it was opposed to their traditional mode of life and would break their spirit. This opinion was justified; for in reality it was Buddhism which, thanks to the crafty support of the Chinese, finally destroyed the savage bravery of the Central Asiatics.

The second great religion, Zoroastrianism, had naturally its chief sphere of expansion in Western Turkestan, which repeatedly stood completely under Iranian influence. Following the line of the trade routes, which were chiefly frequented by Persian merchants, it forced its way farther to the East, without being able to win for itself there any considerable position as compared with Buddhism. Zoroastrianism spread also among the western nomads, especially the Scythians of Iranian stock, and left some remarkable traces behind. The ancient Slavonic mythology, with its contrast between deities of light and deities of darkness, seems to have been influenced by the Iranian sun-worship; so, too, were the ideas of the heathen Turkish tribes on the Altai, according to which the human race held the middle place between the powers of light and of darkness. Among several nations, such

as the Ugurians, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism for a time counterbalanced each other. We cannot now decide whether their domestic dissensions, which were numerous and important, especially among the Turks, had also a religious tinge. Even before the Iranian sun-worship

acquired fresh powers of winning adherents at the beginning of the Sassanid period, the missionaries of Christianity had already traversed Iran and set foot in Central Asia. The revival of Zoroastrianism must partly be regarded as a reaction against the irresistible advance of Christianity, so unacceptable to the true Iranians. It was not indeed the great united Christian Church that broke down the Iranian barriers by her emissaries, but a branch separated from the parent stem, that of the Nestorians, whom we have already seen, in like manner, as the first introducers of the faith into China. That sect planted the seeds of Western civilisation far away toward the East, but in their isolation they soon became degenerate, since they were thrown upon their own resources, and were unable to keep up any constant communications with the West.

The Nestorian Church, nevertheless, attained for a time to great prosperity. At the beginning of the Mongol period, when the Western Church began to

concern herself about her estranged sister in the East, it did not appear hopeless to think of converting the Mongol rulers, and thus to assure the victory of Christianity over its rivals, of whom Islam had long been the most dangerous. There were Christian communities and even small states with Christian princes in China after

Nestorian Power in Asia

the seventh century. Here, perhaps, lay originally the half-legendary realm of Prester John, the discovery of which was one of the motives for the Portuguese explorations, until it was thought to have been found in Abyssinia. Besides the Nestorians, missionaries of the Manichæans found their way to China about the year 1000.

The prospects of the older forms of religion in Western Central Asia were completely, even if not immediately, destroyed by the advance of Islam. It was its appearance late on the scene, full of fresh ideals, that secured it the victory over the other faiths which were honey-combed by Shamanist influences and had degenerated in their isolation. In the decisive contest for the conversion of the Mongolian chieftains, which secured spiritual supremacy for the successful religion, Islam was finally victorious in the West.

The struggle, nevertheless, lasted for centuries. At the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs had already become lords of Western Central Asia, and had then advanced on their victorious career to the Tarim basin. Khotan, the chief seat of the Buddhists, had resisted attacks for twenty-five years. Among the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan the traditions of these religious wars found a concrete expression in the legendary hero, Ordan Padjah, whose marvellous deeds are supposed to have decided the victory of Islam. The new doctrine did not triumph until, in the tenth century, Satuk, the Turkish ruler of Kashgar, adopted it, and conquered a large part of the Tarim basin and even of Western Turkestan. After his death, in 1037, the power of the new empire rapidly diminished.

Religious differences gradually acquired a certain ethnic importance, even for the nomad tribes of Central Asia. The Turko-Tartar branch now comprised mainly the Central Asiatics won over for Islam, while the Mongolian branch contained the

adherents of the Buddhist creed; but originally both branches were quite closely related, or, more correctly speaking, were of common origin and only in part altered by admixture of foreign blood. Among the Uigurians in particular Islam found at a comparatively early period numerous believers, by the side of whom, however, the representatives of other religions long maintained their position.

The mixture of religions, to which, in the West, Hellenic mythology may have slightly contributed, corresponded to the mixture of civilisation, which found its most permanent expression in the native script and styles of art. Modern excavations in Turkestan have furnished more exact information on the point, especially as to the existence of a style which has grown up out of Indian, Greek and Persian influences.

If this mixed style betrays the effort made to rise from mere imitation of foreign forms to a certain individuality, the tendency appears still more clearly in the fact that Central Asia produced, in addition to foreign methods of writing,

Ancient Art and Writing

a large number of peculiar scripts, which were naturally suggested by already existing models, but nevertheless possess distinctive features of their own. The Chinese script seems least of all to have served as a model, since its defects, as contrasted with the syllabic and alphabetic scripts of the other civilised nations, were too vividly prominent. The influence of the Indian scripts was greater, especially in the Tarim basin. On the other hand, the Persian Pehlvi script had been adopted by the Uigurians, probably through the medium of the Yue-tshi, and the Turkish tribes in their turn learnt it from them. After that, through the influence of the Nestorian missionaries, the use of the Syrian script was extended, and this soon served as a model for new native systems. The Mongols and the Manchus used varieties of the same script. The number of foreign and native scripts in Central Asia during the eighth and ninth centuries seems, as numerous discoveries prove, to have been unusually large. This circumstance points at once to a certain incoherency in the prevailing civilisation, and to the fact that the Central Asiatic culture was local, and at the same time highly susceptible to foreign influences.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ.



THE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

THE GREAT MONGOL EMPIRE

THE efforts of civilisation and religion to tame the barbarous people of Central Asia continued for many centuries. Temples of Buddha, Zoroastrian seats of culture, Christian churches, and Moslem mosques arose in the oases; industries flourished, trade brought foreign merchants into the country, and those who aimed at a refinement of manners and customs and a nobler standard of life were amply provided with brilliant models. Of the nomads a less favourable account must be given; and yet among many of them the higher forms of religion had struck root. Skilled writers were to be found among them, and the allurements of civilised life made considerable impression. The road which was destined to lead these tribes out of their ancient barbarism had already often been trodden;

Nomad Lust of Pillage the forces of civilisation seemed pressing on victoriously in every direction. Then once more the nomad spirit rallied itself to strike a blow more formidable than any which had previously fallen. The effort was successful, and as the result of it a region once prosperous and progressive lay for generations at the mercy of races whose guiding instincts were the joy of battle and the lust of pillage. The world glowed with a blood-red light in the Mongol age. Twice—first under Genghis Khan and his immediate successors, and secondly under Timur—the hordes of horsemen burst over the civilised countries of Asia and Europe; twice they swept on like a storm-cloud, as if they wished to crush every country and convert it into pasture for their flocks. And so thoroughly was the work of ravage and murder done that to the present day desolate tracks show the traces of their destructive fury. These were the last great eruptions of the Central Asiatic volcano. Civilisation con-

quered, and the hordes of the wide steppes were no longer a danger at which it needed to tremble. That which now struck at the civilised world was once more the full power of the nomads of Central Asia welded together for a time by a master hand. The new people which suddenly appeared on the scene, and, although hardly known

Gigantic Armies of the Nomads or noticed before, now advanced with gigantic armies, in reality dealt only the first blow, and represented the vanguard of hosts which grew larger and larger, like an avalanche. The vanguard gave its name to the hosts who followed, and rekindled in them the wild enthusiasm for war, which had died away, owing to the intercourse with civilisation. But the personality of some individual is always of paramount value.

The Mongols play so small a part in the earlier history of Central Asia that we may fairly doubt whether in their case we are dealing with a race whose roots stretch far back into the past. The original home of the Mongols lay, so far as can be ascertained, on the northern edge of the Central Asiatic steppe, in the region of Lake Baikal. Now, it was this same northern edge which was the home of the most important nomad states, and was the true cradle of the conquering pastoral peoples. It was there that the Huns held their own

The Death and Birth of Nations until the last, and the centre of the Turkish power lay there. The nomad population of that region was mainly due to the disruption of the older nationalities, and contained remnants of all earlier inhabitants. The Mongols in particular rose from the remains of the Turkish people, which again was a mixture of Hun and other stocks.

It was no mere accident that this people rekindled the ancient nomad love

of war and rapine. In their remote homes they had been the least softened by civilisation or tamed by religious influence, and they had most stubbornly preserved their warlike traditions.

The Mongolian horde had begun to make a name for itself in Central Asia at the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. The conditions of that period were favourable to its rise, as there was no great power in Central Asia at the time. The Kim, or Nu-chi, who in 1125 had conquered and dislodged the Khitan, were the most powerful in the eastern parts of the country; both peoples were of Tungusian stock, and a part of North China recognised their suzerainty. The Mongols seem to have been tributary to the Nu-chi. In the west the power of the Hakas had greatly weakened; the Ugurians and some Tartar hordes, such as the partially Christianised Kerait, led an independent life. Yesukai, the father of Genghis Khan, first brought a number of nomad tribes under his rule, and thus aroused the distrust of the Nu-chi, who, in 1135, and again in 1147, made futile efforts to nip in the bud the growing world-power.

Little is known of the other exploits of Yesukai. His empire seemed ready to collapse as quickly as it had risen. On Yesukai's death, in 1175, his son Temujin was only twenty, or, according to some accounts, twelve years old. This was a sufficient reason for the subjugated hordes to revolt from him; so that the new ruler, who was under his mother's guardianship, had scarcely more left him than the original parent tribe. But an iron will animated the youth. He rallied his adherents and fought with Ong Khan, or Wang, the rival ruler chosen by the other hordes, a battle which at once put an end to any further spreading of the revolt, while a year later he won a brilliant victory over the insurgents, who renewed their attack. He thoroughly vindicated his power as a monarch by his barbarous punishment of the rebel leaders. Some tribes now sought the friendship of the conqueror, others plotted against him or openly attacked him; but, in the midst of unceasing wars, his power steadily increased. He defeated the Naiman, the Kerait, who were at first his allies, and other tribes, in a series of campaigns; until, in the year 1206, he was able to hold on

the banks of the Onon, a tributary of the Amur, a great review and council, at which he saw the greater part of the nomad fighting strength collected round him. Here, at the wish of his followers, he assumed the name of Genghis Khan, or "perfect warrior." It now seemed time to adopt a bolder policy and to carry his victorious arms into the adjoining civilised countries. A pretext for further wars was afforded by the machinations of the Naiman prince Kushlek, who had dealt the deathblow to the empire of the Kara Khitai in 1201; he was compelled to fly for refuge to the Nu-chi. The Kirghiz, and after them the Ugurians, in 1209, voluntarily submitted in the meantime. The war with the Nu-chi, after some unimportant skirmishes, broke out in the year 1211; and in it the Khitans, who had been subjugated by the Nu-chi, lent valuable aid to the Mongols. Genghis Khan's chief object was to gain possession of Northern China, the best part of the Nu-chi Empire. Hsuan Tsung, the emperor of the Nu-chi, finally fled to the south in 1214, and was thus entirely

cut off from his northern resources. Yen King, the capital, which roughly corresponds to the present Peking, now fell into the hands of the Mongols; but the war ended only in 1234 with the overthrow of the Kim dynasty, seven years after the death of Genghis Khan. It was fortunate for the Nu-chi that they could place in the field against the Mongols the forces of half of China, and could fall back on the strongly fortified Chinese towns. The Mongols learnt gradually in the school of necessity the art of conducting sieges, in which they were destined later to perform great feats at the cost of the civilised peoples who were hard pressed by them. The employment of gunpowder in siege warfare was already familiar to the Chinese, who could teach many other lessons in this branch of warfare, where scientific knowledge was more important than impetuous valour.

During the wars between the Mongols and the Nu-chi, the Khan Kushlek had journeyed to Turkestan, had formed an alliance there with Kutb ed-din Mohammed, the sultan of the Kharismians, and was on the point of building an empire in Western Central Asia with his help. The interference of the Kharismians on behalf of Kushlek may be attributed partly

**Growth of
New World
Power**

**Mongol
Methods of
Warfare**

**Founder of
the Mongol
Empire**

CENTRAL ASIA—THE GREAT MONGOL EMPIRE

to trade jealousy. Genghis Khan had certainly tried to bring the trade over the northern roads, but encountered the distinct opposition of the rulers of Turkestan, of whom the most powerful was the Sultan of Kharismia or Chwarizm. Mohammed, who was master of Kashgar, and therefore of the southern roads, had ordered the envoys of Genghis Khan, who wished to conclude a sort of commercial treaty, to be put to death on the spot. The prince

of Turkestan could not but have been aware of his power. It seemed as if the Kharismians would be the successors of the enfeebled Seljuks in their dominion over Western Asia and in their protectorate over the Caliphs of Bagdad. As always happens in such cases, a considerable part of the Kharismian power rested on the wealth which they derived from the possession of the Central Asiatic and Indian trade roads. But now this power, and all the covetous dreams which were connected with it, received an overwhelming shock from the onslaught of the Mongols. First of all, Kushilek, who had raised a considerable army, was completely defeated and slain during the rout in 1218. The Mongol forces then swept on against Kharismia, which at that time comprised a great portion of Turkestan and Persia, besides the modern Khiva. Bokhara, the garrison of which offered only a feeble resistance, was plundered and burnt; Otrar, on the middle Syr Daria, the proper border fortress facing Central Asia, held out longer, but finally fell into the hands of Genghis Khan, as did Khojend, Ugent, and other fortified towns. The main army turned toward Samarkand, which soon surrendered, but had to pay for the sins of its ruler by a terrible massacre.

The resistance of the Sultan Mohammed was now broken: he did not venture on

a battle in the open field, but fled through Persia from town to town, continually pursued by the Mongol troops, only to die at last in misery on an island of the Caspian Sea. The greater part of Persia submitted to the Mongols in 1220. A counter-blow dealt by Mohammed's son, Jelal ed-din Mankburni, temporarily repulsed the troops of Genghis Khan. Nevertheless, the appearance of the Mongol sovereign in person forced the Kharismian

to fly to India; various revolted towns, Herat among them, were relentlessly massacred and burnt. The Mongols pressed on toward the Indus and laid waste Peshawar, Lahore, and Mahkpur.

Thus the old path of conquest to India had been already trodden when Genghis Khan took the first steps on the beaten road which leads from the plains of Western Siberia to Europe. Pretexts for a campaign, which was first directed against the nomad tribes in the north of the Caucasus, were soon forthcoming. When, therefore, the Russians from Kieff appeared in the field as allies of these peoples, Mongol and European troops for the first time, in 1233, faced each other in battle. The Russians, who were victorious at the outset, were finally beaten, and the Grand Duke of Kieff himself was taken prisoner. The Mongols, however, to guard against

whose attacks even Constantinople had been more strongly fortified, did not follow up their victory. In the year 1224 Genghis Khan planned a campaign in person against India, but was induced by a portent, or more probably by the exhaustion of his war-worn army, to retire to Karakoram, the former capital of the Christian Kerait, which had now become the centre of the Mongol Empire. In the previous year he had organised in the steppe of South Siberia with his whole



MAIL-CLAD MONGOL WARRIOR

Showing chain armour and fighting weapons of a Mongol officer in Tamerlane's army.

army a gigantic battue, an enormously exaggerated example of the method of hunting familiar to the nomads of Central Asia, both as a sport and as a means of livelihood.

In the meantime the war in China had continued. Even the West Chinese Empire of the Hsia, with its partly Tibetan

Death of Genghis Khan

population, had been drawn into the whirlpool, and had been wasted in the years 1209 and 1217. Now, after losing Ordos, its northern province, it suffered a still more sweeping devastation at the hands of the Mongols from 1223 to 1226, until in 1227 the last prince of the dynasty was captured and the country completely conquered by the generals of Genghis Khan. The Kin, or Nu-chi, in Northern China, on the other hand, still resisted, until 1234, the attacks of the Mongols, whose best general, Mogli, died in 1225. Genghis Khan survived his general only two years. He died in 1227 in a town on the Upper Hoang-ho, whether from natural causes or poisoned by one of his wives is uncertain. In his person passed away the most genuine representative of the wild, untamable nomads of Central Asia, who, in the old Hun fashion, had built up for himself a giant empire over dead bodies and ruined cities. A thirst for power and a savage joy in destruction were the guiding motives of his policy. The need of professing any nobler aims, even as a specious pretext for his campaigns, was absolutely unfelt by him. And yet he was not wanting in those traits of rough honesty and magnanimity which are redeeming points in the heroes of nomadism; indeed, a certain receptivity of civilisation is apparent in him. The lesson which all the savage commanders of Central Asia learned in the end was destined to be revealed in him, and, above all, in his descendants. Civilisation, down-trodden and bleeding from a thousand wounds, showed itself the stronger in the spiritual contest, and crushed the obstinate pride of the princes of the steppes, until at last they humbly did homage in chapels and temples to the ideals of the civilised world, and painfully accustomed their mail-clad hands to hold the pen.

It was the successors of Genghis Khan who submitted to these influences; but already by the side of the gloomy, blood-

stained figure of the first Mongol monarch a man had appeared whom the powerful nomad prince seemed to have chosen as a representative and advocate of civilisation. This was Ili Chutsai, or Yeliu Chutsai, a scion of the royal house of the Kin, a Tungusian, acquainted with Chinese culture. The motive that induced Genghis Khan to bring this member of a hostile family to his court, and soon to entrust him with the complete internal administration, was certainly less the wish to promote the culture of his Mongol subjects than the effort to organise his empire, and especially his revenue, on the model of China.

This succeeded so well that Ili Chutsai continued to hold his high position under the successors of Genghis Khan until his death. But it reflects far more honour on him that he regarded himself at the same time as the advocate of an advanced civilisation, that he boldly opposed the cruel commands of the monarch, protected the oppressed, and, wherever he could, preserved the monuments of art from destruction. He devoted his own property

Extent of the Mongol Empire

to these objects, or employed it in collecting archives and inscriptions. A number of these latter and a few musical instruments composed the whole wealth which he was found to possess, when calumniators suspected his official administration. In Genghis Khan and his Minister we see the embodiment, side by side, of two great and antagonistic principles—barbarous despotism and civilised self-restraint. These two men seem an epitome of the whole history of Central Asia. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of the Mongol Empire on the death of Genghis Khan: it was still an incomplete structure. The steppes of Mongolia and South-West Siberia were the immediate possessions of the new ruling nation, or were governed, as the country of the Ugurians was, by native rulers in complete subjection to the conqueror. Turkestan might rank as conquered, whereas in Persia the Mongol power was still insecurely established, and North-West India had been raided rather than really subjugated. In China the empire of the Western Hsia was completely annexed; the Nu-chi, on the contrary, still offered stubborn resistance in the provinces on the Lower Hoang-ho. The extent of the Mongol influence towards the south is the most

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uncertain. No large campaigns were undertaken in the Tarim basin or in Tibet : but probably a number at least of the states in the oases of Eastern Turkestan voluntarily submitted. Many of these petty states were probably subject to the suzerainty of the Uigurians, the Kerait, and other nations, and shared their fate ; others, like Kashgar, had been already conquered in the wars against the Kharismians.

The constitution of the Mongol Empire was organised throughout on a military footing, and, from this aspect, was a mere renewal of the ancient Central Asiatic system which obtained among the Huns and Turks. All men capable of bearing arms in the different tribes were enrolled by tens, hundreds, or thousands. The army recruited its ranks from the young men of the subjugated districts, who were distributed among the existing troops, or, if the country had voluntarily surrendered, formed distinct regiments. Standards of yak-tails or horse-tails, of which the most important were the nine-tailed Mongol ensign, and the banner of the Khan made of four black horse-tails, were equally in accordance with Central Asiatic custom. The nine-tailed flag denoted the nine great divisions, or army corps, into which the Mongol levies were distributed.

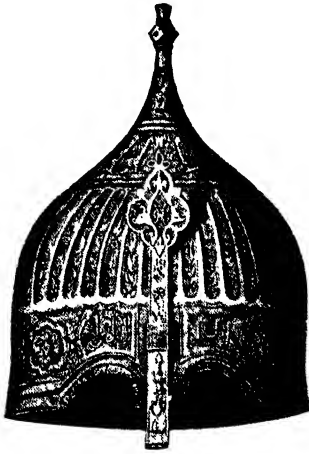
Genghis Khan regulated the internal affairs of his people by a series of laws, most of which were derived from traditions and earlier precedents, and were still suitable to the nomad life. The

attitude which he maintained toward religion is noteworthy. On the one side there is the evident wish to elevate the traditional Shamanistic creed by laying greater stress on the belief in the existence of a divine being ; on the other side it is recommended that consideration be shown to all other religions and to their priests. Public offices, however, were not to be entrusted to the priests. Generally speaking, the enactments of Genghis Khan are principally concerned with military matters ; at the same time they regulate family life in a very simple fashion, define the close time for game, and make universal regulations of certain Mongol customs—such as,

for instance, the slaughtering of animals by slitting up the body, the prohibition of bathing, and so on. In his latter days Genghis Khan displayed some leaning toward Buddhism, but showed otherwise that indifferent toleration of the various religions which is everywhere characteristic of the Mongols. Religious zeal, the excuse for so many cruelties, never prompted the massacres perpetrated by them.

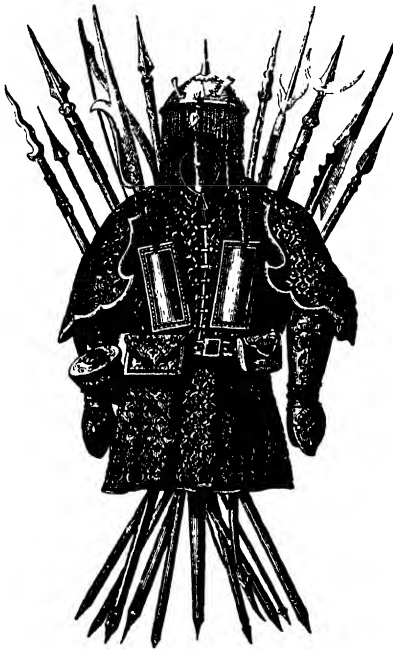
The great nobles of the Mongol Empire met in solemn deliberation in 1227 on the banks of the River Kerulen, in the northern steppe. Genghis Khan by his will had nominated as his successor his third son, Ogdai, or Ogotai Khan, who soon afterwards, at a great imperial diet at Karakoram, received the homage of his subjects.

Since Ogdai still conceded considerable powers to Ili Chutsai, his father's first



MONGOL HELMET

A Mongolian helmet of the 14th century in the collection of the Tsar of Russia.



MONGOLIAN ARMS

Specimens of weapons, tunic, and helmet of the Mongolian period in the Russian Imperial collection.

Minister, the latter was able to continue the internal development of the empire, to organise thoroughly the system of taxation, and to draw up lists of the men liable to military service: thus laying a firm foundation, which enabled the Mongol monarchs to extract the maximum of profit from the subjugated civilised countries without

Operations Against China and Persia

pursuing a policy of crushing them completely. The conquering power of the united nomad peoples made bold advance under Ogdai. Persia, where the Kharismian Jelal ed-din had recovered a part of his inheritance, was once more, in 1231, subjugated, and the unfortunate prince was compelled to seek refuge among the western mountains, where he was murdered by Kurdish robbers. Ogdai himself directed his attention against China, where the empire of the Kin was struggling for existence with failing strength. The provinces of Pechili, Shantung, Shansi, and Liaotung were then already in the possession of the Mongols. The Kin held their own only to the south of the Hoang-ho in Shensi and Honan. Tuli, the youngest brother of Ogdai, was commander-in-chief of the Mongols in most of the later battles. The siege of the capital, Kaifongfu, at which the beleaguered Chinese employed powder with great effect, was unsuccessfully attempted in the year 1232. But subsequently an alliance was negotiated between the Mongols and the Chinese Empire of the southern Sung, which quickly crushed the resistance of the Kin. In the year 1234 the last emperor of the Nu-chi was defeated by a combined army of Mongols and Chinese. Shensi fell to the Mongols, Honan principally to the Sung, although misunderstandings already arose between the allies which were premonitions of subsequent events.

The conquest of North China was of paramount importance to the Mongols.

Mongols Who Became Chinese

Chinese civilisation was the first with which they had any lasting intercourse, and thus the political institutions of China served in many respects as models for the wild people of the steppes, while the Ugurian civilisation, which had originally been imitated, sank into the background. The ancient power of China in transforming and absorbing the peoples of the steppe gradually asserted itself more strongly. The further the Mongols penetrated into

the Middle Kingdom, the more Chinese they became, until at last the disruption of the gigantic world-empire into the districts of Central Asia on the one side and of China on the other was inevitable.

The forces which were set free by the overthrow of the Kin were destined to extend the Mongol Empire towards the west. The Mongol hordes under the command of Batu swept on after 1235 against Europe, where the protection of the frontiers lay in the hands of the Russian princes. Riazan was captured on December 21st, 1237, and on February 14th, 1238, fell Vladimir on the Kiasma. The Russian chiefs had to submit to the suzerainty of the Mongols, while Kieff was destroyed on December 6th, 1240. Poland was now ravaged, Duke Boleslav V., the Modest—or the Chaste—was forced by Sandomir to take refuge in Hungary, and a mixed army of Poles and Germans under Henry II. of Lower Silesia was annihilated at Liegnitz on April 9th, 1241.

There, at the edge of the steppe region, the western march of Paidar, or Peta, and his Mongols ended. They turned to

Menace to Central Europe

Hungary, which Batu himself had already invaded in March, 1241. There was imminent danger that these Mongols would establish themselves firmly in the Hungarian steppe, and that Hungary would now, as on several previous occasions, become the nest of predatory swarms of nomads, who would perpetually harass Europe. The Magyars suffered the very fate which their forefathers had inflicted on so many prosperous countries. The Mongols seemed, in the summer and autumn of 1241, to have formed the intention of making room for themselves and of exterminating the inhabitants. However, on the tidings of the death of the Great Khan, Ogdai, which occurred at Karakoram on December 11th, 1241, they resolved, in the spring of 1242, to withdraw through Kumania to Russia.

The expansive power of the Mongol Empire was even then immense. While war was being waged in Europe, Ogdai's armies threatened Irak and Asia Minor. Like Turkish armies earlier and later, the Mongols used the road through Armenia, and repeatedly attempted to attack Bagdad. Simultaneously there began in China the attack on the kingdom of the southern Sung, whose princes, in blind infatuation, had helped to destroy the bulwark of their

ower, the empire of the Kin. The troops of the Sung held for a long time the lines of the middle Hoang-ho and of the Wei-ho by dint of hard fighting; at the same time the contest was raging in Szechuen on the upper Yangtse Kiang, during which, at the siege of Lu-cheng, a strong Mongol army was almost totally destroyed. There also the death of Ogdai temporarily put an end to the operations. The Great Khan had bequeathed the empire to one of his grandsons, a minor; but in 1241 the first wife of Ogdai, Nai ma chen, or Jurakina, usurped the regency in his place. Ili Chutsai, the aged chancellor of the first two Great Khans, who wished to secure to the defrauded heir his rights, died suddenly. The empress now succeeded in carrying at a great imperial diet, or *kurultai*, the nomination of her son Kuyuk Khan as sovereign, in 1246. Thus ended an interregnum which had greatly impaired the aggressive powers of the Mongols. It is this which partly explains why in many places, especially when confronting the western states of Europe, the policy of conquest, notwithstanding all sorts of threatening preparations, was abandoned. Besides this, envoys of the Pope had appeared at the diet, in order to ask the Mongols to abstain from further expeditions against the Christians. It is true that they had irritated the self-conscious sovereigns of a world-empire. Nevertheless, the common hostility of the Christians and the Mongols to the Mohammedans seemed to offer the basis for an understanding, especially in Syria, where Crusaders and Mongols were forced to stand by one another. Indeed, finally there appeared some prospect of converting even the Mongol dynasty to Christianity, and of thus winning a mighty triumph for the Church.

Kuyuk turned his attention principally to the east, and attacked Korea, which at the same time might form a bridge to Japan. He died, however, in the year 1248, and Mangu Khan, a son of Tuli and grandson of Genghis Khan, came to the throne in 1251, although only after long deliberations by the great nobles. The gigantic extent of the Mongol Empire of that day is shown by the length of time required to summon and assemble the great councils of the realm. The decay of the unwieldy structure was only a question of time. Mangu himself took the first step

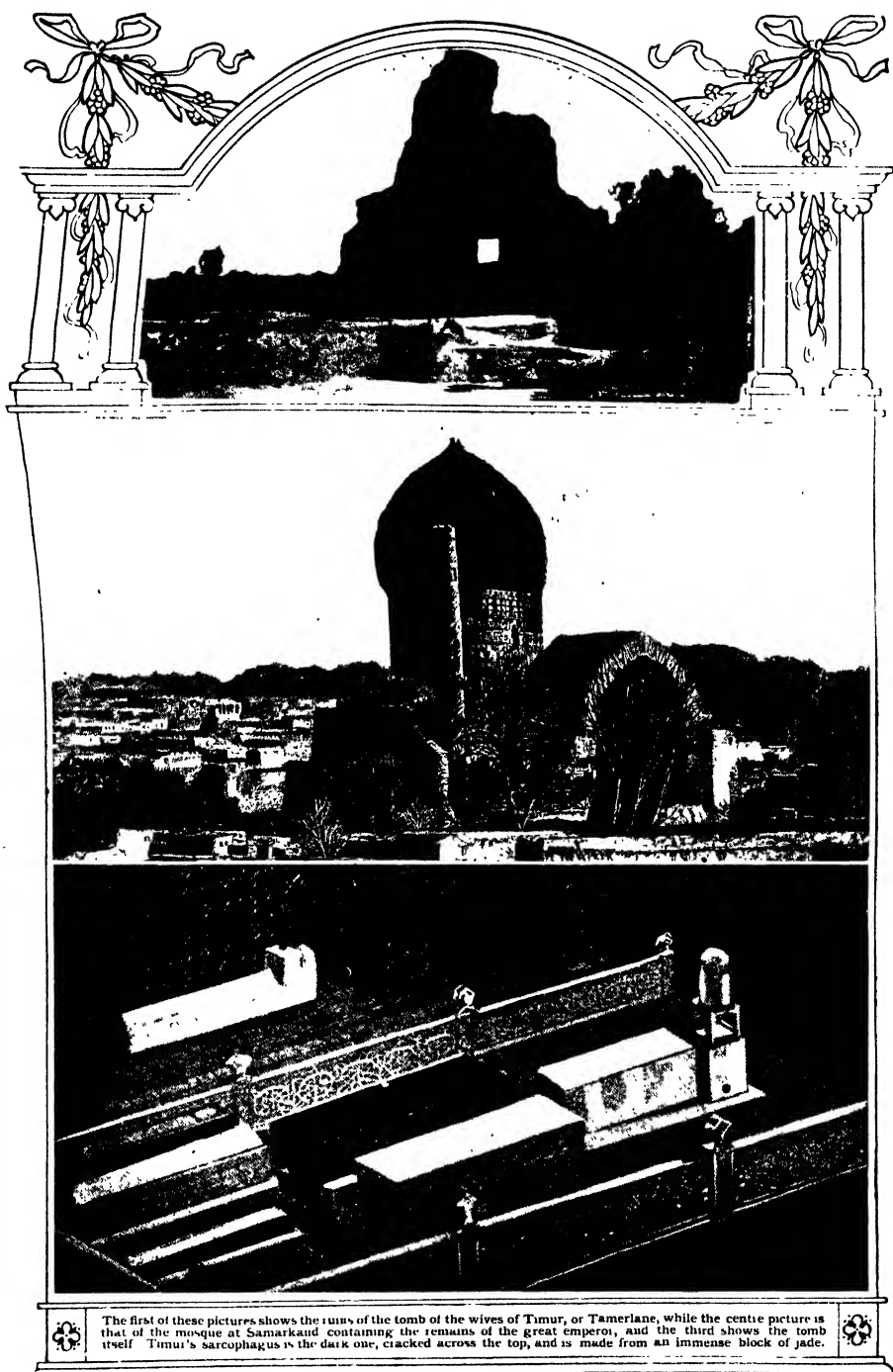
towards it when he nominated his brother Kublai Governor-General in China, and thus placed his destined successor under the immediate influence of Chinese civilisation. The Mongol dynasty was fated to become Chinese at no very distant date.

For the time being, however, the frontiers of the empire continued to

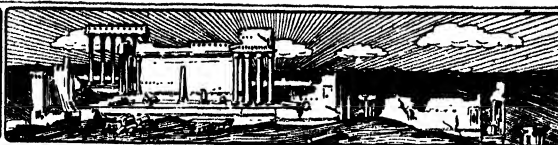
expand under Mangu. Tibet, hitherto protected by its situation, was attacked, and, as Marco Polo testifies, was completely devastated. A second advance, under the leadership of Hulagu, against Irak and Syria was momentous in results. The war was first waged with the Assassins, whose eastern or Persian branch was almost exterminated. The Mongol arms were then turned against Bagdad, which the feeble resistance of the ruling caliph failed to save. A frightful massacre almost exterminated the whole population of this religious capital of the Islam world. The hostility then evinced by the Mongols to the Mohammedan faith strengthened the hope that the Mongols would let themselves be won over to Christianity. Christians did, indeed, obtain a favoured position at the Great Khan's court; but Mangu regarded baptism and other rites merely as a sort of convenient magic formula. The behaviour of the unorthodox Nestorian and Armenian priests could not but confirm him in this belief. The Mongol princes must have had very hazy notions as to the inner meaning of the various religions, the ceremonies of which they occasionally observed.

After a great part of Syria and Asia Minor had been ravaged, the attention of the Mongol sovereign was once more directed to the dominions of the southern Sung, which were now vigorously attacked for some successive years. Kublai, who had satisfactorily averted the disfavour

which threatened him, conquered the western borderlands of the Chinese Empire, Szechuen and Yunnan, and, by advancing his armies as far as Tonquin and Cochin China, surrounded Southern China on all sides. Once more the death of the Great Khan temporarily brought the operations to a standstill. Mangu died in the year 1259, and all the Mongol leaders went off to the Tartar steppe to attend the imperial diet.



MEMORIALS OF TAMERLANE IN HIS ANCIENT CAPITAL



THE LATER MONGOL EMPIRES

The fall of the gigantic empire could no longer be delayed. It was due not merely to the enormous size of the Mongol state, and the impossibility of preserving the unity of the realm in the face of such immense distances. Still more destructive was the influence of the different civilisations which everywhere forced their way, as it were, through the layer of sand spread over them by the storm-wind of the desert: a spiritual revolution was at work.

If Kublai was on the point of being transformed into a civilised Chinese, the western governors felt themselves surrounded by the civilisations of Western Asia and Europe, while the ancient and genuine Mongol spirit in its primitive barbarism was to be found only in the steppes of Central Asia. The force of the geographical position, which had first called to life the earlier states and civilisations, made itself again irresistibly felt:

Mongols in Touch with Civilisation

out of the provinces of the Mongol world-empire were formed once more national states under the rule of dynasties of Mongol origin. The way in which the fall would take place depended on the point to which the centre of gravity of the empire should be shifted. If toward the east, then the west would at once wrench itself free; if toward the civilised countries of the west, it would be a natural consequence that China should attain independence under a Mongol ruler.

In 1260 the choice of the Mongols fell on Kublai Khan; by this election the centre of gravity was shifted toward the east. Kublai still, indeed, was reckoned the supreme lord of all Mongols; but in truth he ruled only the eastern steppe districts of Central Asia and the parts of China hitherto conquered. Iran and the possessions in Syria and Asia Minor fell to his brother Hulagu; in Kipchak, the steppe country of West Siberia and the adjoining European regions, the descendants of Batu ruled, and other Mongol dynasties were being formed in Turkestan.

Chinese civilisation now triumphed in the main eastern empire. What conquering energy still existed among the Mongol people was employed on the subjugation of the empire of the southern Sung and on futile attacks against Japan, after the disorders in Mongolia, which followed on the change of sovereigns, had been quieted. Serious operations against the Sung were not begun until the year 1267, and twelve years elapsed before the final resistance of the Southern Chinese was ended. But while Kublai thus won the dominion over the whole of China, he was threatened by the danger of losing his possessions in Central Asia through rebellious Mongol princes. At Karakoram, in the years 1260 to 1264, appeared a rival emperor, Alipuko, or Arikbuga. A grandson of Ogdai, Kaidu by name, rebelled, and held out till his death, in 1301. Baian, however, to whom the victory over the Sung is chiefly to be ascribed, brought Mongolia, with the old capital, Karakoram, once more into the possession of his master. Kublai himself resided from the first in Peking, and thus announced that he was more Chinese than Mongol. The histories of China have recognised this fact, since, after 1280, they treat the Mongol reigning house of Kublai as a genuine Chinese dynasty. The further destinies of this dynasty accordingly belong to the history of Central Asia in a very restricted degree, especially after the death, in 1294, of Kublai whose name had testified to some sort of imaginary cohesion between the various fragments of the Mongol Empire. Anyone who has tried to pass a fair judgment on the crumbling world-empire, and asks what its effect on the civilisation of mankind was, will, as he turns over the records of that blood-stained period, be filled first with a feeling of abhorrence, and of despair of any progress or of any results of higher culture. Is it always the destiny of the nations which are laboriously struggling forward to succumb

Dangers of Extended Empire

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Crumbling World Power

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to the onslaught of rude barbarians, whose dull senses are intoxicated with battle and booty until they are maddened with an aimless and hideous lust for murder?

On no page of history does the old cruelty of nature and destiny stare us so derisively in the face. But it has been

Compensations for War

and Bloodshed

already stated that there existed counter influences to all that evil and mischief, which were able to mitigate the terrible impression. The storm did not only wreak destruction; it purified the atmosphere. It was the Mongols who first put an end to the sect of murderers, the Assassins—a conspicuous but not an isolated example of this purifying power. Far higher value must be attached to the fact that once again, although for a brief period and under the supreme command of a barbarous people, all the civilised countries of the Old World enjoyed free intercourse with each other; all the roads were temporarily open, and representatives of every nation appeared at the court of Karakoram. Chinese artisans were settled there; Persian and Armenian merchants met the envoys of the Pope and other Western Powers; a goldsmith from Paris constructed for Mangu the chief ornament of his court, a silver tree: there were numerous Arabs in the service of the Khan, and Buddhist priests laid the civilisation of India at his feet. These representatives of different civilisations must have reacted on each other. For the isolated kingdom of China in particular the Mongol age marked the influx of new and stimulating ideas. Arabian writings were frequently translated into Chinese; Persian astronomers and mathematicians came into the country; daring European travellers also found many opportunities to communicate their knowledge. The keen zest for learning exhibited by the better part of the Mongols seemed to communicate itself to the Chinese.

Mongol Patronage of Learning

and for a period to overcome the stiff conservatism of the old self-centred civilised nation. While the history of the Eastern Mongol Empire was gradually becoming a chapter of Chinese history, an Iranian state was developing in the west under a Mongol dynasty, which it is usual henceforth to designate as the dynasty of the Ilkhans. Hulagu, who in Mangu's time had consolidated the conquest in Persia, and had

added other parts of Western Asia to them, must be reckoned as an independent sovereign after the accession of Kublai, although a semblance of dependence was preserved. After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu had conquered some of the petty Mohammedan princes, and thus put himself on good terms with the Christians in Armenia and Palestine. But when an Egyptian army inflicted a heavy defeat on his general, Ketboga, not far from Tiberias, in 1260, the Mongol advance was checked in that direction also. The attempts of Hulagu to reconquer Syria led to frightful massacres, but had not been crowned with any real success when he died, in 1265.

His successor, Abaka, was in consequence restricted to Persia and Irak, thus realising the idea of an Iranian empire under a Mongol dynasty. The irony of fate willed that Abaka should be forced immediately, according to the old Iranian policy, to take measures for protecting his realm against his own countrymen, the Mongols of Kipchak, who threatened to invade the land through the Caucasian gate from Derbend, and had already come to an understanding with the Egyptians, the arch foes of Abaka. Nothing shows more clearly how complete the fall of the Mongol Empire then was. War now began on the other frontier of Iran, towards Turkestan, which had long been threatened, since the Mongols of Jagatai invaded Khorasan, and were only driven out of Persia by Abaka's victory at Herat. A final attempt to recover Syria ended, however, in the defeat of Abaka at Emesa in 1281.

In that same year Abaka died, and with his successor the transformation of the dynasty seemed to be completed. The prince, originally a baptised Christian, and brother of the deceased, openly adopted the Mohammedan religion under the name of Ahmed, and thus snapped the last bond of union with his unruly Central Asiatic brethren. This step was, however, premature. The Christians of Armenia and Georgia, the mainstay of the empire, were roused to ominous excitement, and the Mongols could not make up their minds so quickly to abandon their hatred of Islam and its followers. Rebellions ensued, the leaders of which called in the help of the far-off Great Khan, Kublai. Ahmed was deposed, and his

CENTRAL ASIA—THE LATER MONGOL EMPIRES

nephew Argun gained the sovereignty. Then followed a period of disturbances and renewed fighting in Syria, which was favourable to the Mongols, especially in the time of the Ilkhan Ghazan (1295-1304), but ended later in repeated disasters. Under Ghazan, who henceforward helped Islam to victory, the empire of the Ilkhans temporarily acquired new power; but a reconciliation with the Mohammedan world was not effected, and

the zeal of the Christians for the Mongol dynasty soon cooled. Under the successors of Ghazan the empire became disorganised, but the semblance at least of unity was kept up until the death of the Ilkhan Abu Said Bahadur in 1335. The disruption then began which repeated on a small scale the fate of the Mongolian world-empire. The provinces became independent, and the Ilkhan retained a mere shadow of dignity without any real power. In 1336, round Bagdad, under sheikh Hasan Busung, the emir of the Jelair, who died in 1356, was formed the empire of the Ilkhani, which acquired fresh power, but finally was destroyed in the struggle with the Mozaffarids and Timur between 1393 and 1405. In 1410 died the last of the Ilkhani but one, Ahmed ben Owais, as a prisoner of the Turkoman Prince Kara Yusul. The dynasties which had

been formed in the steppe regions of West Siberia and Turkestan were better able to maintain their individuality than the Mongol princes of China and Iran; it was from these districts that the second great advance of the Mongols under Timur started. In Turkestan arose the empire of Jagatai, which took its name from one of the sons of Genghis Khan, and at the time of its greatest prosperity comprised all the countries on the Oxus

and Jaxartes, as well as the greatest part of the Tarim basin. The prevailing religion in these regions was Islam; sectarians of that faith had there offered the Mongols in 1232 a more obstinate resistance than the native princes had previously done. At an early period one of the Mongol sovereigns had gone over to the teaching of Mahomet, although the bulk of the people had not followed his example.

Since there were no external enemies left, the natural effect was that the Mongols soon fought among themselves. Disputes as to the succession, and rebellions were endless; the legitimate reigning dynasty of the line of Genghis Khan

sank into the background after 1358, and a government by a mayor of the palace took its place, which obviously could not remain uncontested in the hands of any one family. Some provinces became absolutely independent; for example, Kashgar, which was the most powerful state in those parts in 1369, when Timur first appeared on the scene. The Mongol dynasty of the Shaibanids, though temporarily overthrown, did not disappear; but after the fall of Timur's dynasty in 1494 soon raised itself again to the throne of Samarkand and Bokhara, which it held in the male line until 1599, and in the female until 1868. The kingdom of Kipchak—the Golden Horde—which, roughly speaking, comprised the lowlands of Western Siberia and Eastern

Europe, showed greater stability than the Jagatai. A more vigorous foreign policy was both possible and necessary there, and helped to bind the Mongols closely together. The command of Russia, that land of constant ferment, the wars with Poland and Byzantium, and the raids over the Caucasus into Western Asia, kept alive the old warlike ardour of the conquest-loving nation. The countries which later formed



THE GREAT TIMUR, OR TAMERLANE

The Mongol empire-builder who had the greater part of Asia at his feet at the end of the fourteenth century; but whose empire soon broke up.

From the miniature in the Bodleian Library

the kingdom of Kipchak were first partly subdued by Juji, the eldest son of Genghis Khan, and then were completely brought under the dominion of the Mongols by his son Batu.

The expedition of Batu to Central Europe ended the period of great conquests in the west. The Mongols were

Mongol Conquests in the West unable to hold their position in Hungary and Poland, which were both attacked again in 1254, and Russia alone remained completely in their hands. Batu, who died in 1256, had been practically an independent ruler. He was succeeded, without opposition from the Great Khan, Kublai, by his younger brother Berkai, who was soon involved in contests with the Iranian sovereign of the Mongols, Abaka.

The highest civilisation in the kingdom of Kipchak was then found in the Crimea. The towns of the Crimea had flourished since ancient times, and had increased in prosperity under the Mongols; the country had maintained its intercourse with Byzantium and Southern Europe. The influence of this advanced culture was noticeable in the Mongolian princes. Many of them, in spite of their soldier-like roughness, appreciated scientific pursuits, tried to draw learned men to their court, and showed towards the representatives of the different religions that tolerance which is perhaps the most pleasing trait in the Mongol character. It must be admitted that the hopes which were so often entertained of winning the Mongol princes completely over to one definite religion were long unrealised. •

The history of the kingdom of Kipchak is full of constant wars against all neighbours on the west and the south, and of dynastic disputes and insurrections at home. Part of it belongs to the course of Russian history. The Mongol age does not imply for Russia a brief and bloody interlude, as it does for most other Western countries; on the contrary, the nomads of the steppes seem for a time to have associated so much with the native population that at the present day indelible traces of that affinity are left on the national Russian character. A still closer amalgamation was partly prevented by the circumstance that finally the dynasty of Kipchak in the time of Uzbeg, from 1312 to 1340, went over to Islam, and

Mongol Influence on Russia

thus repelled the Christian Russians in the same way as the Persian Mongols offended the Armenians and Georgians.

After 1360 the kingdom was filled with disturbances, and it was only the union of the White and the Blue Hordes by Toktamish, in 1378, and the invasion of Timur, from 1391 to 1395, that temporarily restored order; but with the result that, after the death of Toktamish in 1406, the disorders increased and the power of the kingdom continually diminished. In the fifteenth century the Crimea, with the adjoining parts of Southern Russia, was all that remained of the once mighty realm of Kipchak. In the year 1502 the "Golden Horde" died out, and the kingdom completely broke up.

The Nogai, a branch of the Mongol Juji, formed in 1406 a kingdom round Astrakhan, which fell before the attacks of the Grand Duke of Moscow. Further to the north arose in 1438 the Khanate of Kasan; and in the Crimea a small Mongol state, founded in 1420 with the help of Turkey, to which it agreed to pay tribute, held its own until its incorporation with Russia in the year

Split of the Empire under Kublai Khan 1783. With the split of the Mongol Empire in the time of Kublai the era of the great

conquests was virtually closed, although raids and border wars still lasted for a long time. The subjugation of Southern China brought the eastern Mongols completely under the influence of Chinese civilisation. The more westerly of the Mongol states did not show any further power of similar expansion. The most striking proof of this stagnation is the fact that no attempt was made to conquer India, although the gates to this country, so alluring to every great Asiatic conqueror, were in Mongol hands, and although the Mongols had already traversed the Punjab in the time of Genghis Khan. A fresh and powerful impulse, which united a part of the ancient Mongol power once more under one ruler, was needed in order to reach this last goal.

It seems at first sight strange that the new tide of conquest flowed from Turkestan, from the kingdom of Jagatai; that is to say, from the Mongol state which was most rent by internal wars and showed the least energetic foreign policy. But these dissensions were actually a proof that the ancient Mongol love of fighting



ONE OF THE MANY BATTLES BETWEEN THE MONGOLS AND THE TURKS

This reproduction of an old woodcut illustrates the methods of warfare practised by Timur and his hordes; one Mongol warrior may be seen just after decapitating his fallen foe, and another is in the act of cutting off the nose of an enemy. The original inscription quaintly adds that "the man who had his nose cut off, lost it on the field."

was all-powerful there, and that the forces and impulses of nomadism had remained there unimpaired. The nomad tribes of Turkestan, who, long before the time of Genghis Khan, had repeatedly made victorious inroads into Iran and India, supplied the most splendid material to a leader who knew how to mould them into a loyal and devoted army. While Mongolia proper, which had spread its armies over half the globe, was now poor in men and no longer a theatre for great enterprises, Turkestan had every claim to become the foremost power of the nomad world. All that was required was a master

will. Civilisation may have tried her arts on the forefathers of Timur, that true child of the desert, who was born, the son of a Turki general, on April 8, 1336. They had lived for some hundred years or so as the feudal lords of the small district of Kash, in the very heart of the civilised world of Turkestan, to the south of the prosperous town of Samarkand. But Timur's character shows barely a trace of these influences. In his relations to his native soil he is true to the nomad bent. The little country of Kash served him indeed as a starting-point for his first operations, but he soon shook himself

free from it, and fought like a soldier of fortune, whose true home is among the moving tents of his camp—who to-day has under him a mighty army recruited or impressed from every nation, and to-morrow with a few faithful followers is seeking a precarious refuge in the mountain gorges or the desert. The vivid contrasts,

**Character
of the Great
Tamerlane**

so usual among nomads, between harshness and magnanimity, between cruel contempt for the life of strangers and desperate grief for his kinsmen and his friends, are repeated in Timur. Like a true Mongol, he was indifferent in religious questions; but and this one evil trait he learnt from the civilised peoples—he could play the Mohammedan fanatic when it served his purpose.

In the year 1358 the realm of Jagatai was in the most desperate disorder. The khan, Buyan Kuli, had become a mere puppet in the hands of his mayors of the palace; but even the family which ruled in his place saw itself in this same year deprived of all influence by a general revolt of the vassal princes, and the kingdom broke up into its separate provinces. In the wars which these new principalities

continually waged on one another Kutbed-din Amir Timur, as a nephew of the reigning prince of Kash, found opportunities of gaining distinction, and used them to the full.

The first attempts to reconstitute the State under a different rule started in Kashgar, the prince of which, Toghluk Timur—descended from Jagatai in the sixth degree—appears to have extended his influence as far as the Altai Mountains. In the years 1350 and 1360 the armies of Kashgar advanced victoriously to Western Turkestan; Timur found it politic to join them, and he contrived that after the fall of his uncle the principality of Kash should come to his share. But it must have soon been obvious that there was not much to gain in this way. He soon reappeared in the field, but this time as an ally of the emir Hosain, who, as a descendant of the family of the mayors of the palace, had held out in Kabul and now reasserted his claims to the supreme power. In the year 1360 the two allies experienced the most strange vicissitudes, being at one time victors, at another fugitives and even prisoners. But after years of fighting, fortune inclined to their side: a change of sovereigns in Kashgar gave them breathing time, and in 1363 they were able to enthronise as khan at Samarkand a new puppet of the family of Jagatai, Kabul Sultan.

It is not surprising that Timur now tried to put aside his overlord Hosain; but he met with an overwhelming defeat in 1366. He contrived, however, to obtain the forgiveness of Hosain in 1367 and to regain his influence. After better preparations, another attempt succeeded in 1369. Hosain was captured and executed, and a council of the realm nominated Timur to be supreme Great Khan. The nominal sovereignty of the descendants of Genghis Khan was not terminated for some time. Suyurghatmish was succeeded in 1388 1397 by his son Mahmud as Khan of Transoxania.

The new "Lord of the World" began with West Turkestan for his sole possession, and even of that territory parts remained to be conquered. Yusuf Beg of Kharismia, which then comprised Khiva and Bokhara, defied Timur continually, and was not completely defeated



TIMUR IN COUNCIL WITH HIS WISE MEN
Reproduced from an original drawing by a Persian artist

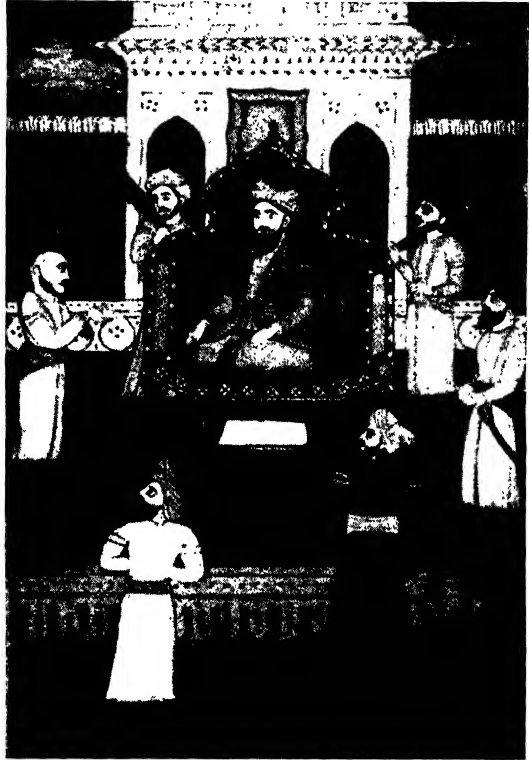
CENTRAL ASIA--THE LATER MONGOL EMPIRES

until 1379. Kamar ed-din of Kashgar, in spite of campaigns in 1375 and 1376, could never be completely vanquished. It was only when West Turkestan was entirely subjugated that the great wars and raids of Timur, fraught with such consequences for civilisation, began with an attack on Persia, which then, like Jagatai at an earlier time, was broken up into several independent principalities.

The separate states could not resist the united power of Turkestan. Khorasan and Herat, the ancient bulwarks of Iran against the nomads, were the first to succumb before the attack of Timur (1381). In the years 1386-7 the Mongol army fought with Armenia, the Turkomans, and the Ilkhani of Bagdad. The year 1388 saw the terrible overthrow of the Iranian national states of the Mozaffarids, which had been formed in Farsistan, the ancient Persis, Kirman, and Kurdistan, and the complete destruction of Ispahan, the capital of Persia. The invasion of Turkestan by the ungrateful Khan Toktamish of Kipchak called Timur away from Persia in 1388-91. He was then completely occupied with the subjugation of the Tarim basin. In 1392 he reappeared in Persia, and laid the country waste, since most of the dethroned princes, even the Mozaffarids, had partially regained their dominions. The race of the Mozaffarids was this time exterminated. In 1393 Armenia and Kurdistan were occupied once more.

It was most unfortunate for the subjugated countries that Timur by his love of conquest was always allured from vanquished regions to other parts of his territories. The native princes then found opportunities to recover their dominions for a time: whereupon Timur would retaliate. Timur's imagination revelled in horrors; he aimed at striking terror far and wide. He delighted in raising towers of skulls or building gigantic monuments of corpses and living prisoners.

A momentous campaign in India called Timur away from Persia on this particular occasion. The influence of the Mongols seems to have been asserted here



TIMUR IN STATE, SEATED ON HIS THRONE

From the Persian illuminated manuscript *Tuzuk-i Timur*, or "Memoirs of Timur."

and there in Northern India on the east side of the Indus. Independent border tribes impeded, as now, the communications between Afghanistan and the valley of the Indus. Beyond the Indus lay Mohanmedan states. In 1398 part of the border tribes were conquered after a laborious campaign under the personal command of Timur. Meanwhile a grandson of Timur, Pir Mohammed, captured Multan after a six months' siege, and the combined forces then advanced before Delhi. The city fell into the hands of Timur after a bloody battle. The conqueror then marched beyond the Ganges, and returned to Samarkand in 1399 laden with immense booty.

The attacks on the West were now at once renewed. In 1399 Timur was in Georgia, which he cruelly devastated; but his eyes were already fixed on Asia Minor, where the Osmons—or Ottomans—had founded their empire, and on Syria, which

**Delight
in Barbaric
Cruelty**

was under Egyptian rule. The Osman war began in the year 1400 with the siege of the city of Sivas, which resisted so long that Timur, after taking it, desisted for the time from further operations in that quarter. He advanced instead against the feebly-defended Syria, the northern part of which, including Damascus, fell into his hands. Bagdad also, where Ahmed ibn Owais had established himself, was captured. The storm then broke on the heads of the Osmans. In the middle of 1402, the Turkish army was defeated near Angora by the forces of Timur. Sultan Bajazet I. himself was taken prisoner, and Asia Minor totally laid waste. Faraj of Egypt, who feared a similar fate, acknowledged the supremacy of Timur.

Thus Tamerlane, the "lame" Timur, had again united the three chief western portions of the Mongol world-empire,

Jagatai, Kipchak, and Persia, and widened their frontiers still more. When he once more convened a great council of the realm at Samarkand, in the year 1404, he explained to his magnates that only one great undertaking was left him, the conquest of China. But this time a kindly

China Spared by the Death of Tamerlane fate spared the prosperous Chinese Empire. An army of 200,000 men was already in the field, when death cut short

the conqueror's plans on February 18th. He died of fever at the age of sixty-nine years. The spirit of boundless ambition and conquest was once more embodied in him; but it died with him, and the down-trodden seeds of culture were free to spring up again if life was still in them. The age of the great nomad empires definitely closed with Timur, but not before it had produced endless misery and had rent the ancient civilisation of Western Asia to shreds.

Timur's empire had been held together only by the personality of its ruler, and it crumbled away even in his hands so soon as his attention was too closely riveted in any one direction. The term empire is almost too pretentious for this political structure, which merits rather the name of military despotism. The national basis was almost entirely replaced by the purely military. The body that took the field was not a levy from defined districts, but recruited or impressed followers of the individual leaders. Every campaign was an undertaking at the common cost, the supreme command being in the hands of Timur. The troops were not paid by Timur, but by the generals, who looked to recoup themselves with interest. If by so doing they amassed excessive wealth, Timur simply ordained that all sections of the army should be strengthened. Every leader was then forced to employ his fortune in enlisting more soldiers. Such an army could naturally be kept on foot only so long as it was fighting. It would soon have eaten itself away in peace time. Thus, behind Timur's unbridled lust for war, which entirely corresponded to his character, there was a compelling force from which he could not, with safety to himself, withdraw. He possessed an army ready to hand only so long as he waged war and obtained booty, and, so long only as this army remained loyal to him, he



TIMUR IN AUDIENCE WITH A MONGOL PRINCE

After the original Persian drawing

CENTRAL ASIA—THE LATER MONGOL EMPIRES

was lord of a gigantic empire. He was confronted by the national rulers, whose existence was more firmly rooted in the soil, but who were seldom able to face the rushing torrent of his enormous hosts.

With the death of Timur these opposing forces were certain soon to regain the upper hand. No course was left to the descendants of the mighty conqueror but to submit to them or to give a national tinge to their own policy, a course for which the earlier Mongol dynasties furnished a precedent. For the moment, indeed, the army, the invincible weapon of Timur, was still available, and its leaders were ready to continue the previous system, although there was no longer a master mind to lead them. Above all, it was intended that the expedition against China, which promised such ample booty, should be entrusted to a board of generals, and the question as to Timur's successor be left temporarily in abeyance. But the dispute about the inheritance, which at once broke out, brought these plans to an abrupt close.

The wars about the succession lasted four years. At first it seemed as if Timur's grandson, Khalil, would inherit the empire; but Shah Ruch, a son of the conqueror, born in 1378, asserted his claim in Persia. In 1409 the well-meaning and peaceful Khalil was deposed, and Timur's empire, which already seemed likely to break up into the two states of Turkestan and Persia, was again united under Shah Ruch. But it was no longer the old empire. The larger states, which had outwardly submitted to the scimitar of the lord of the world, Kipchak, Egypt, the Ottoman empire, the Turkoman states of Armenia, and the majority of the Indian possessions, were irretrievably lost now that Timur was dead. Only West Turkestan, the Iranian highlands, and a

The Empire part of the Punjab were still retained by his successors.
After the Shah Ruch was not the man
Death of Timur to contemplate a continuance of the old policy of war and conquest. The only recourse left to him was to bring the national forces of his states into his service; in other words, to recognise the Iranian people with their culture and to help them. It was chiefly due to the prudence with which he pursued this object that he was able to maintain the



TIMUR IN TIMES OF PEACE
 The great conqueror travelling through his dominions.

remnant of the empire for many years until his death in 1447.

His arch-foes were the Turkomans in Armenia and Azerbaijan, wild hordes of Central Asiatic nomads, who had planted themselves there on the old military route of the Turkish and Mongol invaders and had formed a predatory state in the old Hun style. There were fragments of all the migratory tribes, who at one time were divided by internecine feuds, at another were united into a formidable military power by the prospect of booty.

The headship of the hordes rested at first with the Turkoman tribe of the "Black Sheep" under its chief Kara Yusuf, who brought Mesopotamia and Bagdad into his power, and gravely menaced Persia. The sudden death of Kara Yusuf, in 1420, freed Shah Ruch from his most formidable antagonist. Azerbaijan was now definitely taken from the Turkomans.

But any hope that the Iranised house of Timur would retain at least Persia and Turkestan was ended by the disorders ensuing on the death of Shah Ruch. A stormy period, in which parricide and

fratricide were not infrequent, shook the empire for years, and while the descendants of Timur tried to exterminate each other, the swarms of Turkomans, at whose head the horde of the "White Sheep" now stood, poured afresh over the Persian frontier. Abul Kasim Barbar Bahadur, a grandson of Shah Ruch, held his own in Khorasan until 1457; then, while West Persia was already lost to the Turkomans, Sultan Abu Said, a grand-nephew of Shah Ruch, usurped the power in 1459. But in the year 1467 he found himself forced to fight with Uzun Hasan, the leader of the Ak Koinlo. The heir of Timur was defeated and killed in 1468; the larger part of his Persian possessions fell to the Turkoman. Complete disorder then reigned in Turkestan, until, in 1500, Mohammed Shaibani, of the family of Genghis Khan, and his Uzbeks, who represented the nomad spirit as modified by Iranian civilisation, became masters of the country. The Uzbek dynasties of the Shaibanids, Janids, and Mangites possessed, down to 1868, the various kingdoms into which the country again,

broke up almost precisely as before the Mongol age.

A Timurid dynasty had held its own in Ferghana. Driven thence by the Uzbek leader Shaibek Khan, the ruling prince, Babar, grandson of Abu Said, who was born in 1483, threw himself into the mountains of Afghanistan, where he commanded the gates to India. The old conquest-loving spirit of his ancestor awoke in Babar, whom the splendid triumphs of Timur in India may have stimulated to similar enterprises. He first secured his position in Kabul in 1505, where he collected round him a small force of some 2,000 men. He took the field five times, until eventually, in 1526, he succeeded in defeating Ibrahim of Delhi and thus bringing under his sway the most powerful of the five great Mohammedan dominions which then existed in India. When he died, in the year 1530, the last and intellectually the foremost conqueror of Mongolian stock, he had founded a stable empire, that of the "Great Moguls," whose history has already been narrated.

HERSCHE SCHURZ



WOMEN OF KASHGAR



RUINS OF THE ANCIENT TOWN OF KASHGAR IN EASTERN TURKESTAN



THE SPRING CARNIVAL AT A TIBETAN MONASTERY - MONKS IMPERSONATING DEMONS OF THEIR MYTHOLOGY



MODERN HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TIBET, THE LAND OF THE LAMAS

By Dr. H. Schurtz & Francis H. Skrine

THE world was still trembling before the warlike hosts of Central Asia when those forces were gathering strength which eventually succeeded in taming and rendering harmless the wild spirits of the nomads. These forces were Chinese civilisation and eastern Buddhism, whose influences can be understood only by a survey of the more recent history of Tibet, the theocratic state par excellence of Eastern Asia. The teaching of Buddha had long lost its power in the Indian mother country when it acquired Eastern Central Asia, beginning with Tibet. Mongol Buddhism was not rooted in Indian civilisation, but in the fantastically developed monastic and ecclesiastical system of the lonely Tibetan highlands, which had cut themselves completely off from the plains of India when the Buddhist teaching died away in those parts.

For this reason the more recent eastern Buddhism of Central Asia is sharply differentiated from the earlier western form, which once was so important for the culture of a wide area. The older form had stood in close connection with the plains of the Indus and Ganges valleys; yet the missionaries in the time of Asoka, when the Buddhism of India was at its zenith, had passed through Kashmir, scaled the southern mountain walls of Central Asia, and carried their sacred books, their script, and their civilisation directly to the Tarim basin, and thence northward to the Uigurians and eastward to China. The new teaching had at the time met with hardly any response among the Mongols and the other eastern nomads; in Tibet it first began slowly to gain a footing. In the course of time the whole western mission field was once more lost.

Christian and Zoroastrian emissaries had worked in opposition to the Buddhist priests until the doctrine of Islam, grand in its simplicity, which has always exercised a marvellously enthralling influence over semi-civilised peoples, drove out all other forms of religion. Besides this, the Buddhism of Central Asia had lost any support in India, owing to the victory of the Brahmanic teaching, and was dependent entirely upon its own strength. The term "simplicity" is indeed only to be applied with reserve to Islam, which reached Central Asia through Persia. An Islamite mysticism developed under the influence of Iranian intellectual life, which was hardly inferior to the Buddhist in profundity and love of the marvellous, but was for that precise reason capable of ousting and replacing the former. In its ultimate meaning, the victory of the Mohammedan teaching signifies the supremacy of West Asiatic culture over the Indian. And this victory was natural, for Western Asia marches with the steppes of Central Asia for some distance and is closely connected with them by old trade-routes, while the bonds of intercourse between India and the heart of Asia have never been strong.

The later eastern dissemination of the Buddhist faith over Central Asia would have been inconceivable but for the circumstance that even in China Buddhism reckoned numerous followers, and that the Chinese of set purpose favoured a doctrine so gentle and so much opposed to military brutality. But that Tibet, of all others, should become the holy land of Buddhism had been the object of the efforts of Genghis Khan, who, indeed, as a true Mongol, tried to employ for his own purposes the "magic powers" of all



A GROUP OF TYPICAL LAMA PRIESTS

religions without adopting any one of them exclusively. It was after all a very natural result that Tibet took so far as religion was concerned the place of India in the eyes of Central Asian men were accustomed to look for the home of Buddhism in the South and since India succeeded Tibet which was always full of mystery offered a welcome substitute.

At first indeed the growing reputation of Tibet for sanctity did not shield it from disastrous attacks under the first Mogul princes it was mercilessly plundered and laid waste. But perhaps these lamentable events by which the temporal kingdom of Tibet was overthrown were the contributory cause that henceforth the spiritual power came forward and undertook the protection of the country with better prospect of success.

Kublai Khan took account of the altered conditions when he promoted the Lama Paspa who was a member of a noble Tibetan family to be the supreme head of all Lamas in his realm and thus shifted the centre of gravity of the Buddhist hierarchy to Tibet. In reality by so doing he conferred on the Lama the temporal power also over the country. On the complete disruption of the Mongol Empire, Tibet which was not claimed by the Chinese Mongol

dynasty, remained as an independent ecclesiastical state, and could then for more than a century continue its unimpeded development under the successors of Paspa. While in China the Buddhist papacy of the Tibetan church Lama was no longer recognised or remained without influence the activity of Tibetan missionaries was on the contrary successfully continued. Tibet could not fail to become the religious centre for these efforts.

The Buddhist doctrine of a new birth made men regard the chief Lamas

as reincarnations of great saints or indeed as Buddhas themselves. Ultimately a belief gained ground that the Great Lama remained always the same and immediately after his death was reincarnated in a child who without delay was regarded and revered as Great Lama. The first regeneration of this kind is said to have occurred in the year 1,099. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there was still no idea of strict religious government. The reincarnated Great Lama held by no means met with universal recognition and many years elapsed before he attained any great authority. Most of the monasteries in which religious life and learning were centred probably led a very independent existence. China where the new reigning house of the Ming was threatened



THE ABBOT OF A GREAT LAMAITE MONASTERY IN TIBET

CENTRAL ASIA—MODERN TIBET

from the side of Mongolia by the Mongol dynasty driven out in 1368, then turned her attention again to Tibet. The religious influence of Tibet on the nomads of Central Asia was not to be under-estimated. Halima, one of the most esteemed Tibetan Lamas, was brought to the Chinese imperial court, overwhelmed with pompous titles, and entrusted with the spiritual supremacy in Tibet, on the condition that a small tribute was paid yearly. Tibet was thus more closely linked to China, and the conversion and civilisation of the Central Asiatic nomads by emissaries from the holy land were encouraged in accordance with the Chinese policy.

The Buddhist Reformation, which took place about the middle of the fifteenth century, is a noteworthy counterpart of the Reformation of Luther, which began only a little later. In Tibet also the immediate cause of the movement was found in the depravity of the priesthood and the adulteration of the pure faith with popular superstitions of a Shamanistic origin, though the national questions which played an important part in Europe were hardly noticeable there. Tsong ko pa (1419-1478) founded the new sect of the "Yellow Lamas," which the followers of



L. Edwards

YOUNG LAMAS AND BALES OF TEA FROM CHINA

the old sect opposed under the name of "Red Lamas." The yellow sect remained victorious in Tibet proper, while the red sect held its own in Ladak and elsewhere.

Tsong ko pa was the real founder of the Tibetan hierarchy in the form which it has retained up to the present day. He nominated one of his pupils to be Dalai-Lama, a second to be Panchan-Lama; both would undergo a perpetual process of rebirth and hold permanently the spiritual headship. Tibet was partitioned between them, but the Dalai-Lama received the greater half, and gradually drove the Panchan-Lama into the background.

It was long before the Chinese paid attention to the new order of things in Tibet, although under certain circumstances it might produce serious results. A Chinese embassy, accompanied by a small army, appeared at the court of the Dalai-Lama in the year 1522, in order to invite him to the imperial court. When the prince of the Church declined and was concealed by his subjects, attempts were made to carry him off by force, but they resulted in complete failure. The Chinese Emperor Wu Tsung died at this crisis, and his successor, Shi Tsung, who



Edwards

TIBETAN SOLDIERS ARMED WITH OLD FLINTLOCKS

favoured Taoism, did not continue the plans against Tibet.

The third reincarnated Dalai-Lama, So nam, gave himself out for a "living Buddha," and as such won wide recognition. He travelled into Mongolia, where, being received with the deepest reverence, he came forward as a mediator between a Mongol prince and the Chinese. The victory then of the yellow sect was decisive in the north also; countless Mongol pilgrims went yearly to Lhasa, and Buddhist monasteries were founded in great numbers. In China the propitious influence of the Tibetan high-priest was noticeable in the increasing peacefulness of the nomads of the steppe. Shi Tsu, the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, which had ousted the house of the Ming after 1644, fully appreciated that fact, and acknowledged the presents of Tibetan envoys with a flattering invitation to the Dalai-Lama to come to Peking. The invitation was accepted this time; the Great Lama appeared in the year 1653 at the court of the Manchu dynasty, where he was the centre of universal respect, was invested with magnificent titles, and was finally escorted to his home by a guard commanded by an imperial prince. But this triumph of the "living

Buddha" was soon followed by a humiliation. Since at the death of each Dalai-Lama the office passed to a child, who was considered to be his reincarnation, the government every time rested for many years in the hands of regents, who were naturally tempted to keep their power even when the Dalai-Lama came to manhood, or, what was still simpler, never to allow the boy to live beyond a certain age. The regency was held by temporal princes, in whom we must simply see the successors of those old Tibetan rulers, who for a time had made Tibet a powerful state, but then had been more and more driven back by the hierarchy. As temporal protectors of the priesthood, and supported doubtless by large possessions of land, they had learned how to maintain a certain position.

Finally, when the reins of power slipped from the hands of the decrepit fifth Dalai-Lama, the reigning Tipa, or king, Sang Kiu, saw that the moment had arrived to replace the spiritual supremacy, which might be nominally retained, by a temporal. When the Great Lama died in 1682, the Tipa concealed his death, and was then in fact lord of Tibet. The alteration was soon noticed by the surrounding countries. The Tipa placed

**Tempora
Power
Restored**



TIBETAN HORSEMEN ON NATIVE PONIES AND ARMED WITH SPEARS AND GUNS



A LAMAITE DIGNITARY ENTERING COLONEL YOUNGHUSBAND'S CAMP

Colonel Younghusband conducted a mission from the Government of India to Lhasa, which was entered on August 3, 1904. The treaty of Lhasa, signed on September 7, brought Tibet within the British sphere of influence.

a Kalmuck prince, Kaldan, educated in Tibet as a Lama, at the head of this tribe, and the Kalmucks or Eleutes helped him in return to repel an attack of the Nepalese, a powerful nation of mountaineers, who were dangerous neighbours of the holy land.

The prince of the Eleutes now extended his power on a secret understanding with the Tipa, and ventured to attack China, where the fact had been realised with great dissatisfaction that the influence for peace exercised by Tibet on the nomads of the steppes was completely changed. A Chinese Lama, who had been sent to the Dalai-Lama, had not been allowed to see him. When, then, the Eleutian prince, after a defeat, declared to his lord that he had begun the war with China simply and solely at the wish of the Dalai-Lama, the terrified Tipa acknowledged, in answer to a peremptory letter of the emperor Sheng Tsu, or Kang hsi, that the fifth incarnation of the Dalai-Lama was long since dead, and that the deceased had been reincarnated in a boy; the death had been pushed up and the sixth incarnation not publicly acknowledged, in order to avoid

disturbances. The news of these events spread rapidly, and, although China took no further steps, considerably lessened the power of the Tipa. He began in the year 1705 a fresh war against a Tibetan chieftain, but was defeated and slain.

The victorious prince, La tsang, had already instated a new Dalai-Lama. But he was not recognised by China and was replaced by another, whom La tsang undertook to protect. Another Dalai-Lama, who appeared in Mongolia and claimed to be the real sixth incarnation, was also rejected by the Chinese Government, and was recognised only as a saint of inferior rank. The bad example of the

Tipa Sang Kiu had, however, produced its result: the Zungarian prince Zagan-Araptan, successor to Kaldan, who had seen what power in politics and religion the protector of the Dalai-Lama could exert, invaded Tibet with an army in 1717, in order to seize the Buddhist pope. Potala, near Lhasa, where the Dalai-Lama resided with the Khan La tsang, was stormed, and the Khan killed, but the Great Lama was kept in a place of safety. China no longer hesitated to check by

force this dangerous turn of events, which might lead to a new invasion of the Middle Kingdom by the nomads. A Chinese army and a Mongolian levy pushed into Tibet, but the united troops were outflanked and cut to pieces by the Zungarians on the River Kola. The dejection which the Chinese and Mongols felt at this reverse led to the

Defeat of Mongols and Chinese

proposal that Tibet should be left to itself, and that a new Dalai-Lama should be appointed in another district. Emperor Kang hsi, however, insisted on renewing the campaign with increased forces. The attempt was successful this time; the Zungarians evacuated the country in the year 1720, and Kang hsi was then able to effect the necessary closer union of Tibet with China. For the future two Chinese residents, for whom the necessary respect was ensured by a considerable armed force, undertook the protection of the Dalai-Lama in place of the native temporal kings.

The reverence felt for this living Buddha diminished, however, considerably in China when the Dalai-Lama, who was staying in Peking on a visit, died like any ordinary man, of smallpox. The small feudal princes of Tibet at first still retained some power; but after repeated disturbances they were completely subordinated to the Dalai-Lama—that is to say, to the Chinese governors—in the year 1750. The internal administration of the country, with which China generally interfered very little, was now entirely organised on an ecclesiastical system, since every local governor was given a Lama as colleague, who jointly with him managed the affairs of the inhabitants.

Although the Dalai-Lama was again recognised as supreme, there could be no idea of any actually permanent rule of the “living Buddha,” since a new Dalai-Lama was always raised to his high dignity in tender infancy and imperatively required an adviser. For all

The Lama a Political Puppet

foreign affairs the Chinese regents undertook this post; for home affairs a sort of new temporal monarchy was founded, since the “Rajah” of Lhasa usually conducted the government until the Dalai-Lama attained his majority. A strange fatality afterward willed that the Dalai-Lama hardly ever attained the required age of twenty years, but usually died just before, and then was always reincarnated in a

child. In this way the Chin also lost ground. Tibet depended more and more completely on and has remained down to the one of the most mysterious of countries in the world. When, in 1792, a new invasion of the Nepalese was repulsed with the aid of Chinese troops, the frontier towards India was almost entirely barred. A safeguard against the influences of civilisation was also found in the Himalayan state of Bhutan, lying south of Lhasa, which is a miniature Tibet with a dual government, temporal and spiritual, and an equally intense aversion from any influences from the outside world.

Foreigners were once received with open arms in Tibet. A Jesuit mission gained a footing there in the seventeenth century, and Lhasa was the seat of a group of Capuchins between 1725 and 1760. In 1774 Warren Hastings despatched a special envoy thither, in the person of his friend, George Bogle, who had a friendly reception, and concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Tibet. In 1811 Dr. Manning was entertained by the Dalai-Lama. The intense dislike of all

Closing the Door of Tibet

foreigners, which was rampant in China, was fatal to our relations with Tibet. A veil fell on the mysterious land, and would-be explorers were ignominiously turned back from the frontier. In 1886 an attempt to establish commercial intercourse was made by the Government of India. It was defeated by the jealousy of Peking. As is always the case with Oriental races, the Lamas misconstrued our reluctance to enforce reciprocity of trade. They intermeddled in the affairs of Sikkim, a petty frontier state under British tutelage. In 1888 a British expeditionary force retaliated by crossing the Jeylap Pass, north of Darjiling. Tibetan opposition was brushed aside, and if Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, had not recalled his victorious troops they would have occupied Lhasa. Negotiations continued with Peking, and in March, 1890, the Senior Amban at Lhasa arrived in Calcutta with full power to conclude a commercial treaty. After three years' parleying a Convention was ratified by China, which provided for the demarcation of the Anglo-Tibetan frontier and the creation of a trade mart at Yatung. It remained a dead letter, remonstrance being met by tactics which have proved effectual for half a century.

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Federal army with its own military organisation under the command of the King of Bavaria, and that also the Württemberg army should form a distinct army, whose commander, however, could only be nominated by the King of Württemberg with the previous assent of the King of Prussia. The organisation, training, and system of mobilisation of the Bavarian and Württemberg troops were to be remodelled according to the principles in force for the Federal army. The Federal commander possessed the right to inspect the Bavarian and Württemberg armies, and from the first day of mobilisation onwards all the troops of North and South Germany alike had to obey his commands.

The consideration which Bismarck showed to the kings procured him not merely their sincere confidence during the whole term of his life, a fact which was politically of much value, but also facilitated the settlement of the question of the title. Recognising that it is more palatable to the ambition of secondary states to have a German Emperor over them than a King of Prussia, King Lewis consented on December 3rd to propose to the German princes, in a letter drafted by Bismarck himself, that a joint invitation should be given His Majesty the King of Prussia to combine the exercise of the rights of President of the Federation with the style of a "German Emperor."

King William consented, waiving his scruples in deference to the universal wish of the princes and peoples of Germany. The Reichstag and the Landtags sanctioned the constitution of the "German Empire" in December and January, and on December 18th a deputation of the Reichstag appeared in Versailles, in order to transmit to the king, through the president, the good wishes of the representatives of the people for the imperial Crown. There was still friction to be smoothed away; but on January 18th, 1871—the day on which, in 1701, the Prussian monarchy had been proclaimed—in the Hall of Mirrors of the splendid Chateau of Versailles, erected by Louis XIV., the adoption of the imperial title was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of numerous German princes. The Grand Duke Frederic of Baden led the first cheer for His Majesty Emperor William. In a proclamation to the Ger-

man people, composed by Bismarck, the emperor announced his resolve "to aid at all times the growth of the Empire, not by the conquests of the sword, but by the goods and gifts of peace, in the sphere of national prosperity, freedom, and culture." In the thirty years and more that have elapsed since that day the world has had opportunity to recognise that this has been no empty phrase, but the guiding star of three German emperors.

At the moment when the Empire was revived, or, to speak more correctly, was called into existence, the French powers of resistance were everywhere becoming exhausted; even those of the capital were failing. At Christmas-time 235 heavy pieces of siege artillery were collected in Villacoublay, east of Versailles, and the bombardment of the east front of Paris was commenced on December 27th with such violence that the French evacuated Mont Avron "almost at a gallop." The bombardment of the city itself began from

Bombarding the French Capital the south side on January 5th, and after five and a half hours Fort Issy ceased its fire. Since the shots, owing to an elevation of thirty degrees, which had been obtained by special contrivances, carried beyond the centre of the city, the inhabitants fled from the south to the north of Paris—a movement by which the difficulties of feeding them were much increased.

A great, and final, sortie towards the west, which was attempted on January 10th by Trochu with 90,000 men, was defeated at Buzenval and Saint-Cloud, before the French had even approached the main positions of the Germans. The bombardment of the north front began on January 21st.

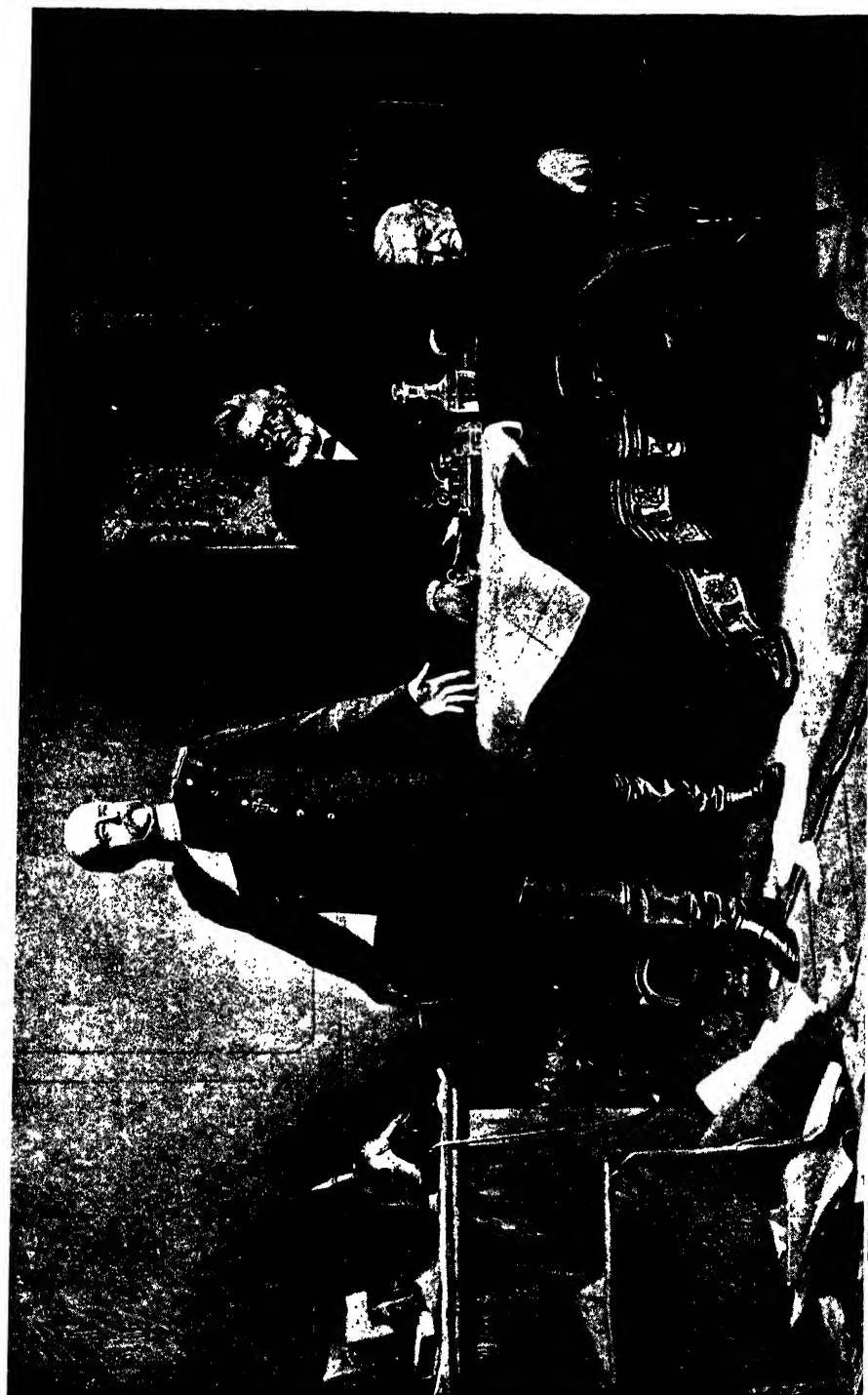
Here, too, the forts were completely demolished; parts of the bastions were soon breached; the garrisons had no protection against the German shells. It was known in the city that Chanzy had been completely routed at Le Mans on January 11th and 12th, and the last prospect of relief was destroyed by the ill-tidings from the east.

General Bourbaki had marched in that direction with half of the army of the Loire; with the strength of his forces raised to 130,000 men, he hoped to compel the Germans under Werder, who only numbered 42,000, to relinquish the siege of the fortress of Belfort, and to force the Germans before Paris to retire, by



WILLIAM I. PROCLAIMED GERMAN EMPEROR IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS AT VERSAILLES, ON JANUARY 18TH, 1871

From the painting by Anton von Werner by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



TERMINATING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR: BISMARCK AND THIERS CONCLUDING PEACE AT VERSAILLES

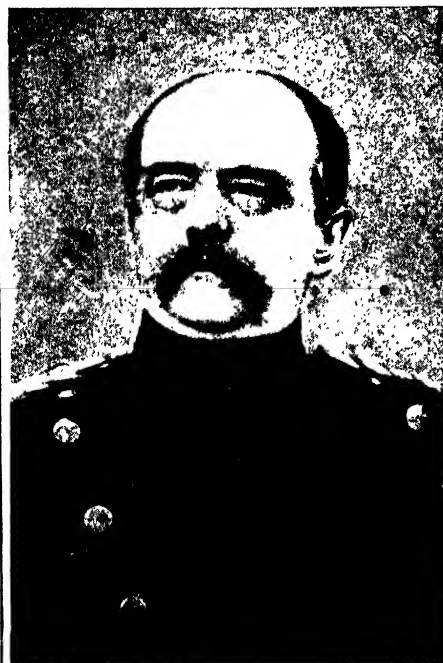
From the painting by N. Aguer, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



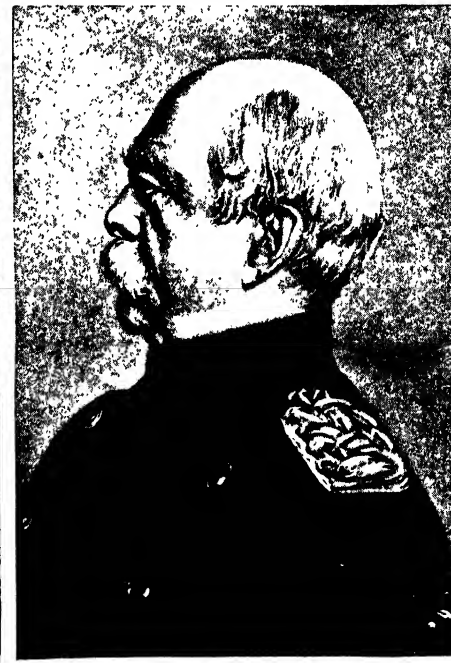
AS INSPECTOR OF DYKES IN 1850



ENVOY AT THE GERMAN DIET IN 1858



DURING THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR



PRINCE BISMARCK AT SEVENTY

GERMANY'S "IRON CHANCELLOR" AT FOUR STAGES OF HIS CAREER

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

threatening their communications in the rear. But Werder attacked the enemy, three times his superior in numbers, at Montbéliard on the Lisaine, and repulsed, in the three days' fighting, from January 15th to 17th, all the attacks of Bourbaki. Not one French battalion was able to reach Belfort, where salvos had been vainly fired in honour of victory when the cannon-shots were heard.

Bourbaki commenced his retreat, dispirited and weakened; but when he learnt that Moltke had sent General Manteuffel with the Pomeranians and Rhinelanders to block his road by Gray and Dôle, and when Garibaldi, although he retook Dijon and on January 23rd captured the flag of the 61st regiment from under a heap of dead bodies, was unable to help him, he went back to Pontarlier.

But before he surrendered his army to be disarmed by the neutral Swiss, he made an ineffectual attempt to blow out his brains. His successor, Justin Clinchant finally crossed the Franco-Swiss frontier on February 1st with 80,000 men.

The last army of France was thus annihilated and the fate of Belfort sealed. Colonel Denfert-Rochereau surrendered the bravely-defended but now untenable town to General Udo von Tresckow on February 18th.

In Paris the dearth of provisions grew greater and greater during January. On the 21st a pound of ham cost 16s., a pound of butter 20s., a goose 112s. Horses, cats, dogs, and rats had long been eaten. In view of the threatened famine, Favre, the Foreign Minister, eventually appeared at the German headquarters on January 23rd, the 127th day of the siege, to negotiate the terms of a capitulation.

An agreement was at last reached on January 28th, by which an armistice of twenty-one days was granted for the election of a National Assembly, which should decide on war and peace; but, in return for the concession a high penalty was exacted, all the forts round Paris were delivered up to the Germans, and the whole garrison of the town declared prisoners of war.

The town had to hand over all its cannons and rifles within fourteen days; the only exception was made in favour of the National Guard, the disarmament of which Favre declared to be impracticable owing to

the insurrectionary spirit prevailing in that corps. Paris was thus in the hands of the Germans, although the emperor refrained from a regular occupation of it, which might easily lead to bloody encounters and hence to new difficulties, in the hope of peace being soon concluded. Permission was, of course, given for provisioning the city.

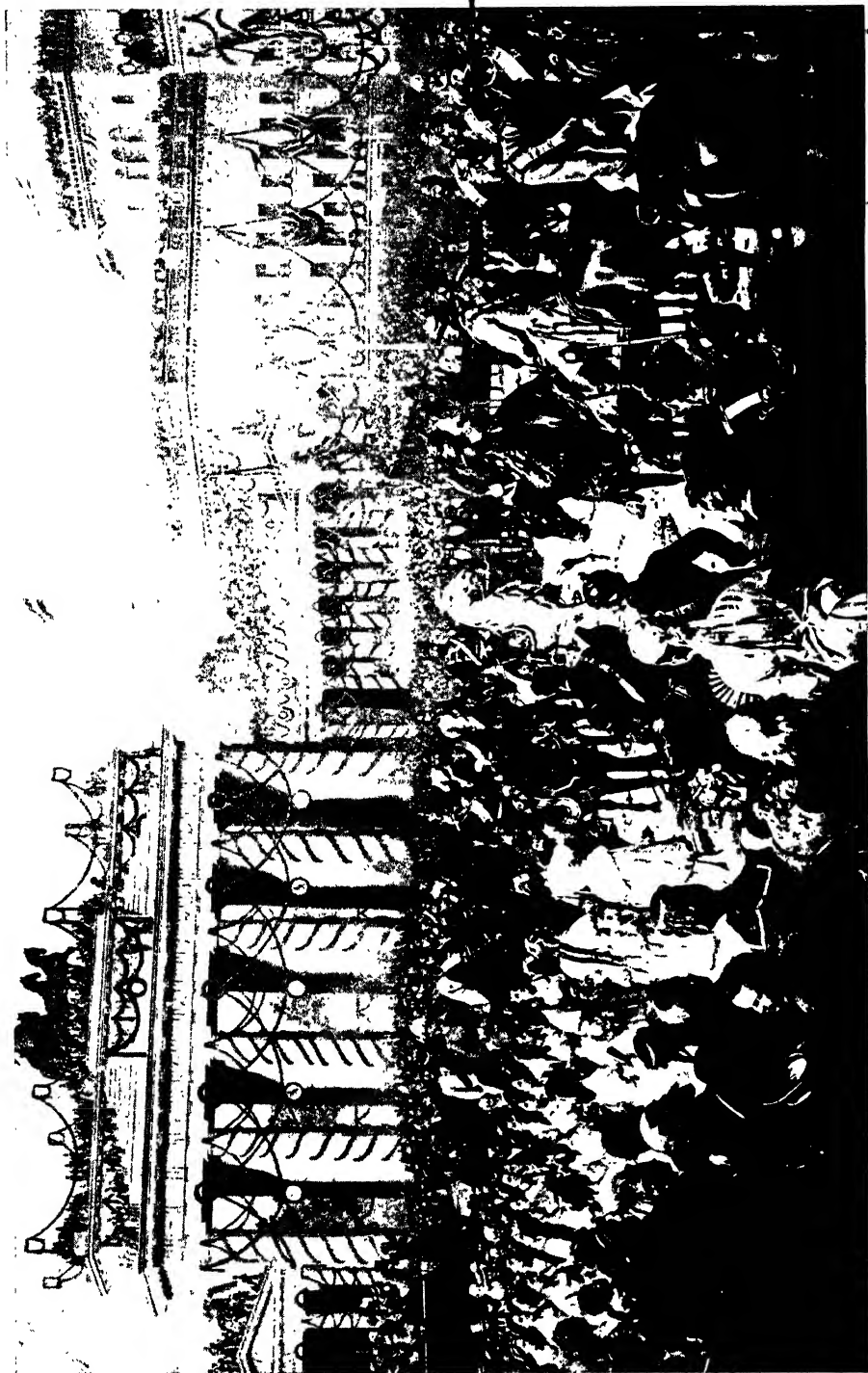
Gambetta would not consent to the armistice, but was compelled by Jules Simon, who was sent by the Government to Bordeaux, to retire on February 6th. The great man of the crisis was henceforward Adolphe Thiers, who at the beginning of the war had counselled a cautious policy, and then, after Sedan, had vainly endeavoured to induce the Great Powers to intervene. He had proved himself a far-sighted patriot, to whom the country might look for its rescue.

On February 8th, twenty-six departments elected him to the National Assembly, which numbered among them 768 deputies, 400 to 500 supporters of the monarchy, Orleanists and Legitimists, but included a large majority for peace. Fully a third of France was occupied by the Germans, and Faidherbe declared that if the Government wished to continue the war in Flanders, the people would intervene and surrender to the Germans. On February 17th, Thiers was elected to the highest post in the state under the title of "Chief of the Executive," and was sent on the 21st to Versailles for the purpose of negotiating a peace.

Bismarck demanded the whole of Alsace with Belfort, and a fifth of Lorraine with Metz and Diedenhofen, in addition £240,000,000 and the entry of the German troops into Paris. After prolonged negotiations he assented to remit £40,000,000 and waive all claim to Belfort, but insisted the more emphatically on the entry into Paris, which in some degree would impress the seal on the German victories and place

clearly before the eyes of the French their complete defeat, as a deterrent from future wars.

Thiers hurried with the conditions mentioned to Bordeaux. On March 1st, the same day on which 30,000 German soldiers, selected from all the German races, marched into Paris and occupied the quarter of the town near the Champs Elysées, together with the Château of the Tuileries, the preliminary treaty for peace, which the National Assembly had adopted, after



GERMANY'S CONQUERING EMPEROR: THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF WILLIAM I INTO BERLIN ON JUNE 9TH, 1871
From the painting by Carl Rottmann, in the possession of the Berlin Photograph Co.

THE BIRTH OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

a stormy debate, by 546 votes to 107, was completed in Bordeaux. The official ratification of it reached Versailles on the evening of March 1st. The Germans evacuated Paris on the 3rd, and retired behind the right bank of the Seine, which was to be the boundary of the two armies until the final peace was concluded. According to this agreement the forts to the east and north of Paris were still occupied by the Germans.

The subsequent peace negotiations were conducted in Brussels by plenipotentiaries, but proceeded so slowly that Bismarck, at the beginning of May, 1871, finally invited Favre to Frankfort-on-the-Main, in order to arrive at a clear understanding with him through a personal conference. After a short discussion the final peace was signed there on May 10th. It contained, contrary to the preliminary treaty, a small exchange of territory at Belfort and Diedenhofen, and the proviso that the evacuation of French territory by the Germans should take place by degrees, in proportion as instalments of the war indemnity were paid.

The results of the German struggle for unity were immense. In comparison with them the sacrifices of the war were not so excessive. They amounted on the German side to 28,600 killed in battle, 12,000 deaths from disease, and 4,000 missing, a grand total, therefore, of about 45,000 men; the number of wounded was calculated at 101,000. The French lost 150,000 killed and 150,000 wounded; the number of prisoners was eventually raised to more than 600,000.

Emperor William I. held a grand review of the victorious troops in the east of Paris on March 7th, and entered Berlin on March 17th. On March 21st he opened in person the first German Reichstag; on June 16th, a triumphal entry of the German army, selected out of all the German races, was made into Berlin, between two lines of 7,400 captured cannons. The age of the Holy Roman Empire of Louis XIV. and of the Napoleons was over. The new Empire of the German nation had come into being.

G. EGELHAAF



THE INTERROGATOR: AN EPISODE IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR



"IRRECONCILABLE"



"RECONCILED"

The horrors of war are vividly suggested by these pictures of Gustave Doré. In the first, the battle is over, leaving its carnage behind. But among the wounded are two who have fought on opposite sides, and realising each other's presence there springs up anew their hatred as they prepare to resume the struggle single-handed. But the combatants who are thus "irreconcilable" have come together in the second picture, and in their nearness to the Cross and in the presence of death have put aside their differences that they may be of service to each other.

THE
RE-MAKING
OF
EUROPE



THE
CONSOLIDATION OF THE
POWERS XII

SCANDINAVIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY THE PROGRESS OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

THE unfortunate policy of Frederic VI. had caused Denmark great reverses. She had lost her fleet, on which she had always prided herself, and had been separated from Norway, thus losing half her Scandinavian population; her prosperity had been destroyed in the wars; the national debt had assumed enormous proportions, and the financial position had been so bad that in 1813 the Government had been compelled to declare the state insolvent. Industry, too, had been paralysed, and was unable to recover for some years after the declaration of peace; commerce was almost at a standstill and to a great extent dependent on Hamburg; and agriculture, which had been very profitable during the war by reason of the high price of corn, now suffered from falling prices. But the cloud was, after all, not without its silver lining. The national extremity, and the hard struggle that

Denmark Renews its Strength

was made at the opening of the century, had a stimulating and fertilising influence on the intellectual life of the community. While political interests were unimportant and material prosperity was declining, art and literature flourished; it seemed as if the nation sought in these things consolation for its unhappy circumstances. Gradually the economic situation improved. The finances were set in order by the establishment of a national bank independent of the Government; industry prospered, and at Frederic's death, in 1839, the country had renewed its strength.

While Crown Prince, Frederic VI. had been a great friend of reform; but as king he was strongly conservative, and opposed to any changes in the constitution. But in proportion as their condition improved the people awoke to an interest in public affairs, and the desire for freedom and self-government became stronger and stronger. After the "July Revolution," the effects of which were felt in Denmark as well as in other lands, Frederic at last

decided to meet the popular wish, at least in part. He therefore instituted four advisory diets for the islands, Jütland, Schleswig, and Holstein—the first step towards a free constitution. Frederic's successor, his half-cousin Christian VIII., 1839–1848, was just as little disposed to renounce absolutism. But now

Aims of the National Liberals

the cry for a free constitution grew louder, and the National Liberals worked for the abolition of absolutism. They wished also to terminate the union of Schleswig and Holstein, and to attach more closely to Denmark that province in which the large proportion of German inhabitants endangered Danish nationality.

In the eighteenth century the two united duchies had once more come into the possession of the Danish Crown. Schleswig was, however, not incorporated with the remainder of Denmark; it remained in close connection with Holstein, and German was the official language. Frederic VI. did, indeed, give Schleswig a diet of its own, but bound the two duchies together by placing them under a Ministry and a supreme court common to both.

As the result of its long connection with Holstein, Schleswig had become more and more German, and by the nineteenth century almost half the population spoke German. When the Danes at last took measures to preserve the Danish nationality of the province, this course embittered the Germans. Thus it came about that a Schleswig-Holstein party grew up in

Denmark's German Duchies

the two duchies and demanded that Schleswig-Holstein should be made independent of Denmark, and be constituted one of the states of the German Confederation. The leaders of this party, the princes of Augustenburg, who, as descendants of a younger son, Hans the younger, of King Christian III., hoped to obtain the duchies for themselves if the royal line became extinct—which seemed likely to happen

shortly—sought support in Germany, where an enthusiastic national movement in their favour was started.

The other Scandinavian countries, on the contrary, with whom the idea of Scandinavian unity at that time had great weight, were in favour of the aims of the National Liberal party in Denmark.

Schleswig's Desire for Independence The king hesitated for a long time; but at last he declared, on July 8th, 1846, that Schleswig was indissolubly bound to Denmark. In other respects, too, he met the wishes of the National Liberals; and he had just completed the framing of a constitution when death cut short his labours on January 20th, 1848.

Immediately after his death the Schleswig-Holstein party demanded the recognition of Schleswig-Holstein as a separate state. But Christian's son and successor, Frederic VII., 1848-1863, refused to separate Schleswig from Holstein, though he promised Holstein, like the other provinces, a free constitution. The Schleswig-Holstein party were, however, not willing to accept this proposal, and before long civil war broke out. Prussia supported the party of secession, and a German army entered the duchies. The Danes had to retire to Alsén, but the armistice arranged at Malmö, August 26th, through the mediation of Oscar I. of Norway and Sweden, did not lead to the conclusion of peace. In 1849 the war was renewed. Meanwhile the reactionary party had gained the upper hand in Germany; Prussia made peace on July 2nd, 1850, and by the next year the resistance of Schleswig-Holstein was overcome.

During the war Denmark had received a free constitution. The draft prepared by Christian VIII. had not met with general approval, and a Constituent Assembly summoned by Frederic VII. therefore published a constitution, dated June 5th, 1849, in which the kingdom was made a limited monarchy.

German Powers Intervene This constitution was intended for Schleswig as well as Denmark, but to this the German

Powers would not consent. In 1852 it was agreed that Schleswig should not remain united to Holstein, but must not be incorporated with Denmark. On the death of Frederic VII. the whole monarchy was to fall to Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his consort Louise of Hesse-Cassel, whose mother was a sister of

Christian VIII. The general constitution of July 26th, 1854, met with opposition, however, especially from the populations of Holstein and Lauenburg, whose part was taken by Prussia and Austria.

But in Denmark, where hopes were entertained, on account of the disputes existing between the chief German states, of solving the question of the constitution without German interference, the national—Eider-Danish—party, which proposed to incorporate Schleswig in the kingdom, gained the upper hand. Two days after giving his approval to a new constitution for Denmark and Schleswig, Frederic VII. died in November, 1863.

Christian IX., 1863-1906, gave way to the wishes of the Danes and signed the "November Constitution." But now Frederic—VIII.—of Augustenburg came forward with his claims to the duchies, and was supported by Prussia and Austria. These Powers refused to recognise the new king's right of succession except on condition that the November Constitution should be annulled. As the Danes did not accede to this demand, the second

Schleswig Causes a Second War Schleswig war broke out in January, 1864. Denmark had hoped to receive help from Norway and Sweden, as well as from the Western Powers, but these hopes proved to be ill founded. The Danish army, which had occupied the "Danework," retired to Düppel as early as February 5th.

Here the Danes defended themselves bravely, but were at last forced to cross to Alsén. The Prussians occupied Jütland, expelled the Danes from Alsén, and threatened to land on Zealand. The Danes could now resist no longer. At the Treaty of Vienna, October 30th, 1864, Denmark ceded the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria; and her hope of recovering, by virtue of Article 5 of the Treaty of Prague, concluded on August 23rd, 1866, at least the northern part of Schleswig has not been fulfilled. The loss of Schleswig resulted in a change of the constitution, and on July 28th, 1866, Denmark received the fundamental law still in force.

Soon after the declaration of peace the country became involved in internal dissensions. A dispute arose in 1870 between the Government and the "Folketinget"—one of the Chambers of the Rigsdag—as to the correct interpretation of the constitution, and the struggle only

SCANDINAVIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ended in 1804 when the "negotiating" portion of the Left Party, which had been divided since 1878, went over to the Right. In spite of this Denmark has been on the path of progress ever since the middle of the last century. The great agricultural reforms begun in 1788 have been continued and a fixed payment substituted for forced service. The number of tenant-farmers has fallen, and the peasantry have the same political rights as the other classes of the community. Like agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and shipping are progressing satisfactorily. The obligation on artisans to join a guild has been removed, and means of communication have been improved. The merchants have become independent of Hamburg. Copenhagen, which was provided with extensive fortifications in 1836, has been a free port since 1844.

Good provision is made for national education, the general level of which is, on the whole, a high one; the people's universities, in particular, which have been imitated in Norway and Sweden, have promoted the education of the peasantry and exercised considerable influence on their intellectual life.

On the accession to the Swedish throne of Charles XIII., who was old and childless, Christian Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, was chosen as successor in 1809, but died suddenly on May 28th, 1810. It was then that a young Swedish officer, who met the Prince of Pontecorvo, Marshal Bernadotte, in Paris, offered him the Crown on his own responsibility, and contrived to use his influence in Sweden so that the marshal was designated heir to the Crown on August 21st at a Riksdag at Orebro. Bernadotte, who called himself Crown Prince Charles John, went, with his son Oscar to Sweden in October, and at once became actual ruler.

The Swedes had chosen him on the supposition that he was on friendly terms with Napoleon, and hoped that he would regain Finland for them with the help of

the emperor. Charles John, however, had never been Napoleon's friend and did not wish to be his vassal; he therefore abandoned the idea of reconquering Finland, which, in his opinion, Sweden could never defend. He would have liked to obtain possession of Norway, which, by

Union of Sweden and Norway

reason of its situation, seemed to belong rather to Sweden than to Denmark. Accordingly he approached Alexander I. of Russia, and on April 5th, 1812, concluded a treaty with the Tsar and joined the league against Napoleon. In return for this Russia and Britain promised their assistance in the conquest of Norway. In May, 1813, he crossed over into Ger-

many with an army, received in July chief command over the "united army of North Germany," was victorious at Grossbeeren and Dennewitz, and took part in the Battle of Leipzig. After this great battle he advanced against Denmark with part of the northern army, and by the Peace of Kiel, January 14th, 1814, compelled King Frederic VI. to relinquish the kingdom of Norway. Charles John then attached himself again to the allies, who had marched to France, and did not return to the north until the summer of 1814. In the mean-

time the Norwegians, who did not wish to submit to Sweden, had drawn up a free constitution and chosen the Danish prince, Christian Frederic, as their king. Charles John, who was shrewd enough to acknowledge the Norwegian constitution, succeeded in removing Christian Frederic and in bringing about the union between Sweden and Norway in a peaceful way.

By his ability as a soldier and a politician, Charles John raised his new country from the lethargy into which it had been plunged by the foolish policy of Gustavus IV. to its former rank as a kingdom; he ruled with energy and discretion and furthered the welfare of the land. He was therefore admired and beloved by the people, and, foreigner though he was,



CHARLES XIV. OF SWEDEN

The son of a lawyer, Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, was elected heir to the throne of Sweden in 1810, and became king without opposition on the death of Charles XIII. in 1818.

Sweden's Novel Choice of a King

he ascended the throne of Sweden as Charles XIV. at the death of Charles XIII., on February 5th, 1818, without opposition.

In time the enthusiasm for the new king declined; he had, it is true, an attractive and lovable nature, but he was also violent in temper, intolerant of criticism, and became more and more conservative, especially after the "Revolution of July." The greatest dissatisfaction was aroused by his resistance to every proposal for altering the constitution, which on several points, particularly with respect to the organisation of the Riksdag, did not meet the requirements of the times. He, the son of the Revolution, was charged with holding narrow views.

After 1830, a Liberal opposition was formed, which steadily increased in power, and numbered distinguished personalities among its leaders. As the Government was strongly opposed to all innovations, the indignation at last grew so great that there were serious thoughts of compelling the king to resign in 1840. However, the storm was averted, and the last years of Charles XIV. were passed in quiet. He died on March 8th, 1844, aged eighty-one years.

Under his son, Oscar I., 1844-1859, who was just as popular in Sweden as in Norway, the opposition became weaker. The king attached himself to the Liberals, surrounded himself with Ministers of broad views, and sanctioned an extension of the freedom of the Press, and triennial assemblies of the Riksdag. However, his popular proposition regarding the reconstruction of the Riksdag was rejected in 1850, and after the Revolution of February, when a reaction was sweeping over Europe, Oscar also grew more conservative and let the question of the Riksdag drop. During his reign the management of the state was successfully carried on. Oscar altered the foreign policy of Sweden by withdrawing from the Russian alliance. It was suspected that the Russians were desirous of taking possession of certain portions of the Finnish frontier lands. During the Crimean War, Sweden and Norway concluded a treaty with France and Britain, November, 1855, by which the aid of the Western Powers was assured to the united kingdoms in the event of Russia seizing any of the northern harbours. Oscar, who considered himself a thorough Scandinavian, stood on the best of terms with

**Anticipating
Russia's
Advances**

Denmark; he acted as a mediator in the first Schleswig war, August, 1848, and later offered King Frederic VII. a defensive alliance in order to protect the Eider boundary. This offer was, however, not accepted by the Danes. Oscar's son, Charles XV., 1859-1872, was also a personal friend of Frederic VII. But the negotiations which had been opened with Denmark on account of the political situation of Europe after Frederic's death, November 15th, 1863, were discontinued, so that the king was compelled to give up the cause of Denmark in 1864.

The question of the Riksdag was finally solved in the reign of Charles XV., as at the Riksdag of 1865 all the four Estates assented to a reorganisation. The Riksdag now meets every year, and consists of two Chambers; the king has the right of dismissing the Riksdag and issuing the writs for a new election. This reorganisation, by which the nobles were deprived of their last prerogatives, also effected a change of parties. The "Intellectuals" were supported by the cultured classes, while the "Landt-manna party" aimed chiefly at economy in the administration, particularly in the army, and a more equal division of the burden of taxation. In the reign of Oscar II., Charles' brother and successor, a violent dispute was caused by the customs policy; several of the Landt-manna party joined the representatives of the wholesale industry and carried a law for protection. In recent years the Chambers, in which Conservatives and Liberals are now the contending parties, have introduced a new army law, by which the term of service for the "Beväring" - those who are liable to serve in the army - has been considerably lengthened. On the other hand, no agreement has yet been reached about the extension of the very limited franchise.

Sweden, no less than Norway, has made great material progress in the nineteenth century. The legislature departed from the economic principles of an earlier age and abolished the restrictions which fettered commerce and manufacture. At the same time necessary improvements have been made in the means of communication. Trade and manufacture have opened up new paths for themselves. Agriculture, which was so neglected in the eighteenth century, has developed to such an extent that Sweden, which in the eighteenth

SCANDINAVIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

century could not provide the corn necessary for home consumption, can now export grain. Cattle-breeding and mining, especially for iron ore, have also made great progress in recent years. As wealth has increased by the development of natural resources, provision has also been made for intellectual growth by improvement in the schools, so that in Sweden, as in the other two Scandinavian countries, popular education has now reached a high standard, and the Swedes have attained European fame in all branches of natural science. When the Treaty of Kiel, which transferred Norway

from Denmark to Sweden in 1814, was proclaimed in Norway, it aroused universal indignation. The Norwegians did not wish, under any circumstances to be subjected to the Swedes, whom they hated as enemies, the few who considered a union with Sweden advantageous were looked upon almost as traitors. Prince Christian Frederic, afterwards Christian VIII. of Denmark, who was viceroy at that time, and who was popular with the Norwegians, conceived the idea of taking advantage of the discontent against Sweden to make himself king. He accordingly summoned an assembly of the Estates of the kingdom at Eidsvold, north of Christiania, which should draw up a constitution for the country. This assembly met in April, 1814, and had completed its work by May 17th.

As a result of this constitution, which was modelled on the French constitution of 1791, Norway became a limited monarchy with one Chamber of Representatives. On this point the members of the Estates were all agreed; they all clung to the independence of Norway. But on other matters they were divided into two factions; the minority wished for

the union with Sweden and desired to postpone the election of a king, while the majority were eager to appoint Prince Christian Frederic immediately as king.

On May 17th Christian Frederic was actually elected king. When the Swedish Government heard of the proceedings in Norway they at once complained to the allies, who despatched plenipotentiaries to Christiania to put into force the decision of the Peace of Kiel, but in vain. The Norwegians armed themselves, but their army was badly equipped and without capable leaders. Christian Frederic was no general and had no inclination for war;

he always hoped, like the majority of Norwegians, that the Great Powers would respect the indignation of the Norwegians against the union. Accordingly, the war only lasted a few weeks. The Crown Prince, Charles John Bernadotte, marched into Norway. The Norwegians, following the command of their king, steadily retreated, although they were consumed with the desire for battle, and in some places fought successfully. Christian Frederic did not dare to risk a decisive engagement, but agreed to an armistice.

On August 14th, the Convention of Moss, to the south of

Christiania, was concluded. The Crown Prince, who felt that he was not strong enough to subjugate Norway completely, and who wished for peace in the north, promised in the name of King Charles XIII., before the Congress of Vienna assembled, that he would recognise the constitution of Norway; Christian Frederic, for his part, pledged himself to renounce the Crown, to convene a Storting—National Assembly—which should come to terms with the Swedish king, and to leave the country. These arrangements were carried out; the Storting made a few alterations



KING OSCAR I. OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN

The son of Charles XIV., he succeeded to the dual throne of Norway and Sweden, and, surrounding himself with Ministers of broad views, proved a good and popular ruler.

in the constitution, which necessitated the union with Sweden, and elected King Charles of Sweden as King of Norway, November 4th, 1814. The conditions of the union were more definitely stated by a National Act, the Rigsakt of 1815.



CHARLES XV.

Ascending the throne of Norway and Sweden in 1859 on the death of his father, he endeavoured to bring about closer relations between the two countries, and died in 1872.

In this way Norway came to be united with Sweden as an independent kingdom. Its constitution was one of the freest in Europe. Since that time the country has made great progress in every direction. The people successfully upheld their free constitution against the attacks of the Crown and maintained their equality with Sweden in the union. They were also able to turn the natural resources of their country to better advantage, and thus the general prosperity increased. The Norwegians have paid great attention to national education, and have taken a prominent position in art and science.

In the earlier years of the union there was often friction between the king and the people. Charles XIV., Bernadotte, who succeeded to the throne in 1818,

thought that the Norwegian constitution was too democratic, and wished to extend his power. However, his attempts to alter the constitution were frustrated by the decided attitude of the Storting, which always offered a unanimous opposition to his propositions. The Norwegians, on their part, thought that the king did too little to obtain for them the equal footing in the union which had been decreed by the constitution, and, in addition, they feared his attacks on the constitution.

Little by little, however, the relations of king and people improved; Charles John experienced in his last years many proofs of the loyalty of the Norwegians. His son, Oscar I., a liberal and kindly disposed prince, did his utmost to meet the wishes of the Norwegians. King



OSCAR II.

Charles XV. was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II., a poet and historian, who, in 1905, regretfully agreed to the demand of Norway for separation from Sweden.

and Storting worked in harmony for the welfare of the country, which was making great progress in every direction; industry, in particular, received a fresh impetus. After his death, however, there was an end

SCANDINAVIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

of concord; the opposition in the Storting increased, and serious political struggle began which have continued almost without interruption up to the present day.

At first the official element had taken the lead in the Storting; but after the July Revolution, which had roused in Norway a more general interest in politics, and a strong national spirit, the peasants, who considered themselves the true representatives of the Norwegian people, and regarded the government officials with suspicion, founded a party in opposition to them. This party soon gained in strength by the coalition of the Liberals, who wished to extend the influence of the Storting at the expense of the executive power. It

impeached the Ministry; the Ministers were actually condemned, and the king was forced to appoint a Sverdrup Ministry, June 26th, 1884. However, no sooner did the Left come into power than they began to disagree; they split up into Moderates and Radicals, and Sverdrup was obliged to give way to a Conservative Ministry in July, 1889. But the Conservatives did not remain in power; in 1891 the Liberals came into office, which they retained till after the spring of the new century.

Almost all literary activity had ceased with the decline of the national life in the fourteenth century. The people, however, still cherished the old sagas and poems. A wealth of national poetry was



THE GREAT FIGURES IN SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

With the awakened enthusiasm for nationalism in the early part of the nineteenth century there dawned a new literary era in Scandinavia, the poets Bjørn Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighting in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people, while Bjørnson and Ibsen also achieved fame as dramatists.

now formed an opposition and established itself on the left side of the House, while what had been the official became the Conservative party, and supported the Government. The Left had a capable leader in John Sverdrup, 1876-1892; under him they became more important, and finally constituted the majority in the Storting. Consequently the relations between the Government and the Left were not over-friendly during the reign of Charles XV., 1859-1872.

Ill-feeling increased under his brother and successor, Oscar II. There were several points of dispute; the Government opposed various propositions of the Left, and could not agree with them concerning the exact meaning of a few points in the constitution. At last the Storting

springing up—songs, sagas, and fairy stories. These have been collected in recent times and furnish an interesting picture of the intellectual life of the people in earlier times. The old Norwegian language, which had remained comparatively unaltered only in Iceland, became obsolete as a literary language with the decline of literature, and survived only in dialects. The Danish language was introduced, and in the sixteenth century, when a fresh impulse was given to literary activity, the Norwegians wrote in Danish.

Thus the literature of the two countries became merged. The share which the Norwegians contributed, "Føelles litteraturen," was at first insignificant, but it increased and became more important as they gradually recovered from their

inertia. But, in spite of the growing national spirit, there was as yet no effort to create a Norwegian national literature. Immediately after 1814 also, when the literary output was small, the poets showed little originality. They remained in the grooves of the eighteenth century, raved about their fatherland, and wrote

The Dawn of National Literature

songs on liberty, national novels, and dramas. It was not until the year 1830 that a national literature of any importance began, with the poets Wergeland, who died in 1845, and Welhaven, who died in 1873. Both were filled with a fervent love for their country, and only differed in one point—namely, as to what would prove of most advantage to Norway. The educated classes are still strongly influenced by Danish culture, and Welhaven desired to maintain the intellectual union with Denmark; Wergeland, on the other hand, hated the Danish culture and language, and was enthusiastic about his own nationality.

Thus in 1832 there began a violent literary feud. It had some good results. On the one hand it helped to check the exaggerated enthusiasm for everything Norwegian; on the other hand it strengthened genuine self-reliance and true patriotism. With the extravagant enthusiasm for nationalism there was awakened an interest in the life of the people, in national poetry, and nature. The poets Björn Björnson, Jonas Lie, and others delighted in describing the characteristic traits in the life and customs of the people and their thoughts and feelings.

At the same time the saga period was dramatised, and Björnson and Henrik Ibsen who died in 1906, produced a series of historical plays. Efforts were made to preserve Norwegian as the national language. From 1870 literature gradually assumed a realistic tone; the poets did not describe chiefly the life of the peasants

Finland Under the Swedes

as formerly, but all classes of society. Poets such as Björnson, Ibsen, Lie, Alex Kielland, who died in 1906, and Arne Garborg, born in 1851, undertook to solve social problems. Science was studied with gratifying results at the University of Christiania. Finland, which the Swedes had conquered and converted to Christianity in the thirteenth century, was not intimately connected with the kingdom of Sweden until the sixteenth century; in the

fifteenth century it was generally given to some Swedish magnate as a fief. It was not until the time of the Vasa that the royal power made itself felt in the land. Gustavus Vasa reformed the government and system of taxation, destroyed the Catholic hierarchy, and introduced the Reformation, for which M. Agricola, who died in 1557, in particular interested himself keenly; but the king's efforts to release the Finns from the oppression of their own nobles were fruitless. The situation became still worse under the sons of Gustavus, Erik XIV. and John.

At last, in 1596-1597, the Finnish peasants rose against their oppressors, and, armed with clubs, plundered the estates of the nobles; but the rising, which spread over the whole country, was suppressed, and for the second time Finland was conquered. This "Club War" cost the lives of 3,000 peasants. The conditions improved after Charles IX. became king. Assistance was given to the country, and it was united more firmly to Sweden; the power of the nobility was crushed, and Finland, which had become a

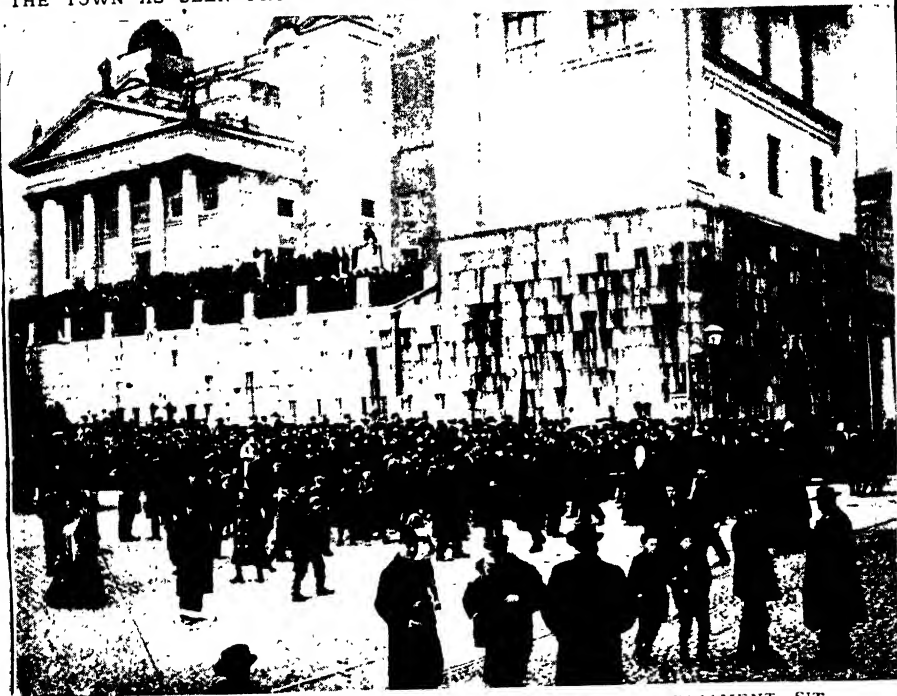
Finland's Era of Prosperity

grand duchy in 1581, was governed from Stockholm, although it had its own court of justice at Abo. There in 1640 the governor-general, Per Brahe the younger, who rendered valuable services to Finland, founded a university, which soon became the intellectual centre of Finland. The Peace of Stolbowa, in 1617, fixed the frontier on the side of Russia. From that time Finland enjoyed a time of prosperity until towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the land was terribly devastated by famine and pestilence. The great Northern War came as a crowning misfortune. The country did not recover until the eighteenth century, when Swedish rule predominated. Even the war with Russia, 1741-1743, did not permanently affect the prosperity to which the country had again attained.

In the meantime desires for independence were awakening in the hearts of many Finns, who hoped, with the aid of Russia, to form an independent Finnish state under Russian protection. This wish was partly realised at the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the indiscreet policy of Gustavus IV.; for after the unsuccessful war of 1808-1809 Sweden was obliged to cede Finland, together with the Åland Islands, to Russia by the Peace of



THE TOWN AS SEEN FROM THE HARBOUR, WHICH IS PROTFCTED BY BATTERIES



THE SENATE HOUSE, WHERE LADY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SIT

HELSINGFORS, THE FORTIFIED SEAPORT CAPITAL OF FINLAND

Fredrikshamn, September 17th, 1809. The Emperor Alexander I. promised at the Diet of Borga, which he opened in person, that he would maintain the constitution of the country. Finland was united to Russia as an independent grand duchy, with Helsingfors for its capital. The provinces which had been ceded by the Peace of Nystad, 1721, and the Peace of Abo, 1743, were also incorporated with the grand duchy after several years. At first Alexander I. was true to his promise and respected the constitution, but later he became a reactionary, and in this respect he was followed by Nicholas I. Better times returned with Alexander II., who decreed that from 1869 the Diet—Landtag—should again be regularly convened, and should have the power of legislation with certain restrictions. In this period reforms were introduced which furthered the material and social development of the country. In the nineteenth century the Finns also distinguished themselves by their literary activity. E. Lönnrot, who died in 1884, collected the old Finnish national sagas, "Kalevala," which attracted great attention when they were published in

1835. Joh. Runeberg, who died in 1877, Finland's greatest poet, extolled in "Fänrik Ståls Sägner" the exploits of the Finns in the last war against Russia. E. Topelius, who died in 1898, has earned well-deserved renown even beyond the boundaries of Finland by his "Narratives"—Erzählungen.

Later a movement was set on foot in Finland which aimed at making the national language equal in importance to the Swedish. The supporters of this movement, the "Fennomenen," were so successful in their efforts that both languages were put on an equal footing in everything which concerned the population of Finland. Although the people were divided into two parties on this language question, they have become closely united in resistance to the encroachments of Russia. These encroachments on the constitutional liberties of Finland have been steadily taking place since 1809, and the policy deliberately pursued by the Russian Government aims at the complete incorporation of Finland and the total destruction of Finnish nationality.

HANS SCHUTH



A SCENE IN DENMARK'S CAPITAL: THE ROYAL THEATRE COPENHAGEN

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